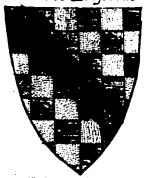


The Brother to William  
Erls of Waren with  
Monke Legricke



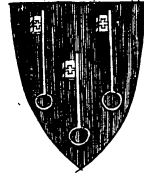
William the Conqueror



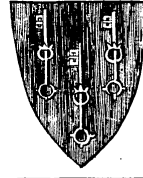
S<sup>t</sup> Ethelburge



S<sup>t</sup> Einelwarde  
Bishope



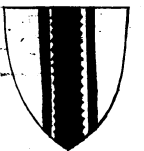
Robert Orfford the  
xiiij<sup>th</sup> Bishope of Elye



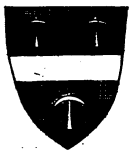
Opfal Capitaine of the  
Croftsome men w<sup>th</sup> Monke  
Godfride



Belase generall of the  
soldours against Ely  
with Monke vtrvalde



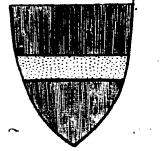
Picot Bridge  
Maister with  
Monke Huskille



Argentine Surgeon  
Generall with  
Monke Elfricke



Geard de longo  
campo with  
Monke william



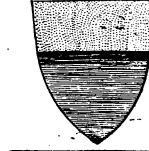
Talbote sent gytymes  
Embassadour with  
Monke Duffe



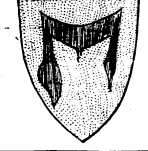
Adam cheife Marshall  
of the Armie with  
Monke Seda



Guido de S<sup>t</sup> Leodigara  
with the holy Monke  
Adelmece



Hastings a souldior  
skilful in Kaughan  
with Monke Rigell



Walter Lacy sheild  
begger to S<sup>t</sup> Conqueror  
with Monke Occan



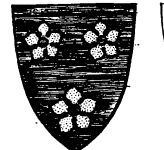
Pamell Capitaine of  
300 footmen with  
Monke Ednede



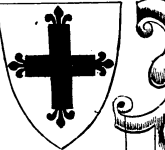
Abmude sonne of Abraham Pechy  
Alan with  
Monke Burthale



Bardolphe maister  
of the workemen  
with Monke Reke



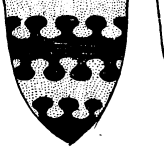
Sewards an englishman  
Vituale of S<sup>t</sup> Campe  
with Monke Beaffine



Viges de furnipall  
a lumbard with  
Monke Sulp



Blounte Capitaine  
generall of S<sup>t</sup> Bote  
with Monke Knolthre



Brign Clarg an  
old Souldior  
with Monke Cliton



Hugh Rumbforth Cap  
taine of S<sup>t</sup> Bortman  
with Monke Oden



Pagor  
Standard bearer of the  
Hogman w<sup>th</sup> monke the  
sale



Bigotte Capitaine of  
300 hogmen with  
Monke Condulepe



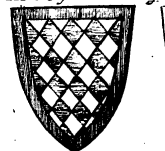
Dunstan le Grosma-  
nus with  
Monke Egbate



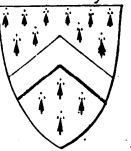
Richard de ponteful  
Lewis with Monke  
fricke the younger



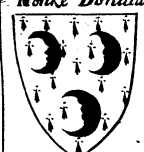
Lucas de Novo Burgo  
old Souldior  
with Monke the Monastery



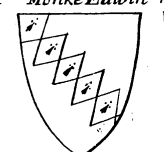
Tuchet Capitaine  
of the Bowmen  
with Monke Osburn



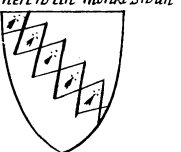
Nigellus Hamtain-  
dote with  
Monke Donalde



Eustalias the  
Blacke with  
Monke Edwin



Eustalias the white  
Maister of the Scout-  
men with monke swan



Bigotte third sonne  
of Bigotte with  
Monke Edmund



Robert Marshall  
with Monke  
Renulphe



Beamurde master of  
the Cynpurs horse  
with Monke Gurthe



Kenulphus a Ger-  
man Soldior  
with monke 173 kille



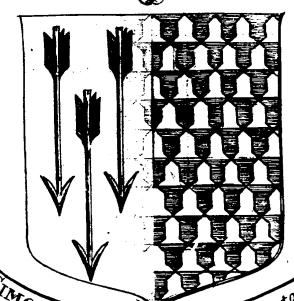
Gohs of norke  
an Englishman  
with monke Edie



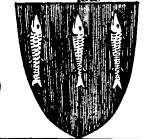
Gohm Malmaine Stan-  
lard bearer of the  
fortemen with monke Otho



Anthony longe-  
sword with  
Monke Alfrede



Lasey a Norman Ad-  
mirall to y Conqueror  
with Monke Constan



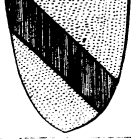
Alexander demonte  
trignite with  
Monke David



Lucanalfus Cap-  
taine of y Billmen  
with Monke of alde Monke Orme



Naj<sup>th</sup> Capitaine of  
200 footmen with  
Monke Orme





THE  
CHURCH-HISTORY  
OF  
BRITAIN;

From the Birth of

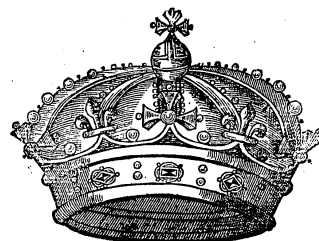
JESUS CHRIST,

Untill the YEAR

M. DC. XLVIII.

ENDEAVOURED

By THOMAS FULLER



L O N D O N,

Printed for JOHN WILLIAMS at the signe of the Crown  
in St. Paul's Church-yard, Anno 1655.





TO THE ILLUSTRIOUS,  
**ESME STUART,**  
DUKE OF  
**RICHMOND.**



Have sometimes solitarily pleased my  
self, with the perusing and compar-  
ing of two places of Scripture.

*Acts 22. 22.*

The wicked *Jews* said of  
*S<sup>t</sup>. Paul;*

*Away vvith such a Fellow vv from  
the Earth, for it is not fit that he  
should live.*

*Hebrews II. 38.*

*S<sup>t</sup>. Paul* said of the  
*Godly Jews;*

*Of vvhom the vvorld vv as  
not vvorthy.*

Here I perceive *Heaven* and *Hell*, *Mercy* and  
*Malice*, *Gods Spirit* and *mans Spite*, resolved on the  
*Question*, that it is not fit that good men should live long  
on *Earth*.

However, though the *Building* be the *same*, yet the *Bottom* is *different*; the *same Conclusion* being inferred from *opposite*, yea *contrary Premisses*. *Wicked men* think this world *too good*, *God* knows it *too bad*, for his *Servants* to live in. Henceforward I shall not wonder, that *Good men* die so *soon*, but that they *live* so *long*; seeing *wicked men* desire their *Room* here on *Earth*, and *God* their *Company* in *Heaven*. No wonder then, if your *Good Father* was so soon translated to *Happiness*, and his *G R A C E* advanced into *G L O R Y*.

He was pleased to give me a *Text* some weeks before his *Death*, of the words of our *Saviour* to the *Probationer Convert*; *Thou<sup>a</sup> art not far from the Kingdome of Heaven*, that is, as the words there import, *from the state of Salvation*. But before my *Sermon* could be, his life was, finished, and he in the *reall acception* thereof, possessed of *Heaven*, and *Happiness*.

Thus was I disappointed (O that this were the greatest *Loss* by the *Death* of so *worthy Person*!) of a *Patron*, to whom I intended the *Dedication* of this first part of my *History*.

I after was entred on a *Resolution* to *dedicate* it to his *Memory*; presuming to defend the *Immocency* and *Harmlesse* of such a *Dedication*, by *Precedents* of unquestioned *Antiquity*. But I intended also to surround the *Pages* of the *Dedication* with *black*, not im-

proper,

proper, as to his relation, so expressive of the present sad *Condition* of our distracted *Church*.

But seasonably remembering how the *Altar* ED<sup>a</sup> (onely erected for *Commemoration*), was misinterpreted by the other *Tribes* for *Superstition*; I conceived it best to cut off all occasions of *Cavill* from captious persons, and *dedicate* it to You his Son and Heir.

Let not your *Grace* be offended, that I make you a *Patron* at the *second hand*: for though I confesse you are my *Refuge*, in relation to your *deceased Fathers*; you are my *Choise*, in reference to the *surviving Nobility*. *God* sanctifie your tender yeares, with true *Grace*, that in time you may be a *Comfort* to your *Mother*, *Credit* to your *Kindred*, and *Honour* to your *Nation*.

Your Graces most bounden

ORATOR,

THOMAS FULLER.

TO THE  
R E A D E R.



*N* Ingenious Gentleman some Moneths  
since in Iest-earnest advised me to make haste  
with my History of the Church of En-  
gland, for fear (said he) lest the Church of  
England be ended before the *History* thereof.

*This History is now, though late (all Church-work is  
slow) brought with much difficulty to an end.*

*And blessed be God, the Church of England is still,  
(and long may it be) in being, though disturb'd, distem-  
pered, distracted, God help and heal her most sad condi-  
tion.*

*The three first Books of this Volumn were for the main  
written in the Reign of the late King, as appeareth by the  
passages then proper for the Government. The other nine  
Books were made since Monarchy was turned into a State.*

*May God alone have the Glory, and the ingenuous Rea-  
der the Benefit of my endeavours ; which is the hearty de-  
sire of*

Thy Servant in *Iesus Christ*,

*From my chamber in  
Sion Colledge.*

THOMAS FULLER,

Anno  
Dom.

THE  
CHURCH-HISTORY  
OF  
BRITAIN.  
I. CENTURIE.



That we may the more freely and fully pay the tribute of our thanks to Gods goodnesse, for the Gospel which we now enjoy, let us recount the sad Condition of the *Britans* our Predecessours, before the *Christian Faith* was preached unto them. *At that time they were without Christ, being Aliens from the Common-wealth of Israel, and strangers from the Covenants of promise, having no hope, and without God in the World.* They were fould Idolaters, who, from

misapplying that undeniable Truth of Gods being in every thing, made every thing to be their God, Trees, Rivers, Hills, and Mountains. They worshipped Devils, whose Pictures remained in the dayes of *Gillgar*, within and without the decayed Walls of their Cities, drawn with deformed Faces, (no doubt, done to the Life, according to their Terrible Apparitions,) so that such ugly Shapes did not woo, but fright people into Adoration of them. Wherefore if any find in *Tully* that the *Britans* in his time had no Pictures, understand him, they were not Artists in that Mystery, (like the *Greeks* and *Romans*) they had not pieces of Proportion, being rather Drawers then Stainers, then Painters, though called *Picti*, from their self-discoloration.

2. Three paramount Idols they worshipped above all the rest, and ascribed divine honour unto them:

1. *Apollo*, by them styled *Belinus* the Great.
2. *Andraeste*, or *Andate*, the Goddesse of Victorie.
3. *Diana*, Goddesse of the Game.

This last was most especially revered, *Britain* being then all a Forest; where Hunting was not the Recreation but the Calling, and Venison, not the Dainties but the Diet of Common people. There is a place near *S. Pauls* in *London*, called in old Records *DIANA'S CHAMBER*, where, in the daies of *K. Edward* the first, thousands of the Heads of *Oxen* were digged up, whereat the Ignorant wondered, whilst the Learned well understood them to be the proper Sacrifices to *Diana*, whose great Temple was built thereabout. This rendereth their Conceit not altogether unlikely, who will have *LONDON*

A

fo

The dolefull  
case of the  
Pagan  
Britans.

a *Epist. de Ex-  
cid. Brit.*

Their Prince  
pall Idols.

b *Epist. Epi-  
sc. in Nerone.*

c *Camden,  
Britann. in  
middlesex.*

to called from LLAN-DIAN, which signifieth in British the *Temple of DIAN*. And surely Conjectures, if mannerly observing their Distance, and not impudently intruding themselves for Certainities, deserve, if not to be received, to be considered. Besides these specified, they had other *Portenta Diabolica*, a *pene numero Egyptiaca vincencia*: as indeed they who erroneously conceive one God too little, will find two too many, and yet Millions not enough. As for those learned *Pens*, which report that the *Druides* did instruct the Ancient *Britans* in the Knowledge and Worship of one only God, may their Mistake herein be as freely forgiven them, as I hope and desire that the Charitable Reader will with his Pardon meet those involuntary Errors, which in this Work by me shall be committed.

3. Two sorts of People were most honoured amongst the *Britans*:

- |                                    |   |                                  |  |
|------------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|--|
| 1. <i>Druides</i> , who were their | <i>Philosophers</i><br><i>Divines</i><br><i>Lawyers</i> | 2. <i>Bards</i> , who were their | <i>Prophets</i><br><i>Poets</i><br><i>Historians</i> |
|------------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|--|

The former were so called from *dyw*, signifying generally a *Tree*, and properly an *Oak*, under which they used to perform their Rites and Ceremonies. An Idolatry whereof the *Jews* themselves had been guilty, for which the *Prophet* threateth them; *They shall be ashamed of the Oaks which they have desired*. But the signal *Oak* which the *Druides* made choice of, was such a one, on which *Mistletoe* did grow; by which privie token, they conceived, God marked it out, as of sovereign virtue, for his service. Under this *Tree*, on the sixth day of the *Moon*, (whereon they began their Year) they invoked their *Idols*, and offered two white *Bulls*, filled in the horns, with many other Ceremonies. These *Pagan Priests* never wrote anything, so to procure the greater Veneration to their Mysteries; men being bound to believe that it was some great Treasure, which was locked up in such great Secrecie.

4. The *Bards* were next the *Druides* in Regard, and played excellently to their *Songs* on their *Harp*s, whereby they had great Operation on the Vulgar, surprising them into *Civility* unawares, they greedily swallowing whatsoever was sweetened with Music. These also, to preserve their Ancestors from Corruption, embalmed their Memories in *Rhyming Verses*, which looked both backward, in their *Relations*, and forward, in their *Predictions*: so that their Confidence meeting with the Credulity of others, advanced their wild Conjectures to the Reputation of *Prophecies*. The *Immortality of the Soul* they did not flatly deny, but falsely believe, disguised under the opinion of *Transanimation*, conceiving that dying mens *Souls* afterward passed into other *Bodies*, either preferred to better, or condemned to worse, according to their former good or ill behaviour. This made them contemn Death, and always maintain erected Resolutions, counting a valiant Death the best of Bargains, wherein they did not loose, but lay out their Lives to Advantage. Generally they were great *Magicians*; inasmuch that *Plinie* saith, that the very *Persians*, in some fort, might seem to have learn't their *Magick* from the *Britans*.

5. So pittifull for the present, and more fearfull for the future was the condition of the Heathen *Britans*, when it pleased God with a strong hand, and stretched-out Arme, to reach the Gospel unto them, who were as far off, both in local and rheological Distance. This was performed in the later end of the Reigne of *Tiberius*, some thirty seven years after *Christ's* Birth: as *Polydor Virgil* collecteth out of the testimony of *Gildas*.

6. If it seem incredible to any, that this Island, furthest from the *Sunne*, should see *Light* with the first, whilst many Countries on the Continent interposed, (nearer in Situation to *Indea*, the Fountain of the Gospel) late, as yet, and many years after, in *Darknesse*, and in the Shadow of Death: Let such consider, First, That *Britain* being a by-Corner, out of the Road of the World, seemed

a Gildas ut  
prim.

b *Druides*  
num esse  
Deum imper  
inculcatur.  
Camden and  
Dr. Godwin.

The office  
and employ-  
ment of the  
*Druides*,  
c 1. fol. 1. 29.

d *Pliny Na-  
tur. Hist.*  
lib. 6. cap. 44.

The power-  
full practices  
of the *Bards*  
on the peo-  
ple.

e *Natur. Hist.*  
lib. 30. cap. 1.  
f *Tempore* (u-  
scimus) sum-  
mo *Tiberii*  
*Cæsaris*.  
imp. Euseb. de Ex.  
Brit.  
The first  
preaching of  
the Gospel  
in Britain.  
Causes  
which haste-  
ned the con-  
version of  
*Britain*, be-  
fore other  
kingdomes  
which lay  
nearer to  
*Palestine*.

seemed the safest Sanctuary from *Persecution*, which might invite Preachers to come the sooner into it. Secondly, it facilitated the Entrance of the Gospel hither, that lately the *Roman Conquest* had in part civilized the South of this Island, by transporting of Colonies thither, and erecting of Cities there; so that, by the Interchange of Traffick and Commerce with other Countries, Christianity had the more speedy and convenient Waystage over. Whereas on the other side, this set the Conversion of *Germany* to backwards, because the in-land Parts thereof entertained no Trading with others; and (out of Defiance to the *Romans*) hugged their own *Barbarisme*, made lovely with Liberty bolting out all Civility from themselves, as jealous that it would usher in Subjection. Lastly and chiefly, God in a more peculiar manner did always favour the Islands, as under his immediate Protection. For as he daily walls them with his Providence, against the scaling of the swelling Surges, and constant Battery of the Tide: so he made a particular promise of his Gospel unto them, by the mouth of his *Prophet*, *I will send those that escape of them, to the Isles as far off, that have not heard my Name*. To shew that neither height, nor depth, (no not of the Ocean it self) is able to separate any from the Love of God. And for the same purpose, *Christ* employed Fishermen for the first Preachers of the Gospel, as who, being acquainted with the Water, and mysteries of Sailing, would with the more delight undertake long Sea-voyages into Foreign Countries.

7. But now, who it was that first brought over the Gospel into Britain, is very uncertain. The *Conversionist* (understand *Paysons the Iesuite*) mainly b flicketh for the Apostle *Peter* to have first preached the Gospel here. Yea, when *Protestants* objected against St. Peter's being at Rome, because St. Paul, in his Epistle to the *Romans*, omitteth to name or salute him; The *Iesuite* handsomely answers, That *Peter* was then probably from home, employed in Preaching in Britain, and other places. His Arguments to prove it are not so strong, but that they easily accept of Answers, as followeth.

1. Arg. St. Peter preach't in Britain, because Gildas speaking against his dissolute Country-men, taxeth them for usurping the Seat of Peter with their unclean feet.

Ans. Understand him, that they had abused the Profession of the Ministry: for it follows, they have sitten in the pestilent Chair of Judas the Traitor. Whence it appears, both are meant mystically and metaphorically, parallel to the expressions of the Apostle Jude v. 11. They have gone in the way of Cain, &c.

2. Arg. *Simcon Metaphrastes* saith so, that he staid some dayes in Britain, where having preached the Word, established Churches, ordained Bishops, Priests & Deacons, in the 12. year of Nero he returned to Rome.

Ans. Metaphrastes is an *Antibour* of no credit, as Baronius himself doth confesse.

3. Arg. Innocent the first reporteth that the first Churches in Italy, France, Spain, Africa, Sicily, and the Interjacent Islands, were founded by St. Peter.

Ans. Make the Map an Empire, and the Episcopate Interjacent will not reach Britain, intending only the Islands in the Mid-land Sea.

4. Arg. *Guilielmus Eysingronius* saith so.

Ans. Though he hath a long Name, he is but a late Authour, setting forth his Book Anno 1566. Besides, he builds on the Authority of Metaphrastes, and so both fall together.

5. Arg. St. Peter himself in a Vision, in the dayes of King Edward the Confessor, reported that he had preached the Word in Britain.

Ans. To this Vision pretended of Peter, we oppose the certain words of St. Paul, 1 Tim. 1. 4. Neither give heed to Fables.

a 1. fol. 66. 19.

S. Peter call'd  
by reported to have  
preach'd in  
Britain.  
b *Paysons*  
3 *Conversionist*,  
1. part. 1. chap.  
pag. 19.

c In Epist. de  
Excid. Brit.

d *Commemoratio*  
de Petro ap.  
Paulino dem.  
29 Janu.  
e In alijs mal-  
to lib. de ijs  
poffit errare  
cum certis  
fl. Exc. Au-  
mel. in An. 44.  
num. 54.  
f Epistola 1.  
ad Decemum.

g *Mafon de*  
*Nimiff*. Ang.  
lib. 2. cap. 36  
pag. 63.

We have stay'd the longer in confuting these Arguments, because from *Peters* preaching here, *Parsons* would inferre an obligation of this *Iland* to the *See of Rome*, which how strongly he hath proved let the *Reader* judge. He that will give a *Cap*, and make a *Legge* in thanks for a Favour he never received, deserves rather to be blamed for want of *Wit*, then to be praised for store of *Manners*. None therefore can justly tax us of Ingratitude, if we be loath to confess an engagement to *Rome* more than is due. The rather because *Rome* is of so tyrannicall a disposition, that making her self the *Mother-Church*, she expects of her *Daughters* not only *Dutifulnesse*, but *Servility*; and (not content to have them ask her *Blessing*, but also do her *Drudgerie*.) endeavourth to make *Slaves* of all her *Children*.

8. Passing by *Peter*, proceed we to the rest of the *Apostles*, whom severall *Authors* alledge the first Planters of Religion in this *Iland*.

1. *St. James* Son to *Zebedee*, and brother to *John*. But if we consult with the *Scripture*, we shall find that the *Word of Herod* put an end to all his Travells before the *Apostles* their generall departure from *Hierusalem*. Indeed this *James* is notoriously reported, (how truly, let them seek who are concerned,) to have been in *Spain*; and it is probable, some, mistaking *Hibernia* for *Hiberia*, and then confounding *Hibernia*, a *British* *Iland*, with our *Britain*, (as one Error is very procreative of another) gave the beginning to *James* his Preaching here.

2. *St. Paul* is by others shipt over into our *Iland*; amongst whom, thus sings *Venantius Fortunatus*:

*Transit & Oceanum, vel qua facit Insula Portum:*  
*Quaque Britannus habet terras, quaque ultima Thule.*

But lesse credit isto be given to *Britannus*, because it goeth in company with *ultima Thule*: Which being the noted expresseion of *Poets*, for the utmost bound of the then-known world, seems to favour more of Poeticall *Hyperbole*, then *Historicall Truth*, as a Phrase at *Randome*, only to expresse farre foreign Countries.

3. *Simon* the *Canaanite*, surnamed *Zelotes*; and well did he brook his Name, the fervencie of whose Zeal carried him into so farre and cold a countrie, to propagate the Gospel. *Dorotheus* makes him to be both martyred and buried in *Britain*. But this, saith *Baronius*, receiveth no Countenance from any ancient Writers. What then, I pray, was *Dorotheus* himself, being *Bishop* of *Tyre* under *Diocletian*, and *Constantine* the Great? If the *Cardinal* count him young, what grave *Seniours* will he call ancient?

4. *Aristobolus*, though no *Apostle*, yet an *Apostles* Mate, counted one of the seventy *Disciples*, is by *Grecian Writers* made *Bishop* of *Britain*. Strange! that foreign *Authors* should see more in our *Iland*, then our home-bred *Historians*, wholly silent thereof; and it much weakeneth their Testimonie, because they give evidence of things done at such distance from them. But how easie is it for a *Writer* with one word of his Pen, to send an *Apostle* many Miles by Land and Leagues by Sea, into a Country, where in otherwise he never set his Footing!

The Result of all is this: *Churches* are generally ambitious to entitle themselves to *Apostles*, for their Founders; conceiving they should otherwise be esteemed but as of the *Second Forme*, and *Younger House*, if they received the Faith from any inferiour Preacher. Wherefore as the *Heathens*, in searching after the original of their Nations, never leave *Soaring* till they touch the *Clouds*, and fetch their Pedigree from some God: So *Christians* think it nothing worth, except they relate the first Planting of Religion in their Countrie to some *Apostle*. Whereas indeed it matters not, if the *Doctrine* be the same, whether the *Apostles* preached it by themselves, or by their Successors. We see little Certainty can be extracted, who first brought the Gospel hither, 'tis so long since, the *British Church* hath forgotten her own Infancy, who were her first

St. James,  
St. Paul,  
St. Simon, &  
St. Aristobolus  
Preachers  
in Britain.  
A Vicious use  
of paribus u-  
triusque Testi-  
florum. c. 72.  
Item Flavius  
Lucius Dex-  
ter in Chronico  
ad annum 41.  
b Lib. 3. de vi-  
ta S. Martini.

c Annal. Ec-  
clesi. in Anno  
44. num. 39.

d Rom. 16.  
10.  
e Mirae Gre-  
corum, Dio-  
ceno quinto  
Martii.

Anno  
Dom.  
37.

41

47

56

first God-fathers. We see the *Light* of the *Word* shined here, but see not who kindled it. I will not say, as God, to prevent *Idolatry*, caused the Body of *Moses* to be concealed; so, to cut off from Posterity all occasion of Superstition, he suffered the *Memories* of our *Primitive Planters* to be buried in Obscurity.

9. Now amongst the Converts of the Natives of this *Iland*, in this Age, to Christianity, *Claudia* (surnamed *Ruffina*) is reputed a principall, wife to *Pudens* a *Romane Senatour*. And because all this is too high a Step for our belief to climb at once; the Ascent will be more easie, thus divided into Stairs, and half-paces.

First, That *Claudia* was a *Britan* born, *Martial* affirms it in his *Epigraue*:

*Claudia caruleis cum sit Ruffina Britannis*  
*Edita, cur Latia pectora plebis habet?*

Secondly, That this *Claudia* was wife to *Pudens*, the same *Poet* averreth: *Claudia, Rufe, meo nubis peregrina Pudenti.*

*Matte esto tadis, & Hymenae, tuis.*

Thirdly, That there was a *Pudens*, and *Claudia* living at *Rome*, both *Christians*, we have it from a more infallible Pen of *S. Paul* himself, — *Eubulus greeteth thee, and Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren.*

Lastly, That this *Claudia* mentioned by *S. Paul*, then living at *Rome*, was the same *Claudia*, a *Britan* born, mentioned by *Martial*, is the Opinion, and probable Conjecture of many *Modern Writers*.

But Father *Parsons* will not admit hereof, because willingly he would not allow any sprinkling of Christianity in this *Iland*; but what was rained from *Rome*, when *Eleutherius* sent to Christian King *Lucius*; that so our engagement to the *Romish Church* might be the more visible, and conspicuous. This of *Claudia Ruffina* is budged up (saith he) by our late *Hereticall Writers*; (though some as *Catholic* as himself in his own sense, do entertain it; and hereby we see that *Heretics* are but sleight *Provers*, and very deceitfull in all matters, as well *Historicall*, as *Doctrinall*.)

10. But be it known to him and others, that our History is founded on the best humane Books we can get; but our Doctrine is grounded on what is best in it self, the Divine Scriptures. The matter in hand is so sleight a Controversie, that it cannot bear a Demonstration on either side: it will suffice, if by answering his Reasons to the contrary, we clear it from all Impossibility, and Improbability; that it is not budged, but built up by Plummet and Line, with proportion to Time and Place.

1. *Arg.* There is a generall silence of all Antiquity in this matter.

Ans. Negative Arguments from humane Writers, in such *Historicall* differences, are of small validity.

2. *Arg.* *Martial*, an *Heathen*, would hardly so much commend *Claudia*, if she had been a *Christian*.

Ans. A wanton *Poet*, in his chaste Intervals, might praise that Goodness in another, which he would not practice in himself.

3. *Arg.* *Claudia*, spoken of by *S. Paul*, was in the time of *Nero*, and could not be known to *Martial*, who died sixty years after, in the reign of *Trajan*.

Ans. Though *Martial* died a very old man in *Trajan's* days, yet he flourished under *Nero*, very familiar with his friend and fellow-Poet *Silius Italicus*, in whose Consullship *Nero* died.

4. *Arg.* That same *Claudia* (reported also the first Hostess which entertained *Peter* and *Paul*) must be presumed ancient in *Martial* his remembrance, and therefore unfit to be praised for her beauty.

Ans.

2 Petr. 14. 6.

*Claudia*  
(notwith-  
standing *Par-*  
sons excepti-  
ons) might  
be a *British*  
*Christian*.

b Lib. 11.

Epig. 54.

c Lib. 4. Epig.

13.

d Tim. 4. 21.

e Parsons  
& Conwry.  
part. 1. p. 18.  
f Vossius de  
Script. Brit.  
pag. 72. is  
yellow for it.  
Parsons ob-  
jection to the  
contrary  
answered.

g *Martial*.  
lib. 7. Epig. 2.

Ans<sup>r</sup>. Even in the Autumne of her Age, when she had enriched her Husband with three Children, her vigorous Beauty preserved by Temperance, might entitle her to the commendation of Matron-like Comeliness.

s. Arg. The Children assigned in the *Roman Calendar* to *Claudia* the Christian, will not well agree to this *British Claudia*.

Ans<sup>r</sup>. Little certainty can be extracted, and therefore nothing enforced to purpose, from the number and names of her Children, such is the difference of several \* Writers concerning them.

a See Usher  
De Brit. Eccl.  
prim. cap. 3.

The issue of all is this. *Claudia's* story, as a *British* Christian, stands unre- moved, for any force of these Objections, though one need not be much engaged herein: for whosoever is more than luke-warm, is too here in a case of so small consequence. Yet we will not willingly leave *an* *hoofe* of the *British* Honour behind, which may be brought on; the rather to save the longing of such, who delight on rash-ripe fruits: and Antiquaries much please themselves, to behold the probabilities of such early Converts of our Island. But now to return again to the prime Planters of Religion in *Britain*. As for all those formerly reckoned up, there is in Authours but a tinkling mention of them; and the found of their Preaching, low and little, in comparison of those low d Peales, which are rung of *Ioseph* of *Arimathea* his coming hither. Let the Reader with patience take the summe thereof, extracted out of several Authours.

The coming  
of Ioseph  
of Arimathea  
into Britain.

11. The Jews, bearing an especial spight to *Philip* (whether the Apostle, or Deacon, uncertain) *Ioseph* of *Arimathea*, *Lazarus*, *Mary Magdalene*, and *Martha* his sisters, with *Marcella* their servant, banished them out of *Indea*, and put them into a Vessell without Sailes and Oares, with intent to drown them. Yet they, being tossed with tempests on the *Mid-land Sea*, at last fastened at *Marcellus* in *France*. A relation as ill accounted with tacklings, as their Ship; and, which is unrigged in respect of time, and other circumstances, neither hath it the authority of any authentick Writer, for a Pilot to steer it: which now standing, hath had the happiness to arrive at the hearing of many, and belief of some few. Now, whilest \* *Philip* continued preaching the Gospel in *France*, he sent *Ioseph* of *Arimathea* over into *Britain*, with *Ioseph* his son, and ten other Associates, to convert the Natives of that Island to Christianity. These coming into *Britain*, found such entertainment from *Arviragus* the King, that though he would not be dissuaded from his Idolatry by their preaching, yet he allowed them twelve Hides of ground (an Hide is as much as, being well manur'd, will maintain a familie; or, as others say, as much as one plow can handsomely manage) in a desolate Island, full of Fenns and Brambles, called the *Tuis-Pitrim*, since by translation, *Glastenbury*. Here they built a small Church, and by direction from *Gabriel* the Archangel, dedicated it to the Virgin *Mary*, encompassing it about with a Church-yard; in which Church, afterwards *Ioseph* was buried: and here these twelve lived many years, devoutly serving God, and converting many to the Christian Religion.

b Malmsbury  
M.S. de An-  
tiqu. Glaston.  
Ecclesie.

The history  
full of dross  
when  
brought to  
the touch.

c Written in  
an age, as  
Archbishop  
Usher de-  
scribes, De  
Brit. Eccl.  
prim. pag. 15.

12. Now, a little to examine this history, we shall find, first, that no Writer of credit can be produced, before the Conquest, who mentioneth *Ioseph's* coming hither, but since that time (to make recompence for former silence) it is re-founded from every side. As for *Bale* his citations out of *Meckinus Avalontus*, and *Gildas Albanus*, seeing the Originals are not extant, they be as uncertain, as what *Laronius* hath transcribed out of an English<sup>b</sup> Manuscript in the *Vatican*. Yet, because the *Norman* Charters of *Glastenbury* refer to a succession of many ancient Charters, bestowed on that Church by several *Saxon* Kings, as the *Saxon* Charters relate to *British* Grants in intuition to *Ioseph's* being there: We dare not wholly deny the substance of the Story, though

Anno  
Dom.  
63.

Anno  
Dom.  
63.

though the leaven of Montery hath much swoln, and puff'd up the Circumstance thereof. For, the mentioning of an inclosed Church-yard, overthrows the foundation of the Church; seeing Churches in that time got no such Suburbs about them, as any Church-yards to attend them. The burying his body in the Church, was contrary to the practice of that Age; yea, dead mens Corpses were brought no nearer then the Porch, some hundreds of years after. The Dedication of the place to the Virgin *Mary*, sheweth the Story of later date, calculated for the elevation of Saint-worship. In a word, as this relation of *Ioseph* is presented unto us, it hath a young mans Brow, with an old mans Beard; I mean, novel Superstitions, disguised with pretended Antiquity.

64.

13. In all this story of *Ioseph's* living at *Glastenbury*, there is no one passage reported therein beareth better proportion to time and place, then the Church which he is said to erect, whose dimensions, materials, and making, are thus presented unto us. It had in length sixty foot, and twenty fix in breadth, made of rods, wated, or interwoven. Where at one view, we may behold the simplicity of Primitive Devotion, and the native fashion of British Buildings in that Age, and some hundred years after. For we find that *Hoel Dba*, King of *Wales*, made himself a Palace of Hurdle-work, called *Tygwyn*, or, the *White House*; because, for distinctions sake (to difference it from, and advance it above other Houses) the rods whereof it was made were unbark'd, having the rinde stripp'd off. Which was then counted gay and glorious; as white-limed houses exceed those which are only rough-cast. In this small Oratory, *Ioseph*, with his Companions, watched, prayed, fasted, preached, having high Meditations under a low Roof, and large Hearts betwix narrow Walls. If credit may be given to these Authours, this Church, without competition, was senior to all Christian Churches in the World. Let not then lately modern Churches disdain to stoop with their highest Steeples, reverently doing homage to this poor Structure, as their first platform and precedent. And let their chequered Pavements no more disdain this Oratories plaine Floor, then her thatch'd Covering doth envy their leaden Roofs. And although now it is meet that Church-buildings, as well as private houses, partaking of the peace and prosperity of our Age, should be both in their Cost and Cunning encreased, (far be that pride and profaneness from any, to account nothing either too fair for Man, or too foul for God;) yet it will not be amiss to desire, that our Judgements may be so much the clearer in matters of Truth, and our Lives so much the purer in Conversation, by how much our Churches are more light, & our Buildings more beautiful then they were.

76.

14. Some difference there is about the place of buriall of *Ioseph* of *Arimathea*. Some assigning his Grave in the Church of *Glastenbury*, others in the South corner of the Church-yard, and others elsewhere. This we may be assured of, that he, who resigned his own Tombe to our Saviour, wanted not a Sepulchre for himself. And here we must not forget, how much more then a thousand years after, one *John Bloome* of *London*, pretending an injunction from Heaven, to seek for the Body of *Ioseph* of *Arimathea*, obtained a licence from King *Edward* the third, to dig at *Glastenbury* for the same, as by his Patent doth appear. It seems, his Commission of Enquiry never originally issued out of the Court of Heaven; for God never sends his servants on a needless Errand, but faith, *Ask, and ye shall have; seek, and ye shall find*. Whereas this man sought, and did never find, for ought we can hear of his inquisition. And we may well believe, that had he found the Corpse of *Ioseph*, though Fame might have held her peace, yet Superstition would not have been silent, but long before this time, the had roared it even into the ears of deaf men. And truly he might have digg'd at *Glastenbury* to the Centre of the earth, & yet not met with what he sought for, if *Ioseph* were buried ten miles off (as a *Isidore* will have it) at *Montacute*, or, in *Hampden-Hill*. Hereafter there is hope, that the *Majons*, digging in the Quarries thereof, may light by chance on his Corpse, which (if fond Papists might prize it) would prove more

The plat-  
form of the  
most ancient  
Church in  
Christen-  
dome.  
A recent plate  
of brass in the  
chapel of  
St. Henry  
Spelman,  
De consuet.  
Brit. pag. 11.  
b Malmsbury  
in print.  
c He was King  
of all Wales  
many years  
after viz. 910.  
See Cambden  
in Cammar-  
cheshire.

Difference  
about the  
place of  
Ioseph's buriall.  
d Math. 27.  
60.

e Anno Dom.  
1344, the 19.  
of Edward 1.  
f In the Tower  
19. of Edw. 3.  
part. 1. par-  
ment 8.

g Guilelmus  
Goodus, ci-  
ted by Arch-  
bishop Usher  
De Brit. Eccl.  
prim. pag. 28.



THE SECOND  
CENTURY

19 Po.

19 Polydor Virgil.	182	23 Heſtor Boethius.	187
20 Chron. Brit. Abbrev.	183	24 Martin Polonus.	188
21 Roger de Wendover.	184	25 Saxon Annals.	189
22 Matth. <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup>	185	26 John Harding.	190

Here is more than a *Grand-Iury* of Writers, which neither agree in their *Verdicts* with their *Fore-man*, nor one with another: there being betwixt the *first* & the *laſt*, *Paulus Iovius* & *John Harding*, ninety years diſtance in their *Account*. This, with other Arguments, is uſed, not only to ſhake, but ſhatter the whole reputation of the Story. And we muſt endeavour to clear this Objection, before we go farther, which is ſhrewdly preſſed by many. For if the two *Elders*, which accuſed *Sufanna*, were condemned for Liars, being found in two *Tales*; the one laying the Scene of her Incontinency under a *Maſtick-tree*, the other under an *Holme-tree*: why may not the Relation of *Lucius* be alſo condemned for a Fiction, ſeeing the Reports thereof more differ in *Time*, then the forenamed *Elders* in *Place*; ſeeing *when* and *where* are two circumſtances, both equally important, and concerning in Hiſtory, to the Truth of any action?

3. But we anſwer, That however Learned men differ in the *Date*, they agree in the *Deed*. They did ſet themſelves lo to heed the Matter, as of moſt moment, being the Soul, and Subſtance of Hiſtory, that they were little curious (not to ſay very careleſs) in accurate noting of the *Time*: which being well obſerved, doth not only add ſome luſtre, but much ſtrength to a relation. And indeed, all Computation in the Primitive time is very uncertain, there being then (and a good while after) an *Anarchy*, as I may terme it, in Authors their reckoning of years, becauſe men were not ſubject to any one ſovereign Rule, in accounting the *year of our Lords*; but every one followed his own *Arithmetick*, to the great confuſion of Hiſtory; and prejudice of Truth. In which age, though all ſtart from the ſame place [*our Saviour's Birth*] yet running in ſeveral ways of account, they ſeldome meet together in their dating of any memorable Accident. Worthie therefore was his work, whoever he was, who firſt calculated the Computation we uſe at this day, and ſo ſet Chriſtendom a *Copy*, whereby to write the *date* of actions; which ſince being generally uſed, hath reduced Chronology to a greater Certainty.

4. As for their Objection, That *Lucius* could not be a King in the *South of Britain*, becauſe it was then reduced to a Province under the Roman Monarchy; It affects not any that underſtand, how it was the Roman's cuſtome, both to permit, and appoint Pettie Kings in ſeveral Countries (as *Antiochus* in *Aſia*, *Herod* in *Iudea*, *Dionoturus* in *Sicilie*) who, under them, were inveſted with Regal Power, & Dignity. And this was conceived to conduce to the ſtate and amplitude of their Empire. Yea, the German Emperours at this day, ſucceedour to the Roman Monarchy, is ſtilled *Rex Regum*, as having many Princes, and particularly the King of *Bohemia*, Homagers under him. As for other inconfiſtents with truth, which depend, as Retainers, on this Relation of King *Lucius*, they prove not that this whole Story ſhould be *reſuſed*, but *refined*. Which calleth aloud to the Diſcretion of the Reader, to ſan the *Chaffe* from the *Corne*; and to his Induſtry, to rub the *Ruſt* from the *Gold*, which almoſt of neceſſity will cleave to matters of ſuch Antiquity. Thus conceiving that for the main we have aſſerted King *Lucius*, we come to relate his Hiſtory, as we finde it.

5. He being much taken with the Miracles which he beheld truly done by pious Chriſtians, fell in admiration of, and love with their Religion; and ſent *Elvanus* and *Meduſinus*, men of known Piety, and Learning in the Scriptures, to *Eleutherius* Biſhop of *Rome*, with a Letter, requeſting ſeveral things of him, but principally, that he might be inſtructed in the Chriſtian Faith. The reaſon why he wrote to *Rome*, was, becauſe at this time the Church therein was (ſhe can aſk no more, we grant no leſs) the moſt eminent Church in the World,

167

ſhining the brighter, becauſe ſet on the higheſt *Candle-ſtick*, the Imperial City. We are ſo far from grudging *Rome* the Happineſs the once had, that we rather bemoan the loſt it ſo ſoon, degenerating from her primitive Purity. The Letter which *Lucius* wrote is not extant at this day, and nothing thereof is to be ſeen, ſave only by reflection, as it may be collected by the Anſwer returned by *Eleutherius*, which (ſuch an one as it is) it will not be amiſs here to infer.

6. "Ye require of us the *Roman Laws*, and the *Emperours* to be ſent over unto you, which you would practice, and put in ure within your Realm. The *Roman Laws*, and the *Emperours* we may ever reprove, but the *Law* of God we may not. Ye have received of late, through Gods mercy, in the Kingdom of Britain, the *Law* and *Faith* of Chriſt; Ye have with you within the *Realm*, both parts of the Scriptures: out of them by Gods grace, with the Council of the Realm, take ye a *Law*, and by that *Law* (through Gods ſuſſerance) rule your Kingdom of Britain. For you be Gods *Vicar* in your Kingdom. *The Lords is the Earth, and the fulveſs of the world, and all that dwell in it*. And again, according to the Prophet that was a King, *Thou haſt loved rightcouſneſs, and hated iniquity, therefore God hath anointed thee with the Oile of gladneſs above thy fellows*. And again, according to the ſame Prophet, *O God, give Judgement unto the King, and thy Rightcouſneſs unto the Kings Sonne*. He ſaid not, the judgement and rightcouſneſs of the Emperours; but, *thy Judgement and Rightcouſneſs*. The Kings *Sonnes* be the Chriſtian people, and folk of the Realm, which be under your Government, and live, and continue in peace within your Kingdom. As the Goſpel ſaith, *Like as the Hen gathereth her Chickens under her wings*: ſo doth the King his People. The People and the folk of the Realm of Britain be yours; whom, if they be divided, ye ought to gather in concord and peace, to call them to the *Faith* and *Law* of Chriſt, to cheriſh and maintain them, to rule and govern them, ſo as you may reign everlaſtingly with him, whoſe *Vicar* you are: which with the *Father*, and the *Sonne* &c.

7. Now we have done our *Threſhing*, we muſt begin our *Winnowing*, to examine the *Epistle*. For the trade of counterfeiting the Letters of eminent men began very early in the Church. Some were tampering with it in the Apoſtles time; which occaſioned St. Paul's Caution, *That ye be not ſoon ſhaken in minde, or be troubled, neither by ſpirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as from us*. Since, men (then but Apprentices) are now grown Mailers in this Myſterie; wherefore it will be worth our examining, whether this *Epistle* be genuine or no. Say not, this doth betray a peeviſh, if not malicious diſpoſition, and argues a vexatious ſpirit in him, which will now call the title of this Letter in queſtion, which time out of minde hath been in the peaceable poſſeſſion of an authentick reputation, eſpecially ſeeing it ſoundeth in *honorem Eccleſie Britannicæ*; and, grant it a Tale, yet it is ſmoothly told to the credit of the *British Church*. But let ſuch know, that our Church is ſenſible of no Honour, but what reſulteth from truth; and if this Letter be falſe, the longer it hath been received, the more need there is of a ſpeedy and preſent Confutation, before it be ſo firmly rooted in mens belief, paſt power to remove it. See therefore the Arguments which ſhake the credit thereof.

1. The date of this Letter differs in ſeveral Copies, and yet none of them light right on the time of *Eleutherius*, according to the Computation of the beſt-eſteemed Authours.
2. It relates to a former Letter of King *Lucius*, wherein he ſeemeth to requeſt of *Eleutherius*, both what he himſelf had before, and what the good Biſhop was unable to grant. For what need *Lucius* ſend for the *Roman Laws*, to which *Britain* was already ſubjected, and ruled by them? At this very time, wherein this Letter is pretended to be wrote, the *Roman Laws* were here in force; and therefore to ſend for them hither, was even *adum agere*, and to as much purpoſe, as to fetch water from *Tiber* to *Thames*.

B 2

Thames.

This tranſlation of the letter of Eleutherius is tranſcribed out of biſhop Godes in his Catalogue of Biſhops.

There is ſome variety between this, and that of Mr. Fox.

a In the Latin it is, Manu te-nere.

A preparative for the examining the truth of this letter.  
b 2 Theſſ. 2. 2.

a Sufanna verſe 54. and 58.

The Hiſtory of K. Lucius not diſturb'd by the diſſention of Authors concerning the time thereof.

Lucius might be a British King under the Roman Monarchy. b Yetus & jampridem receptis populi Romani conſuetudine, ut habere inſtituta pervenit in Reges, Tacitus in vita Agricola.

Lucius ſendeth to the Biſhop of Rome to be inſtructed in Chriſtianity.

Thames. Besides, *Eleutherius* of all men was most improper to have such a suit preferred to him: Holy man! he little meddled with Secular matters, or was acquainted with the Emperours Laws; only he knew how to suffer for Martyrdom, in passive obedience to his cruel Edicts.

3. How high a Throne doth this *Letter* mount *Lucius* on, making him a Monarch? Who (though *Rex Britannicus*) was not *Rex Britannia*; (except by a large *Synecdoche*;) neither sole, nor supreme King here; but partial, and subordinate to the *Romans*.

4. The Scripture quoted is out of *St. Hierom's* Translation, which came more then an hundred years after. And the Age of *Eleutherius* could not understand the language of *manu tenere*, for to maintain, except it did ante-date some of our modern Lawyers to be their Interpreter.

In a word: we know that the *Gibeonites* their mouldy Bread was baked in an Oven very near the *Israelites*, and this *Letter* had its original of a later date; which not appearing any where in the World, till a thousand years after the death of *Eleutherius*, probably crept out of some Monks Cell, some four hundred years since, the true answer of *Eleutherius* being not extant for many years before.

8. But to proceed, *Eleutherius*, at the request of King *Lucius*, sent unto him *^ Faganus*, and *Derwianus*, or *Dunianus*, two holy men, and grave Divines, to instruct him in the Christian Religion; by whom the said King *Lucius* (called by the *Britons* *Lever-Maur*, or the *Great Light*) was baptized, with many of his Subjects. For if when private Persons were converted, *Cornelius*, *Lydia*, &c. their Households also were baptized with them; it is easily credible, that the example of a King embracing the Faith, drew many Followers of Court and Country; Sovereigns seldom wandering alone without their Retinue to attend them. But whereas some report that most, yea all of the Natives of this Island then turned Christians, it is very improbable; and the wary Traveller may sooner climb the steepest Mountains in *Wales*, then the judicious Reader believe all the hyperbolic reports in the *British* Chronicles thereof.

9. For *Jeffery Monmouth* tells us, that at this time there were in *England* twenty eight Cities, each of them having a *^ Flamen*, or Pagan Priest; and three of them, namely *London*, *York*, and *Caer-lion* in *Wales*, had *Arch-Flamens*, to which the rest were subjected: and *Lucius* placed *Bishops* in the room of the *Flamens*, and *Arch-Bishops*, *Metropolitans* in the places of *Arch-Flamens*. All which, faith he, solemnly received their Confirmation from the Pope. But herein our Authour seems not well acquainted with the propriety of the word *Flamen*, their Use, and Office amongst the *Romans*; who were not severally, but many together in the same City. Nor were they subordinate one to another, but all to the *Priests Colledge*, and therein to the *Pontifex Maximus*. Besides, the *British Manuscript*, which *Monmouth* is conceived to have translated, makes no mention of these *Flamens*. Lastly, these words *Arch-Bishop* and *Metropolitan*, are so far from being current in the days of King *Lucius*, that they were not coined till after Ages. So that in plain English, his *Flamens* and *Arch-Flamens*, seeme *Flamms* and *Arch-Flamms*, even notorious Fall-hoods.

10. Great also is the mistake of another *British* Historian, affirming, how in the days of King *Lucius*, this Island was divided into five Roman Provinces; namely, *Britain* the First, *Britain* the Second, *Flavia*, *Maximia*, and *Valentia*: and that each of these were then divided into twelve Bishpricks, fixtie in the whole: a goodly company, and more by half then ever this Land did behold. Whereas these Provinces were so named from *Valens*, *Maximus*, and *Flavius Theodosius*, Roman Emperours, many years after the death of *Lucius*. Thus, as the Damocell convinced *St. Peter* to be a *Galilean*, for, said he, *Thy speech agreeth therunto*: so this five-fold division of *Britain*, by the very Novelty of the

a *Isidore* 9. 12.  
b *See* *St. Hen.*  
*Spelman* in  
*Concels*,  
p. 14. 67.  
where there is  
another copy of  
this letter,  
with some al-  
terations and  
additions.  
King *Lucius*  
baptized.  
c *Altere* *Pha-*  
*ganus* & *Du-*  
*vianus*.  
d *Alt.* 16. 13.  
e 32.  
e *Isid.* in *ubere-*  
*vis* nullus in-  
fidelis reman-  
et. *J. Pa-*  
*Math.* 1. 115.  
Welsh.

f *Monmouth*  
his fiction of  
*Flamens* and  
*Arch-Fla-*  
*mens*.  
g *Monmouth*  
de *gestis* *Brit-*  
*annorum*. lib. 2.  
cap. 1. fol. 33.

g *Ja. Armist.*  
de *Brit. Eccl.*  
prim. p. 77.

a *Pro* *mis-*  
*take*.  
b *Giraldus*  
Cambrensis  
de *Sola* *Me-*  
*neventis* *dis-*  
*putate*, apud  
D. *John* *Riffe*.  
pag. 75.  
c *Mark* 14.  
79.

Anno  
Dom.  
167

the Names, is concluded to be of far later date, then what that Authour pretended.

11. But it is generally agreed, that about this time, many Pagan Temples in *Britain* had their Property altered, and the self-same were converted into Christian Churches. Particularly, that dedicated to *Diana* in *London*, and another near it, formerly consecrated to *Apollo*, in the City now called *Westminster*. This was done, not out of Covetousness, to save Charges in founding new Fabricks, but out of Christian Thrift; conceiving this Imitation, an Invitation, to make Heathens come over more cheerfully to the Christian Faith; when beholding their Temples (whereof they had an high and holy opinion) not sacrilegiously demolished, but solemnly continued to a pious end, and rectified to the Service of the true God. But humane Policy seldom proves prosperous, when tampering with Divine Worship, especially when without, or against direction from Gods Word. This new Vine, put into old Vessels, did in after-Ages taste of the Caske; and in process of time, Christianity, keeping a correspondence, and some proportion with Paganisme, got a smack of heathen Ceremonies. Surely they had better have built new Nests for the Holy Dove, and not have lodged it where Screech-owles, and unclean Birds had formerly been harboured. If the High-Priest amongst the Jews was forbidden to marry a Widow, or divorced woman, but that he should take a Virgin of his own people to wife: How unseemly was it, that God himself should have the reversion of Profaneness assign'd to his Service, and his Worship wedded to the Relick, yea (what was worse) *Witchcraft* Shrines, formerly abused with Idolatry?

12. Some report, that at this time three thousand Philosophers of the University of *Cambridge* were converted, and baptized; that *K. Lucius* came thither, and bestowed many Privileges, and Immunities on the place; with much other improbable matter. For surely they do a real Wrong, under a pretended Countrey, to that famous Academy, to force a *Peruke* of false gray hair upon it, whose reverend Wrinkles already command respect of themselves. Yet *Cambridge* makes this use of these over-grown Charters of Pope *Eleutherius*, *K. Lucius*, *K. Arthur*, and the like, to fend them out in the Front, as the *Forlorn-hope*, when she is to encounter with *Oxford* in point of Antiquity; and if the credit of such old Monuments be cut off (as what else can be expected?) yet she still keeps her maine Battell firme and entire, consisting of stronger Authorities, which follow after. Nor doth *Cambridge* care much to cast away such doubtful Charters, provided her Sister likewise quit all Title to fabulous Antiquity (setting Droffe against Droffe) and waving Tales, true both the truth of their Age, by the Register of unquestioned Authours, if this Difference betwixt them be conceived to deserve the deciding.

13. Besides the Churches afore-mentioned, many others there were, whose building is ascribed to King *Lucius*: as namely,

1. *St. Peter's* in *Cornhill* in *London*; to which *Ciran*, a great Courtier, lent his helping hand. It is said, for many years after, to have been the Seat of an Arch-Bishoprick: one *Thean* first enjoyed that Dignity.
2. *Ecclesia prima sedis*, or, the chief Cathedral Church in *Glocester*.
3. A Church at *Vinchester*, consecrated by *Faganus* and *Dunianus*, whereof one *Devotus* was made Abbot.
4. A Church, and Colledge of Christian Philosophers at *Bangor*.
5. The Church dedicated to *St. Mary* in *Glastenbury*, repaired and raised out of the Ruines by *Faganus* and *Dunianus*, where they lived with twelve Associates.
6. A Chapel in honour of Christ in *Dover* Castle.
7. The Church of *St. Martin* in *Canterbury*; understand it thus, that Church which in after-Ages was new named, and converted to the honour of that Saint.

Of all these, that at *Vinchester* was *K. Lucius* his Darling, which he endowed with

Pagan Temples in *Britain* converted to Christian Churches.

a That the Pantheon, or Shrine of all Gods was come, was turned into the Church of All-Saints. b *Lev.* 21. 14.

The bounty of *K. Lucius* to *Cambridge*. c *Cajus* de *Antiq. Cantab.* p. 51. c *Hist. Cantab.* p. 22.

Several Churches founded by King *Lucius*. d *Tabula pro-*  
*pheta* *qua* *eluce-*  
*ret* *in* *illa* *ecclia* *cernitur*.

e *Piraeus* de *Britan. Scri-*  
*ptor*. num. 21.

f *Hohn* *L. e-*  
*land* *offert.*  
*Andarti*. fol. 7.

a Manuscript  
in Bibliotheca  
Cottoniana.

Two Lucius's  
confounded  
into one.  
b Velfer. Re-  
rum Augst.  
Vindelic. lib. 6.  
ad annum 179.

c Achilles  
Gallarius in  
Angulana ur-  
bis descriptione.  
d Munster de  
Germania, in  
the Description  
of the Lower  
Palatinate.

with large Revenues, giving it all the land twelve miles on every side of the City, fencing the Church about with a Church-yard, on which he bestowed Privileges of a Sanctuary, and building a Dormitory, and Refectory for the Monks there; if the little History of *Winchester* be to be believed, whose credit is very suspicious, because of the modern Language used therein. For as Country-Painters, when they are to draw some of the ancient Scripture-Patriarchs, use to make them with Bands, Cuffs, Hats, & Caps, *ala mode* to the Times wherein they themselves doe live: so it seemeth, the Authour of this History last cited (lacking learning to acquaint him with the Garbe, and Character of the Age of *K. Lucius*) doth pourtraict and describe the Bounty, and Church-buildings of that King, according to the Phrase, and Fashion of that model of Monckery in his own Age.

14. Some *Dutch* Writers report, that *K. Lucius* in his Old Age left his Kingdom, and went over into *France*, thence into *Germany*, as far as the *Alpes*; where he converted all *b Rhetia*, and the City of *Ausburg* in *Suevia*, by his Preaching, with the assistance of *Emerita* his Sister; it being no news in Gods Harvest, to see Women with their Sickles a reaping. It is confessed that Converting of Souls is a work worthy a King; *David's* and *Solomon's* preaching hath silenced all Objections to the contrary. It is also acknowledged, that Kings used to renounce the World, and betake themselves to such pious Employment; though this Custome, frequent in after-Ages, was not so early a riser, as to be up so near the Primitive Times. It is therefore well observed by a Learned *c* man, that *Lucius* the *German* Preacher was a different person from the *British* King, who never departed our Island, but died therein. I have read, how a woman in the *Lower Palatinate*, being bigg with T winns, had the fruit of her Wombe so strangely alter'd by a violent *d* Contusion casually befalling her, that she was deliver'd of one Monster with two Heads, which Nature had intended for two perfect Children. Thus the History of this Age being pregnant with a double *Lucius* at the same time, is by the carelessness of unadvised Authours so jumbled, and confounded together, that those which ought to have been parted, as distinct Persons, make up one monstrous one, without due proportion to Truth, yea, with the manifest prejudice thereof.



THE

Anno  
Dom.  
1387

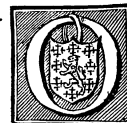
# THE THIRD CENTURY.

To M. Simeon Bonnell, Merchant.

It is proportionable to present a Century, short in Story,  
to One low in Stature, though deservedly high in the  
esteem of your Friend,

T. F.

201



F all Centuries this begins most sadly; at the entrance whereof we are accosted with the Funerals of King *Lucius*, (the brightest Sun must set:) buried, as they say, in *Glocester*. Different dates of his Death are assigned, but herein we have followed the *a* most judicious. Long after, the Monks of that Convent bestowed an *Epitaph* upon him, having in it nothing worthy of translating.

*Lucius b in tenebris prius idola qui coluisti,  
Es merito celebris ex quo Baptisma subisti.*

It seems the *puddle-Poe* did hope, that the jingling of this *Rhyme* would drown the sound of his false *Quantity*. Except any will say, that he affected to make the middle Syllable in *Idola* short, because in the days of King *Lucius* Idolatry was curb'd and contracted, whilst Christianity did dilate and extend it self.

2. But Christianity in *Britain* was not buried in the Grave of *Lucius*, but survived after his Death. Witness *Gildas*, whose words deserve to be made much of, as the clearest evidence of the constant continuing of Religion in this Island. *Chrif's Precepts* (saith *c* he) though they were received but late-warmly of the *Inhabitants*, yet they remained entirely with some, less sincerely with others, even until the nine years of Persecution under Diocletian. Whose expression concerning the entertaining of Christianity here, though spoken indefinitely of the *British* Inhabitants, yet we are so far from understanding it univ'ersally of all this Island, or generally of the most, or eminently of the principal parts thereof, that, if any list to contend, that the main of *Britain* was still *Pagan*, we will not oppose. A thing neither to be doubted of, nor wondered at, if the modern Complaints of many be true, that even in this Age, there are dark Corners in this Kingdom, where *Profaneness* lives quietly with invincible Ignorance. Yea, that the first Professours in Christianity were but late-warm in Religion, will (without Oath made for the truth thereof) be easily believed by such, who have felt the temper of the *English Laodiceans* now a days. However, it appears there were some honest Hearts, that still kept Christianity on foot in the Kingdom. So that since Religion first dwelt here, it never departed hence; like the Candle of the virtuous Wife, *d* it went not out by night: by the *Night* neither of Ignorance, nor of Security, nor of Persecution. The Island generally never was an Apostate, nor by Gods blessing, ever shall be.

3. To the Authority of *Gildas*, we will twist the Testimony of two *Fathers*, both flourishing in this Century, *Tertullian* and *Origen*; plainly proving Christianity in *Britain* in this Age; both of them being undoubtedly Orthodox,

without

The death,  
buriall, and  
Epitaph of  
King *Lucius*.

a *Annals* of  
Sarum,  
Paris.  
M. & Westm.  
with *London*  
tables and hist.  
of *Kent*, &c.  
b *John Beves*  
in his *Abbrevi-*  
at. of the  
Brit. Chron.

The *Chri-*  
tian faith  
from the first  
preaching  
thereof, ever  
continued in  
*Britain*.  
c *One precepta*  
[in *Britan-*  
nia] licet de  
incolis repitit  
insepia sunt,  
quod quosdam  
amen insepia,  
gratias minus,  
siq; ad perfec-  
tionem Dio-  
cletiani no-  
vacum pre-  
monere. Gil-  
das in *Epist. de*  
exilio Brit.

d Prov. 31. 18.

Two *Fathers*  
to be believ'd  
before two  
children.

a Britannorum inaccessibiles Romanis locis, Christiani vero subditi. Textull. adverb. Judeos, cap. 7. b Firmi Damiani Salvatoris cum his esset, qui ab oriente in Britannia dividuntur. Orig. in Luca c. 6. c Paradise Ang. de script. cap. 22. d Dempster in Apparatu. Hist. Scot. cap. 6.

The judgement of the Magdeburgenses in this point. d Centuriatoris, cap. 2. c. 10. l. 6.

Want of work no fault of the workman. c Exod. 22. 12.

Reason why so little left of this Age.

Conclusion of this Century.

(without mixture of *Montanist*, or *Millenary*) in historical matters. Hear the former. *There are places of the Britons, which were inaccessible to the Romans, but yet subdued to Christ. Origin* in like manner: *The power of God our Saviour is even with them which in Britain are divided from our world.* These ought to prevail in any rational belief, rather than the detracting reports of two modern men, *Paradine* and *Dempster*, who affirm that after *Lucius* death, the *British* Nation returned to their *Heathen Rites*, and remained Infidels for full five hundred years after. Which words, if casually falling from them, may be passed by with pardon; if ignorantly uttered (from such Pretenders to Learning) will be heard with wonder; if wilfully vented, must be taxed for a shameless and impudent Falshood. Had *Dempster* (the more positive of the two in this point) read as many Authors as he quoteth, and marked as much as he read, he must have confuted himself: yea, though he had obtrusively shut his Eyes, so clear a Truth would have shined through his Eye-lids. It will be no wild Justice, or furious Revenge, but Equity, to make themselves satisfaction, if the *Britons* declare *Dempster* devoid of the faith of an Historian, who endeavoured to deprive their Ancestours of the Christian Faith for many yeares together; his Pen, to besmear the North, doing many bad offices to the South part of this Island.

4. The *Magdeburgenses*, Compilers of the *General Ecclesiastical History*, not having lesse Learning, but more Ingenuity, speaking of the Churches through *Europe* in this Age, thus express themselves. „ Then follow the Isles of the „ Ocean, where we first meet with *Britain*; *Manasse & hac aetate ejus Insule Ecclesias, affirmare non dubitamus*; We doubt not to affirm, that the „ Churches of that Island did also remain in this Age. But as for the names of the Places, and Persons professing it, we craveto be excused from bringing in the Bill of our particulars.

5. By the Levitical Law, *„ If an Ox, Sheep, or Beast, were delivered to a man to keep, and it were stolen away from him, the keeper should make restitution to the owner thereof; but if it was torn in pieces, and he could bring the fragments thereof for witness, he was not bound to make it good.* Had former Historians delivered the entire memory of the passages of this Century to our custody, and charged us with them, the Reader might justly have blamed our Negligence, if for want of our Industry or Carefulness, they had miscarried: but seeing they were devoured by Age, in evidence whereof we produce these torn Revelations hardly rescued from the Teeth of Time, we presume no more can justly be exacted of us.

6. *Gildas* very modestly renders the reason, why so little is extant of the *British History*. *Scripta patrie, scriptorumve monumenta, si qua fuerint, aut igni, bus hostium exusta, aut Civium exulium classe longius deportata, non comparent.* The Monuments (saith he) of our Country, or Writers (if there were any) appear not, as either burnt by the fire of enemies, or transported far off by „ our banished countrymen.

7. This is all I have to say of this Century; and must now confess my self as unable to go on, so ashamed to break off; scarce having had, of a full Hundred Years, so many Words of solid History. But, as I find little, so I will feign nothing; time being better spent in Silence, than in Lying. Nor do I doubt but clean Stomachs will be better satisfied with one drop of the Milk of Truth, than foul Feeders (who must have their Bellies full) with a Trough of *FFassh*, mingled with the water of Fabulous Inventions. If any hereafter shall light on more History of these times, let them nor condemn my Negligence, whilest I shall admire their Happinesse.

Anno Dom. 201

T H E

# THE FOURTH CENTURY.

To Theophilus Bidulph of London, Esquire.

OF all Shires in England, Stafford-shire was (if not the soonest) the largest sown with the Seed of the Church, I mean, the blood of primitive Martyrs; as by this Century doth appear. I could not therefore dedicate the same to a fitter person then your self, whose Family hath flourished so long in that County, and whose Favours have been so great unto your thankfull Friend.

T. F.

303 I.



Ark and tempestuous was the Morning of this Century, which afterward cleared up to be a fair Day. It began with great Affliction to Gods Saints. The Spirit saith to the Church of *Smyrna*, *„ Ye shall have Tribulation ten dayes.* This is commonly understood of the Teneral Persecutions over all the Christian world. But herein Divine Mercy magnified it self towards this Island, that the last *Oecumenicall* was the first *Provinciall* Persecution in *Britain*. God, though he made our Church his Darling, would not make it a Wanton; she must taste of the Rod with the rest of her Sisters. The *Fiery Trial* spoken of by the Apostle, now found out even those which by water were divided from the rest of the World. This tenth Persecution as it was the last, so it was the greatest of all, because *Satan* the fiorester his Reign, the sharper his Rage; so that what his Fury lacks in the Length, it labours to gain in the Thickness thereof.

2. In this Persecution, the first *Briton* which to Heaven led the *Van* of the noble Army of Martyrs, was *Alban*, a wealthy Inhabitant of *Verulam*-*cestre*, and a Citizen of *Rome*; for so *Alexander* & *Neccham* reports him.

*Hic est Martyrii reses decoratus honore, Albanus, Civis, incolyta Roma, tuns.*

Here *Alban*, *Rome*, thy Citizen renou'nd, With rosy Grace of *Martyrdome* was crown'd.

None need stop, much lesse stumble at this seeming Contradiction, easily reconciled by him that hath read *St. Paul*, in one place proclaiming himself an *Hebrew* of the *Hebrews*, and elsewhere pleading himself to be a *Roman*; because born in *Tarsus* a City of *Cilicia* and *Roman Colony*; as *Verulam*-*cestre* was at this time enfranchised with many Immunities. Thus *Alban* was a *Briton* by Parentage, a *Roman* by Priviledge; naturally a *Briton*, naturalized a *Roman*; and, which was his greatest Honour, he was also Citizen of that spiritual *Jerusalem*, which is from above.

3. His Conversion happened on this manner. *Amphibalus*, a Christian Preacher of *Caer-lion* in *FFales*, was faine to fly from persecution into the Eastern parts of this Island; and was entertained by *Alban* in his house in *Verulam*. Soon did the Sparks of this Guests Zeal catch hold on his Host, and in-

First persecution in Britain under Diocletian. a Revel. 2. 10.

b 1 Pet. 1. 12.

Alban the British St. Stephen how a Citizen of Rome. c In his Pseum on Verulam.

d Philipp. 3. 3. e Acts 22. 23.

The manner of Alban's Conversion.

a Manti. 10. 41.

b Bedal. lib. 1. cap. 7.

The mirac-  
ulous Martyr-  
dom of Alban.  
c Underfand  
fo called after  
wards in the  
time of the Sa-  
xons.d Thames is  
wanting in the  
Monkish  
Gildas, in  
Cambridge Li-  
brary.A new Spring  
of Water at  
Alban's fun-  
mons ap-  
pears in the  
top of a Hill.Amphibalus.  
Difference a-  
bout his  
name.

inflamed him with love to the Christian Religion. Herein our Saviour made good his promise, *He that receiveth a Righteous man in the name of a Righteous man, shall receive a Righteous mans reward.* And the Shot of Amphibalus his Entertainment was plentifully discharged; in Alban's sodain and sincere Conversion. Nor long after a search being made for Amphibalus, Alban secretly and safely conveyed him away, & exchanging Cloaths with him, offered himself for his Guest to the Pagan Officers, who at that instant were a sacrificing to their Devil-Gods; where not onely Alban, being required, refused to sacrifice, bur also he reproved others for so doing, and thereupon was condemned to most cruell Torments. But he conquered their Cruelty with his Patience: and though they tortured their Brains to invent Tortures for him, he endured all with Chearfulness; till rather their Wearisome then Pity made them desist. And here we must bewaile, that we want the true Story of this mans Martyrdom, which impudent Monks have mixed with so many improbable Tales, that it is a Torture to adiscreet Eare to hear them. However, we will for them down as we find them, the rather, because we count it a thrifty way, first to glut the Readers belief with Poppish Miracles, that so he may loath to look or listen after them in the sequel of the History.

4. Alban being sentenced to be beheaded, much people flockt to the place of his Execution, which was on a Hill, called *Holm-hurff*, to which they were to go over a River, where the narrow Passage admitted of very few but a breast. Alban being to follow after all the Multitude, and perceiving it would be very late, before he could come to ad his Part, and counting every Delay half a Deniall, (who will blame one for longing to have a Crown?) by his Prayer obtained that the River, parting asunder, afforded free Passage for many together. The corrupted Copy of Gildas calls this River the *Thames*. But if the Miracle were as farre from Truth, as *Thames* from *Verulam* (being 16 Miles distant) it would be very hard to bring them both together. The fight hereof so wrought with him who was appointed to be his Executioner, that he utterly refused the Employment, desiring rather to Die with him, or for him, then to offer him any Violence. Yet soon was another substituted in his place: for some cruel *Doeg* will quickly be found to do that Office, which more Mercifull men decline.

5. Alban at the last being come to the Top of the Hill, was very dry, and desirous to drink. Wonder not that he being presently to cast of *Joies* for ever, should wish for fading Water. Sure he thirsted most for God's Glory, and did it only to catch hold of the handle of an occasion to work a Miracle, for the good of the Beholders. For presently by his Prayer, he summoned up a Spring, to come forth on the top of the Hill, to the amazement of all that saw it. Yet it moistened not his Executioners Heart with any Pity, who notwithstanding struck off the Head of this worthy Saint, and instantly his own Eyes fell out of his Head, so that he could not see the Vilany which he had done. Presently after, the former Convert-Executioner, who refused to put Alban to death, was put to death himself, baptized no doubt, though not with Water, in his own Blood. The Body of Alban was afterwards plainly buried: that Age knowing no other *Saints Dust*, then to commit it to the Dust, Earth to Earth, not acquainted with Adoration, and Circumgellation of Reliques; as ignorant of the Manner, how, as the Reason, why, to do it. But some hundred yeares after, King Offa disturb'd the sleeping Corps of this Saint removing them to a more stately, though lesse quiet Bed, enshrining them, as (God willing) shall be related hereafter.

6. Immediately followed the Martyrdom of Amphibalus. Alban's Guest, and Ghostly Father, though the Story of his Death be incumberd with much Obscurity. For first there is a Quere in his very Name: why called Amphibalus? and how came this compounded Greek word to wander into Waters? except any will say, That this mans British Name was by Authours in after Ages

Anno  
Dom.  
303May  
23  
Al-  
ban  
June  
22

16

fo

Anno  
Dom.  
303

fo translated into Greek. Besides, the Name speaks rather the Veltment then the Wearer, signifying a Cloak wrapt or cast about, (*Samuel* was mark'd by such a Mantle,) and it may be he got his name hence; as *Robert Curt-hofe*, Sonneto to *William the Conquerour*, had his Surname from going in such a Garment. And it is worth our observing, that this good man passeth nameles in all Authours, till about 400 yeares since; when *Jeffery Monmouth* was his God-father, and first calls him *Amphibalus*, for reasons concealed from us, and best known to himself.

7. But it matters not for Words, if the Matter were true, being thus reported. A thousand Inhabitants of *Verulam* went into Wales, to be further informed in the Faith, by the Preaching of *Amphibalus*; who were pursued by a Pagan Army of their fellow-Citizens, by whom they were overtaken, overcome, and murdered: save that one man only, (like *Iob's Messenger*) who escaped of them to report the Loss of the rest. And although everything unlikely is not untrue, it was a huge Drag-net, and cunningly cast, that killed all the Fish in the River. Now these *Pagan Verulamians* brought *Amphibalus* back again; and being within ken of their City, in the Village called *Redburn*, three Miles from *Verulam*, they cruelly put him to death. For making an Incision in his Belly, they took out his Guts, and tying them to a Stake, whipt him round about it. All which he endured, as free from Impatience as his Persecutors from Com-  
passion. Thus died *Amphibalus*; and a Writer born and named from that Place reported, that in his dayes the two Knives which stabbed him were kept in the Church of *Redburn*. The heat and resplendent lustre of this Saints Suffering wrought as the Sun-beams, according to the Capacity of the matter it met with, in the Beholders, melting the Waxen Minds of some into *Christi-  
anity*, and obdurate the Hard Hearts of others with more madnesse against Religion.

7. Tradition reports, that the Snake he was tied to afterwards turned to a Tree, exant at this very day, and admired of many, as a great Piece of Wonder; though, (as most things of this nature) more in Report then Reality. That it hath *Green Leaves* in Winter mine Eyes can witness false; and as for its standing at a stay time out of mind, neither impaired, nor improved in Bignesse (which some count so strange) be it reported to Wood-men & Foresters, whether it be not ordinarie. I think the wood of the Tree is as miraculous, as the Water of the Well adjoining is medicinall; which fond people fetch so farre, and yet a credulous Drinker may make a Cordiall Drink thereof.

8. At the time of *Amphibalus* his Martyrdom, another 4 Thousand of the *Verulam Citizens*, being converted to Christ, were by command of the Judges all killed in the same Place. A strange Execution, if true, seeing *John Rolfe* of *Warwick* layes the Scene of this Tragedy farre off, and at another time, with many other Circumstances inconsistent with this Relation; Telling us how at *Litchfield* in *Staffordshire* this great multitude of People were long before slain by the Pagans, as they attended to the Preaching of *Amphibalus*. This relation is favoured by the name of *Litchfield*, which in the British tongue signifies a *Golgotha*, or place bedtredd with skulls: In allusion whereto that Cities Armes are a Field surcharged with Dead Bodies. He needs almost a miracu-  
lous Faith, to be able to remove Mountains, yea to make the Sunne stand still, and sometimes to go back, who will undertake to accord the Contradictions in Time and Place, between the severall Relatours of this History.

9. The Records of *Vinchester* make mention of a great Massacre, wherby at this time all their Monks were slain in their Church; whilist the *Chronicle of VVesminster* challengeth the same to be done in their Convent: and the History of Cambridge ascribeth it to the Christian Students of that University, killed by their British Persecutors. Whether this hapned in any or all of these Places, I will not determine: For he tells a Lye, though he tells a Truth, that perem-  
ptorily affirms that which he knows is but Uncertain. Mean time we see,

C 2 that

a Usher de  
Brit. Eccl. Fri  
mord. p. 159.  
The cruel  
manner of  
his Martyr-  
dome.b Thomas  
Redburn, who  
wrote 1430.Vain Fan-  
cies con-  
cerning the  
Snake of  
Amphibalus.  
c *Tristram*, Anno  
1643.The Martyr-  
dom of ano-  
ther thou-  
sand Britons  
variously re-  
ported.d Usher de  
Brit. Eccl.  
primord. p. 160.e In his Book  
of the Bishops  
of Worcester.Severall Pla-  
ces pretend  
to, and con-  
tend for the  
same Martyr-  
dome.

He dieth at

13. At York this *Constantius Chloerus* did die, and was buried. And therefore *Flori-*

305

1. *Object.* The *Panegyrist* speaking how *Britain first saw Constantine Caesar*,  
refers not to his ordinary Life, but Imperial Lustre: *Britain* be-  
held him not first a *Child*, but first saw him *Caesar*; not fetching  
thence

f In Anti-  
bride sua.  
g See his Tetra-  
stichon in Bi-  
shop Usher's  
Brit. Ecclef.  
primord. pag.  
76.  
Answers to  
the objec-  
tions of the  
contrary  
Party.  
h Joannes  
Livincius no-  
in Panegy.



a Not. in Ad-  
miranda.  
lib. 4. cap. 11.

thence his natural being, but honourable Birth, first saluted *Caesar* in Britain.

*Ans.* Even *Lipſius* (Britain's greatest Enemy in this point) confesseth, that though *Constantine* was first elected *Emperour* in Britain, yet he was first pronounced *Caesar* in France, in the life and health of his Father; (*Caesar* was a Title given to the *Heir-apparent* to the Empire;) and therefore the words in the *Panegyric*, in their native Construction, relate to his natural Birth.

3. *Object.* *Constantine Porphyrogenetes* the *Grecian Emperour*, about 700 yeares since, in his Book of Government which he wrote to his Son, confesseth *Constantine* the Great to have been a *FRANK* by his Birth, whence learned *Mewſius* collecteth him a *French-man* by his extraction.

*Ans.* It is notoriously known to all Learned men, that the *Greeks* in that middle-Age, (as the *Turks* at this very day) called all *Western Europeans*, *FRANKS*. Wherefore as he that calleth such a Fruit of the Earth *Grain* (a general name) denyeth not but it may be *Wheat*, a proper kind thereof; so the terming *Constantine* a *Frank*, doth not exclude him from being a *Britan*, yea strongly implieth the same, seeing no *Western Country* in *Europe* ever pretended unto his Birth.

3. *Object.* *Bede*, a grave and faithfull *Author*, makes no mention of *Constantine* born in Britain, who (as *Lipſius* marketh) would not have omitted a matter so much to the honour of his own Nation.

b In his Epistle  
to Mr. Cam-  
den. Non Be-  
daile antiquis  
scriptis? an  
gloria gentis  
sua non jactet?

*Ans.* By the leave of *Lipſius*, *Constantine* and *Bede*, though of the same Country, were of several Nations. *Bede* being a *Saxon*, was little zealous to advance the *British* Honour: The History of which Church he rather toucheth then handleth, using it only as a Porch, to passe through it to the *Saxon* History. And *Saxons* in general had little Skill to seek, and lesse Will to find out any Worthy thing in *British* Antiquities, because of the known Antipathy betwixt them.

c In lib. 1. de  
edificiis Iusti-  
tiani.

4. *Object.* *Procopius* maketh *Drepanum*, a haven in *Bithynia* (so called because there the Sea runnes crooked in forme of a *Siecle*) to be the place where *Constantine* had his *repose*, or first Nursing, very near to his Birth; & *Nicephorus Gregoras* makes him born in the same Country.

*Ans.* The former speaks not positively, but faith [*Quoniam*] *men say so*, reporting a Popular Error. The latter is a late *Writer*, living under *Andronicus junior* Anno 1340, & therefore not to be believed before others more ancient.

5. *Object.* But *Julius Firmicus*, contemporary with *Constantine* himself, an *Author* above Exception, maketh this *Constantine* to be born at *Nafus*, (in printed *Critick* hath proved the Printed Copies of *Firmicus* to be corrupted, and justifieth it out of approved Manuscripts, that not *Constantine* the Great the Father, but *Constantine* the younger his Sonne was intended by *Firmicus* born in that Place:

d Camden in  
his letter to Li-  
pſius, printed  
in Usher de  
Prim. Eccl.  
Brit. p. 138.

*Ans.* An excellent *Critick* hath proved the Printed Copies of *Firmicus* to be corrupted, and justifieth it out of approved Manuscripts, that not *Constantine* the Great the Father, but *Constantine* the younger his Sonne was intended by *Firmicus* born in that Place:

e Misc. 5. 2.

Thus we hope we have cleared the Point with ingenuous Readers, in such measure as is consistent with the Brevity of our History. So that of this *Constantine* (a kind of outward *Saviour* in the World, to deliver People from Perfection) we may say, with some allusion to the words of the *Prophet* (but with a humble Reservation of the infinite Distance betwixt the Persons) AND THOU BRITAIN ART NOT THE MEANEST AMONGST THE KINGDOMS OF EUROPE, FOR OUT OF THEE DID COME A GODVOUR, WHICH DID RULE THE ISRAEL OF GOD, GL.

Anno

Dom.

307

Anno  
Dom.  
307

## GIVING DELIVERANCE AND PEACE TO THE SAINTS.

17. Now see what a *Pinch* *Verſegus* (whose teeth are sharpened by the difference of Religion) gives Mr. Fox: 'What is it other then an Absurdity, for an English *Author* to begin his Epistle (to an huge Volume) with *Constantine* the great and mighty Emperour, the Sonne of Hellen, an ENGLISH Woman, &c. Whereas (saith he) in truth S<sup>r</sup>. Hellen, the Mother of *Constantine*, was no English, but a British Woman. And yet Fox his words are capable of a candid Construction, if by English Woman we understand (by a favourable Prolepsis,) one born in that Part of Britain, which since hath been inhabited by the English. Sure in the same Dialect S<sup>r</sup>. Alban hath often been called the first Martyr of the English, by many Writers of good esteem. Yea the *Breviary* of *Sarum*, allowed and confirmed no doubt by the Infalible Church of Rome, greets S<sup>r</sup>. Alban with this Salute;

Ave, Proto-martyr Anglorum,  
Miles Regis Anglorum,  
O Albane, flos Martyrum.

Sure Hellen was as properly an English Woman, as Alban an English Man, being both British in the Rigid Letter of History; and yet may be interpreted English in the Equity thereof. Thus it is vain for any to write Books, if their words be not taken in a courteous Latitude; and if the Reader meets not his *Author* with a Pardon of course for venial Mistakes, especially when his Pen slides in so slippery a Passage.

18. And now having asserted *Constantine* a Britan, we are engaged afresh in anew Controversy, betwixt three Cities; with equal Zeal and Probability, challenging *Constantine* to be theirs by Birth, London, York, and Colebeſter. We dare define nothing; not so much out of fear to displease (though he that shall gain one of these Cities his Friend, shall make the other two his Foes by his Verdict;) but chiefly because little Certainty can be pronounced in a matter so long since, and little evident. Let me refresh my self and the Reader, with relating and applying a pleasant Story. Once at the Burial of S<sup>r</sup>. Teliaw second Bishop of *Laudaſſe*, three Places did strive to have the Interring of his Body; *Pen-allum*, where his Ancestours were buried, *Laufolow-vaur*, where he died, and *Landaſſe*, his Episcopall See. Now after Prayer to God to appease this Contention, in the place where they had left him, there appeared suddenly three Hearſes, with three Bodies so like, as no man could discern the right; and so every one taking one, they were all well pleased. If by the like Miracle, as there three Corpes of Teliaw encoffined, so here three Child-*Constantines* encradled might be represented, the Controversie betwixt these three Cities were easily arbitrated, and all Parties fairly satisfied. But seriously to the matter. That which gave Occasion to the Varieties of their Claims to *Constantine's* Birth, may probably be this, that he was Born in one place, Nursed in another, and perchance, being young, Bred in a third. Thus we see our *Saviour*, though born in *Bethlehem*, yet was accounted a *Nazareite*, of the City of *Nazareth*, where he was brought up; and this general Error took so deep impression in the People, it could not be removed out of the Minds and Mouths of the Vulgar.

312

19. *Constantine* being now peaceably seated in the Imperial Throne, there followed a sudden and general Alteration in the World; Persecutors turning Patrons of Religion. O the Efficacy of a Godly Emperours Example, which did draw many to a conscientious love of Christianity, and did drive more to a civil conformity thenceunto! The Gospel, formerly a Foreſter, now became a Citizen; and leaving the Woods, wherem it wandered, Hils and Holcs, where it hid it self before, dwelt quietly in Populous Places. The ruins of ruined Churches lately destroyed by *Diocletian*, grew up into beautiful Buildings, Oratories were furnished with pious Ministers, and they provided of plentiful Maintenance, through the Liberality of *Constantine*. And if it be true, what

Mr. Fox de-  
fended a-  
gainst the  
Cavils of  
*Verſegus*.  
s In his Epistle  
to the Nation.  
b He mentions  
his Books of  
Acts and Mo-  
numents.

c In officio  
sancti Albani.

Three Cities  
contend for  
*Constantine*  
bodies in them.  
d William  
Fitzstephens  
in the descrip-  
tion of Lon-  
don.  
e *Oratorius* Re-  
gis Anglie  
Concil. Con-  
ſtant.  
f Camden's  
Brit. in Essex.

g Godwin in  
the Bishopric  
of *Landaſſe*.

Peace and  
prosperity re-  
stored to the  
Church by  
*Constantine*.



illu's  
in the  
pion of  
te.

Maximus  
bain, in his  
march to-  
wards Italy.

b In Oratione  
Festini de  
extima Theo-  
doli.  
c Sulpicius  
Severus Dia-  
logo secundo  
cap. 7.

Frequent  
Pilgrimages  
of the Bri-  
tains to Jeru-  
salem, whilst  
S. Kely lived  
quietly in An-  
glesey.  
d Hierony-  
mus To I. Ep.  
17. e Palladi-  
us Galata.  
Hist. Lowlat.  
cap. 119.

that these *French Britains* were so ambitious to preserve their native Language, that marrying *French Women*, they cut out their Wives' Tongues, for fear they should infect their Childrens Speech, with a Mixture of *French Words*. Here the *Britains* lived, and though they had pawned their former Wives and Children at home, they had neither the Honesty nor Affection to return thither to redeem the Pledges left behind them. Strange, that they should so soon forget their Native Soil! But as the Load-stone, when it is rubb'd over with the Juice of Onions, forgetteth it's Property to draw Iron any longer; so though we allow an attractive Vertue in ones own Country, yet it looeth that alluring Quality, when the said place of ones Birth is steeped in a Sad & Sorrowful Condition, as the State of *Britain* stood at this present. And therefore these Travellers having found a new Habitation nearer the Sunne, and further from Suffering, there quietly setup their Relt.

24. But not long after, *Maximus* marching towards *Italy*, was overcome and killed at *Aquilegia*. A Prince not unworthy of his Great Name, had been lifted up to the Throne by a regular Election, and not offered up to the flame in a tumultuous manner. This makes *S. Ambrose*, *Gildas*, and other Authors violently to inveigh against his Memory, notwithstanding his many most honourable Achievements. This Difference we may observe betwixt Bastards and Usurpers: the former, if proving eminent, are much bemoaned, because merely Passive in the Blemish of their Birth; whilst Usurpers, though be- having themselves never so gallantly, never gain general good will, because actually evil in their Original; as it fared with *Maximus*, who by good Using, could never make Reparation for his bad Getting of the Empire. Surely *Britains* had cause to curse him, for draining it of her Men and Munition, so leaving it a Trunk of a Commonwealth, without Head or Hands. Wisdom or Valour, effectually to advie or execute any thing in it's own Defence; all whose Strength consisted in Multitudes of People, where Number was not so great a Benefit, as Disorder was a Burden: which encouraged the *Picts*, (the Truce expired) to harraße all the Land with Fire and Sword. The larger Prosecution wherof we leave to the Chronicles of the States, onely touching it here by way of Excuse, for the Briefness and Barrenness of our Ecclesiastical History; the Sadness of the Commonwealth being a just Plea for the Silence of the Church.

25. We conclude this Century, when we have told the Reader, that about this time the Fathers tell us, how Pilgrimages of the *Britains* began to be frequent as farre as *Jerusalem*, there not onely to Visie Christs Sepulchre, but also to behold *Simon Stylites* a pious man, and *Melania* a devout Woman, both residing in *Syria*, and at this time eminent for Sanctity. Perchance Discontentment mingled with Devotion moved the *Britains* to so long a Journey, conceiving themselves, because of their present Troubles at home, more safe any where else then in their own Country. As for those *Britains*, who in this Age were zealous Asserters of the Purity of Religion against the Poison of *Arrianisme*, amongst them we find *S. Kely* a principal Champaign. Son to *Salomon Duke of Cornwall*, Scholar to *S. Hilary Bishop of Poitiers in France*, with whom he lived 50 yeares, and by whom being made Bishop, he returned first to *S. Davids*, afterwards into *Ireland*, and at last fixed himself in the Isle of *Anglesey*. So pious a man, that he might seem to have communicated Sanctity to the Place, being a Promontory into the Sea called from him *Holy-head*, (but in Welsh *Cae-gubry*) as in the same Island, the memory of his Master is preserved in *Hillary point*: where both shall be remembered, as long as there be either Waves to assault the Shore, or Rocks to resist them.

Anno  
Dom.  
383

388

390

T H E

# THE FIFTH CENTURY.

To Thomas Bide of London Esquire.

Amongst your many good Qualities, I have particularly observed your judicious Delight in the Mathematicks. Seeing therefore this Century hath so much of the Surveyor therein, being employed in the exact Dividing of the English Shires betwixt the seven Saxon Kingdomes, the Proportions herein are by me submitted to your Censure and Approbation.

401



Now the *Arrian* Hereby, by Gods Providence and good mens Diligence, was in some measure suppressed, when the unwearied Malice of Satan (who never leaveth off, though often changeth his wayes, to seduce Souls) brought in a worfe (because more plausible) Herefy of *Pelagianisme*. For every man is born a *Pelagian*, naturally proud of his Power, and needeth little Art to teach him to think well of himself. This *Pelagus* was a *Britan* by Birth, (as we take no delight to confesse it, so wee'll tell no Lye, to deny it) as some say called *Morgan*, that is in Welsh, *near the Sea*, (and well had it been for the Christian world, if he had been nearer the Sea, and served therein as the *Egyptians* served the *Hebrew Males*) being to the same sense called in Latine *Pelagus*. Let no Foreiner insult on the infelicity of our Land in bearing this Monster: But consider, first, if his excellent natural Parts, and eminent acquired Learning might be separated from his dangerous Doctrine, no Nation need be ashamed to acknowledge him. Secondly, *Britain* did but breed *Pelagus*, *Pelagus* himself bred his Herefy, and in foreign Parts whete he travelled, *France*, *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Rome* it self, if not first invented, much improved his pestilent Opinions. Lastly, as our Island is to be pittied for breeding the Person, so he is to be praised for opposing the Errours of *Pelagus*. Thus the best Father cannot forbid the worst Sonne from being his Child, but may debarre him from being his Heire, affording no favour to countenance his Badnesse.

2. It is memorable what one relates, that the same day whereon *Pelagus* was born in *Britain*, *S. Augustine* was also born in *Affrick*: Divine Providence so disposing it, that the *Poison* and the *Antidote* should be Twins in a manner, in respect of the same time. To passe from the Birth, to the Breeding of *Pelagus*, *John Cajus*, who observes eight solemn Destructions of *Cambridge* before the *Conquest*, imputeth that which was the third; in order, to *Pelagus*, who being a Student there, and having his Doctrine opposed by the Orthodox *Divines*, cruelly caused the overthrow and defolation of all the University. But we hope it will be accounted no point of *Pelagianisme*, for us, thus farre to improve our *Free-Will*, as to refuse to give Credit hereunto, till better Authority be produced. And yet this founds much to the Commendation of *Cambridge*, that, like a pure *Crysal-Glass*, it would preferre rather to flie a pieces, and be dissolved, then to endure *Poison* put into it; according to the

D 2

Cha.

Pelagus a  
Britan by  
birth.

a Jacobus  
Ulricus, de  
Brit. Ecc.  
Prim. p. 297.  
c. 2. Dicitur  
Hen. Spel-  
man in Con-  
tinent. pag. 46.

Pelagus no  
Doctor of  
Cambridge, but  
a Monk of  
Bathor.  
b Venerabilis  
Hist. Scul. 1. 15.  
num. 1012.  
c Hist. Camb.  
Acad. lib. 1.  
pag. 28.

a In his Form  
of Cambridge.

Character, which John<sup>a</sup> Lidgate (a *VV*it of those Times) gave of this Unitarity:

*Cambrege of Heresy we're bore the blame.*

More true it is that *Pelagius* was bred in the *Monastery of Banchor* (in that part of *flintshire*, which, at this day, is a *separatist* from thence) where he lived with two thousand *Monks*, industrious in their Callings, whose Hands were the only Benefactors for their Bellies, Abbey-labourers, not Abbey-lubbers like their Successors in after-Ages, who living in Laziness, abused the Bounty of their Patrons to Riot and Excess.

3. Infinite are the Deductions, and derived Consequences of *Pelagius* his Errors.

These are the maine.

1. That a man might be saved without Gods Grace, by his own Merits and Free-will.
2. That Infants were born without Original Sinne, and were as innocent as *Adam*, before his Fall.
3. That they were Baptized nor to be freed from Sin, but thereby to be adopted into the Kingdome of God.
4. That *Adam* died nor by reason of his Sinne, but by the condition of Nature; and that he should have died albeit he had not sinned.

Here to recount the learned Works of *Fathers* written, their pious Sermons preach't, passionate *Epistles* sent, private Conferences entertained, publick *Disputations* held, Provincial *Synods* summoned, General Councils called, wholesome *Canons* made to confute and condemn these Opinions, under the name of *Pelagius*, or his Scholar *Celestius*, would amount to a Volume fitter for a Porters back to beare, than a Scholars Brains to peruse. I decline the Employment, both as over-painfull, and nothing proper to our Business in hand, (fearing to cut my Fingers, if I put my *Sickle* into other mens Corns;) these things being transacted beyond the Seas, and not belonging to the *British* History. The rather, because it cannot be proved that *Pelagius* in person ever dispersed his Poison in this Island, but ranging abroad, (perchance because this False Prophet counted himself *without honour in his own Country*) had his Emiffaries here, and principally *b Agricola*, the Sonne of *Severian* a Bishop.

4. It is incredible, how speedily and generally the Infection spread by his preaching, advantaged, no doubt, by the Ignorance and Laziness of the *British* Bishops, in those dayes, none of the deepest *Divines*, or most learned *Clerks*, as having little care, and lesse comfort to study, living in a distracted State: and those that feel practical *Disorders*, will have little joy to buy themselves with controversial *Divinity*. However, herein their Discretion is to be commended, that finding their own Forces too feeble to encounter to great a Foe, they craved the Assistance of Forreiners out of France, and sent for *Germanus*, Bishop of *Auxerre*, and *Lupus*, Bishop of *Troyes*: nor being off their envious and proud Disposition, who had rather suffer a Good Cause to fall, then to borrow Supporters to hold it up, left thereby they disgrace themselves, confessing their own Insufficiency, and preferring the Ability of others. The two Bishops cheerfully embraced the length of the Way, danger of the Sea, and badness of the Winter; seeing all Weather is fair to a willing mind, and Opportunity to doe good is the greatest Preference which a humble heart doth desire. This *Lupus* was Brother to *Vincentius* <sup>a</sup> *Livernensis*, <sup>a</sup> Husband to *Rimicola*, the Sister of *Etily*, Arch-Bishop of *Arles*; one of such Learning and Sanctity, that a grave *Author* of those times stileth him a Father of *Fathers*; and Bishop of Bishops, yea another *James* of that Age. And yet in this Employment he was but a Second to GERMANE the Principal; and both of them, like PAUL and BARNABAS, jointly advanced the Designe.

Anno  
Dom.  
401

s. Co.

The principal Errors of  
*Pelagius*.

b Bede lib. 1.  
cap. 17.

French Bishops sent  
for to suppress  
*Pelagianism* in  
Britain.

c Eucherius  
in libro de  
laude Ermi-  
di Hilarii.  
d Ushe de  
Brit. Eccl.  
Primord.  
pag. 125.  
e Sidorius  
lib. 6. Epist.

5. Coming into Britain, with their constant Labours they confirmed the Orthodox, and reclaimed the Erroneous, preaching openly in Fields and a Highway. As the Kings Presence makes a Court, so their did a Church, of any Place; their Congregation being bounded with no other Walls, then the Preacher's voice, and extending as farre as he could intelligibly be heard. As for their formal Disputation with the *Pelagian* Doctors, take it from the Pen of Bede, and Mouth of Stapleton translating him.

6. The Authors and head Professours of hereticall Error, lay lurking all this while, and like the wicked Sprites, much frightened to see the People daily to fall from them. At length after long advisement used, they taketh upon them to try the matter by open Disputation, which being agreed upon, they come forth richly appointed, gorgeously apparelled, accompanied with a number of flattering favours, having a letter to commit their Cause to open disputing, then to seem to the people, whom they had subverted, to have nothing to say in the defence thereof. Thether resorted a great Multitude of people, with their Wives and Children. The People was present both to see, and judge the matter: the Parties there were farre unlike of Condition. In the one side was the Faith, on the other was Presumption; on the one side Meekness, on the other Pride, on the one side *Pelagius*, on the other Christ. First of all the blessed Priest Germanus and Lupus gave their Adversaries leave to speak, which vainly occupied both the time and eares of the People with naked words. But after the Reverend Bishops poured out their flowing words, confirmed with Scriptures out of the Gospels and Apostles, they joynd with their own words, the words of God, and after they had said their own mind, they read other men's mind upon the same. Thus the Vanitie of Hereticks is convicted, and Falshehood is confuted, so that at every Objection they were forced in effect to confesse their Error, not being able to Answer them. The People had much to do to keep their hands from them, yet shewed their Judgement by their Clamours.

7. A Conference every way admirable. First, In the Opponents, who came forth gallantly, as ante-dating the Conquest, and bringing the Spoils of their Victory with them. But gay Cloaths are no Armour for a Combate. Secondly, In the Defenders of the Truth, appealing to no unwritten Traditions, but to the Scriptures of the Gospels and Apostles: because the point of Grace controverted, appeared most plainly in the New Testament. Thirdly, In the Auditors, or, as they are called, the Judges, Men, Women, and Children. Wonder not at this Feminine Auditory, seeing they were as capable of the Antidote as of the Poison: and no doubt the *Pelagians* had formerly (as other Hereticks) crept into houses to seduce silly Women: and therefore now the Plaster must be as broad as the Sore. As for Children, we know who it was that said, *Suffer little Children to come unto me, and forbid them not*, &c. But here, though called Children in Relation to their Parents, they might be in good Age and capacity of Understanding, or if they were little ones indeed, flocking out of fashion in a generall Concourse, to see if men speak Divine Mysteries, they could not hereafter, when grown old, date their Remembrance from a more remarkable Epocha. See we here that in these times, the Laity were so well acquainted with Gods Word, that they could competently judge, what was or was not spoken in Proportion therunto. Lastly and chiefly, In the Success of this Conference. For though generally such publick Disputations do make more Noise then take Effect, (because the obstinate maintainers of Error come with their Tongues tip with Clamorousness, as their Proflyte Auditors do with Eares flopt with Prejudice,) yet this meeting, by Gods Blessing, was marvellously powerful to establish and convert the People. But here a main Difficulty is by Authors left wholly untouched, namely in what Language this Conference was enter-

Germanus and  
Lupus come  
over and  
preach in  
Britain.  
a Per virum,  
per rura, per  
devia.

Their dispu-  
tation with  
the *Pelagians*,  
Doctors.

b Not pre-  
ferring to alter  
any of Sta-  
pleton's  
words, albeit  
with all the  
Printers faults,  
done probably  
by an un-  
dubbed Priest.

Many re-  
markables  
in this Dis-  
putation.

c 2 Tim. 3.6.

In Latin, not  
Latin, but Li-  
ber.  
d Mat. 19. 14.

entertained, and managed, that *Germanus* and *Lupus*, two French Bishops, and *Forciners*, could both speak with Fluenteſſe, and be understood with Facility. Perchance the ancient *Gaules* in France, whence these Bishops came, spake still (as they did anciently) one and the self-same Tongue with the *Britans*, differing rather in *Dialect* then Language: or, which is more probable, both France and Britain, remaining as yet Roman Provinces, spake a counte, vulgar *Latine*, though invaded with a Mixture of many Bafe words, as Britain especially, now or near this time, was infected with forcin *Barbarous Nations*.

S. Alban the Place of the Confer-nce, a Stor. Hist. lib. 8.

8. This Conference was held at *St. Alban*, even where at this day a small Chappell is extant, to the honour of *St. Germane*: though *Hector Boethius* assigns *London* the Place, adding moreover, that such obdurate *Pelagians* as would not be reclaimed, were, for their Contumacy, burnt by the Kings Officers. But it will be hard to find any Spark of Fire in Britain, or elsewhere, employed on *Heretics* in this Age. We may observe that the afore-said *Hector Boethius*, and *Polydore Virgil* (writing the Chronicles, the one of Scotland, the other of England, at the same time,) as they beare the Poetical Names of two Sons of *Prattus*, so they take to themselves much liberty of Fancy and Fiction in their severall Histories.

Germanus marcheth against the Pagan Picts and Saxons.

9. Not long after, the Aid of *Germanus* and *Lupus* was implored, and employed an hundred miles off in another service, against the *Pagan Picts* and *Saxons*. Here we meet with the first mention of *Saxons*, being some straggling *Voluntiers* of that Nation, coming over to pillage here of their own accord, not many yeares before they were solemnly invited hither under *Horsus* and *Hengistus*, their Generalls. *Germanus*, after the Lent we spent, in the fasting of their Bodies, and Feasting of their Souls (for the people had daily Sermons,) and the solemnity of *Easter Festival* duly celebrated, wherein he Chriſtened Multitudes of *Pagan Converts*, in the River *Alen*, marched with an Army of them, whilst their Baptismal water was scarce wip'd from their Bodies, against the aforeſaid Enemies, whom he found in the North-East of *Wales*. Here the Pious Bishop turning Politick Engineer, chose a place of Advantage, being a hollow Dale, surrounded with Hills, near the Village, called at this day by the *English* *Weth*, by the *British* *Conner*, in *Flintshire*, where the Field at this day retains the name of *Spas Sarmen*, or *Germanus Field*; the more remarkable, because it hath escaped (as few of this Note and Nature) the exact Observation of *Maſter Camden*.

A Victory gotten not by shooting, but shouting

10. Here *Germanus* placed his men in Ambush, with Instructions, that at a Signall given, they should all shout *Hallelujah* three times with all their might; which was done accordingly. The *Pagans* were surprized with the Suddenneſſe and Loudneſſe of such a Sound, much multiplied by the advantage of the *Echo*, whereby their Fear brought in a false List of their Enemies Number, and rather trusting their Eares then their Eyes, they reckoned their Foes by the increaſe of the Noife rebounded unto them; and then allowing two Hands for every Mouth, how vast was their Army! But besides the Concavity of the Vallies improving the Sound, God sent a Hallowneſſe into the Hearts of the *Pagans*: so that their Apprehensions added to their Eares, and Cowardice often rewarded the same Shout in their Breasts, till beaten with the Reverberation thereof, without striking a Stroke, they confuſedly ran away; and many were drowned for speed, in the River *Alen*, lately the *Christians Font*, now the *Pagans Grave*. Thus a bloudieſſe Victory was gotten, without Sword drawn, consisting of no Fight, but a Fright and a Flight; and that *Hallelujah*, the Song of the *Saints* after Conquest achieved, was here the Fore-runner, and Procurer of Victory. So good a Grace, it is to be said both before and after a Battell. *Gregory* the Great (a grave Author) in his Comment upon *Iob*, makes mention of this

c. Chap. 16. verſ. 29, 30.

Anno Dom. 429

Victory,

Anno Dom. 430

Victory, occasioned on those words, Can any understand the noise of his Taboracle:

11. *Germanus* now twice a Conquerour, of *Pelagians* and *Pagans*, prepares for his Return, after first he had caused the Tombs of *St. Alban* to be opened, and therein deposited the Reliques of many *Saints*, which he brought over with him, conceiving it fit (as he said) that their Corpses should sleep in the same Grave, whose Souls rested in the same Heaven. In lieu of what he left behind him, (Exchange is no Robbery,) he carried along with him some of *St. Alban's* Dust, wherein Spots of the Martyr's Blood were as fair and fresh, as if shed but yesterday. But what most concerns *St. Alban's* Monks to stickle in, some report *German* to have carried the Body of *Alban* to Rome: whence some hundred yeares after, the Emperreſſe to *Orso* the second brought it to *Colen*, where, at this day, they maintain his uncorrupted Body to be enshrined: The Monks of *Ely*, in *Cambridge-shire*, pretending to the same; as also do those of *Ottinon*, or *Oſſell*, in *Denmark*. Thus, as *Atteus Siffectus* the Roman was drawn alive by *Horses* four ways: like Violence is offered to the Dead Body of *Alban*, pluck'd to four severall places by importunate Competitors; only with this Difference, that the Former was mangled into Quarters, whereas here each place pretends to have him whole and intire, not abating one Hair of his Beard. Nor know I how to reconcile them, except any of them dare say, though without shew of Probability, that as the River in *Paradise* went out of *Eden*, from whence it was parted and became into four Heads, *Alban* in like manner, when dead, had the same Quality, of one to be multiplied into four Bodies.

12. Now after *Germanus* and *Lupus* were returned home into their native Country, *Pelagianisme* began to sprout again in Britain. An Accident not so strange to him that considers, how quickly an Error much of kin thereto grew up amongst the *Galatians*, presently on a *Paul's* departure. I marvel (aid he) that you are so soon removed from him, that called you unto the Grace of *Christ*, unto another *Cospell*. *St. Paul's* marvellous may make us marvel the less, seeing that Wonder which hath a Precedent is not so great a Wonder. Here we may sadly behold the great Propenſeſſe of men to go astray, whose hearts by nature cold in Goodneſſe, will burn no longer then they are blown n. To suppress this Heresie, *Germanus* is solicited to make a second Voiage into Britain: which he did accordingly, accompanied with his Partner *Severus*, because *Lupus* his former Companion was otherwise employed. Hereupon a prime Poet of his Age, makes this *Apophrophe* unto *St. German*:

449

Tuque O, cui toto discretis orbe Britannos  
His penetrare datum, his intima cervere magni  
Monsfra maris:

O thou that twice pierc'd Britain, cut asunder  
From the whole World, twice didst survey the wonder  
Of monstrous Seas:

The same Success still followed, and this Conquerour, who formerly had broken and scattered the main Body of the *Pelagians*, now routed the Remnants, which began to rally and make head again.  
13. He also called a Synod, wherein those damnable Doctrines were condemned: as also the Incestuous Marriage of *MORTIMER*, King of Britain. (A wicked Prince, in whom all the Dreags of his vicious Ancestors were settled,) who had took his own Daughter to Wife. And yet of this unlayfull Copulation, a pious Son, *St. Paulinus*, was born, in the which no Cross-charge of Bastardy, though doubled with incest, can blot Grace off that Heart, wherein God will have it to enter. *Germanus* having settled Britain in good Order, went back to his own Country, where, presently upon his

S. Albanin Hartford-shire, called Ely, & Oſſell, pretend to the whole Body of Saint Alban.

a Suetonius Tiberius i. viia Sancti. Tuvij 22.

b Caput eum cum barba idem prout.

c Gen. 2. 10.

After the departure of Germanus, Pelagianisme recurreth in Britain. d Gal. 1. 6.

e Eutricus An-tistodoretus in vita S. Germani.

f Bede lib. 1. cap. 21. g Math. V. 14. in anno 449. Pelagianism and King Vertigast vint eſtablished marriage condemned in a Synod in Nennius, cap. 37.

In vain the  
Britons peti-  
tion to the  
Roman Em-  
perour for  
help against  
the Picts.

a To Prologo  
lib de Eccl.  
Brit.

b See Notitia  
Provinciarum

True Reasons  
why the Ro-  
mans were ob-  
liged to send  
Aid to the  
Britans.

The sad suc-  
cess of the  
Pagan Saxons,  
invited by  
King Vortiger  
into Britain.

his return he died; as God useth to send his Servants to Bed, when they have done all their Work: and by Gods blessing on his Endeavours, that Hercie was so cut down in Britain, that it never generally grew up again.

14. Mean time the South of this Island was in a woollid condition, caused by the daily Incurfions of the *Picts*. As for the *Picts* Wall built to restrain them, it being a better Limit then *Fortification*, served rather to define then defend the *Roman Empire*: and uselesse is the strongest Wall of Stone, when it hath Sticks only upon it: such was the Sottish Laziness of the *Britans* to man it; a Nation at this time given over to all manner of Sin, inso- much as *Gildas* their Country-man calls them *Astatis Aramentum*, the Inke of the Age. And though God did daily correct them with Inroads of *Pagans*, yet like relesse Horses, they went the worse for Beating. And now the Land being exhausted of the Flower of her *Chivalry*, (transported and disposed in *Roman* Garrisons, as farre as *Judea* and *Egypt* it self) could not make good her ground against the *Picts*; and was faine to request first *Theodosius* the younger, then *Valentinian* the third *Roman* Emperour, (whose Ho- mages the *British* Kings were untill this time) for their Assistance. They dispatch Petition after Petition, Embassie on Embassie, representing their woollid estate. Now the *Barbarians* beat them to the Sea, the Sea repelled them to the *Barbarians*; and thus banded betwixt Death and Death, they must either be kill'd or drowned. They inforced their Request for Aid, with much Earnest- nesse and Importunity; all in vain, seeing Whispirings and Hollowings are like to a Deaf Eare, and no Answer was returned. Had they been as care- full in bemoaning their Sins to God, as clamorous to declare their Sufferings to the *Roman* Emperour, their Requests in Heaven had been as graciously received, as their Petitions on Earth were carelesly rejected.

15. What might be the Cause of this Neglect? Had the *Imperial* Crown so many Flowers, that it might afford to scatter some of them? Was Britain grown inconsiderable, formerly worth the Conquering, now not worth the Keeping? or was it because they conceived the *Britans* Need not so much as was pretended; and Aid is an *Almes* ill-bestowed on those *Beggars*, who are lame of Laziness, and will not work for their Living? Or was the Service accounted desperate; and no wise *Physician* will willingly under- take a Disease which he conceives incurable? The plain truth is, the *Roman* Empire now grown Ruinous, could not repair it's out-Rooms, and was faine to let them fall down to maintain the rest; and like *Fencers*, receiving a blow on their Leg to save their Head, exposed the Remote Countries of *Spain*, *France*, and *Britain*, to the Spoil of *Pagans*, to secure the Eastern Countries, near *CONSTANTINOPLE* the Seat of the Empire.

16. Here *Vortiger*, forsaken of God and man, and left to himself, (Malice could not with him a worse Adviser) resolves on a desperate Project, to call in the *Pagan* Saxons out of *Germany* for his Assistance, under *Hofius* and *Hengist* their Captains. Over they come at first but in three great Ships, (a small Earnest will serve to bind a great Bargain;) first possessing the Island of *Thanet* in *Kent*; but following afterwards in such Swarms, that quickly they grew formidable to him that invited them over, of *Guests* turning *So- journers*, then *Inmates*, and lastly *Land-lords*, till they had dispossessed the *Britans* of the best of the Island: the entertaining of mercenary Souldiers, being like the administering of *Quicksilver* to one in *Illia* *Pastor* a Receipt not so properly prescribed by the *Physician* to the *Patient*; as by Necessity to the *Physician*: If hired Aid do on a sudden the Work they are sent for, and so have a present Passage to be discharg'd, sovereign use may be made of them: otherwise if long tarrying, they will eat the Entrails, and corrode the Bowells of that State which entertains them; as here it came to passe.

17. For soon after the Saxons erected seven Kingdoms in Britain: And because

Anno  
Dom.  
449

because their severall Limits conduce much to the clear understanding of the following History, and we for the present are well at Leisure, we will present the Reader with the Description of their severall Principalities. The Partition was made by mutual Consent, thus farre forth, that every King caught what he could, and kept what he caught; and there being amongst them a Parity of high-spirited Princes, (who more prized an absolute So- vereignty over a little, then a Propriety with Subjection in never so much,) they erected seven severall Kingdoms, in little more then but the third part of this Island: (A thing which will seem no wonder to him, who hath read how the little Land of *CANAAN* found room at the same time for one and thirty Kings.) But let us reckon them up.

The re-  
spective bounds  
of the Saxon  
Heptarchie.

a Job. 12. 24.

1. The first was the Kingdome of *KENT*; which began Anno 457. under King *Hengist*. It contained the County of *Kent*, as it is at this day bounded, without any notable difference. And though this Kingdome was the least of all, (as consisting but of one intire County, without any other addition) yet was it much bestiended in the Situation for Traffick with *France* and *Germany*. Besides, it being secu- red on three Sides with *Thames* and the Sea, and fenced on the fourth with Woods, this made their Kings (naturally defended at home) more considerable in their Impressions on their Neigh- bours.
2. Of the *SOUTH-SAXONS*, comprising *Suffex* and *Surry*, (both which, till very lately, were under one Sheriff.) And this King- dome began Anno 491. under King *Ellra*, and was the weakest of all the seven, affording few Kings, and fewer Actions of moment.
3. Of the *EAST-SAXONS*, comprehending *Essex*, *Middlesex*, and so much of *Hertsfordshire* as is under the Bishop of *London*'s Jurisdi- ction, whose Diocese is adequate to this Kingdome. A small Ring, if we survey the little Circuit of Ground; but it had a fair Diamond in it, the City of *London* (though then but a Stripling in Growth) well thriving in Wealth and Greatness. This Kingdome began in *Erchenwin* about the year 527.
4. Of the *EAST-ANGLES*, containing *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridge- shire*, with the *Ile of Ely*, and (as it seems, saith a Reverend *Wri- ter*) part of *Bedfordshire*. It began Anno 575. under King *Uffa*, and lay most exposed to the Cruelty of the *Danish* Incurfions.
5. Of *MERCIA*: so called, because it lay in the middle of the Island, being the *Merches* or Limits, on which all the residue of the King- domes did bound and border. It began Anno 582. under King *Crida*, and contained the whole Counties of *Lincoln*, *Northampton*, (with *Rutland*, then and long since part thereof) *Huntingdon*, *Buckingham*, *Oxford*, *Worcester*, *Warwick*, *Darby*, *Nottingham*, *Leicester*, *Stafford*, and *Chesler*. Besides part of *Hereford* and *Salop* (the Remnant where- of was posses'd by the *Welsh*) *Gloucester*, *Bedford*, and *Lancaster*. In view it was the greatest of all the seven: but it abated the Puidance thereof, because on the *West* it affronted the *Britans*, being deadly Enemies; and bordering on so many Kingdoms, the *Mercians* had work enough at home to shut their own Doors.
6. Of *NORTHUMBERLAND*, cornivall with *Mercia* in Great- nesse, (though farre inferior in Populousnesse) as to which belonged whatsoever lieth betwixt *Humber* and *Edenborough-Frith*. It was sub- divided sometimes into two Kingdoms, of *Bernicia* and *Deira*. The later consisted of the Remainder of *Lancashire*, with the intire Counties of *Tork*, *Durham*, *Westmorland*, and *Cumberland*. *Bernicia* contained *Northumberland*, with the South of *Scotland* to *Eden- borough*.

b Ulster de  
Brit. Eccl. Pri-  
mord. p. 194.

c Lambert's  
descript. of  
Kent.

d Idem ibid.

borough. But this Division lasted not long, before both were united together. It began *Anno* 547, under King *Ida*.  
 7. Of the WEST-SAXONS; who possessed *Hantsire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Somerset, Dorset, and Devonshire*, part of *Cornwall*, and *Gloucestershire*: yeatome assigne a Moieity of *Surrey* unto them. This *Kingdome* began *Anno* 519, under King *Cerdic*, and excelled for plenty of Ports, (on the *South and Severn Sea*) store of Burroughs, floureffe of active men. (some impute this to the Naturall cause of their being hatch't under the warm Wings of the *South-West Wind*), which being excellent *VVrafflers*, gave at last a Fall to all the other *Saxon Kingdomes*. So that as the seven Streams of *Nilus* loose themselves in the *Atid-land Sea*, this Heptarchy was at last devoured in the *West-Saxons Monarchy*.

The reason that there is some difference in *VVriters* in bounding of these severall Kingdomes, is, because *England* being then the constant Cock-pit of Warre, the Limits of these Kingdomes were in daily motion, sometimes marching forward, sometimes retreating backward, according to variety of Successe. We may see what great difference there is, betwixt the Bounds of the Sea at *High-water*, and at *Low-water Mark*: and so the same Kingdome was much disproportioned to it self, when extended with the happy Chance of Warre, and when contracted at a lowebb of Ill Successe. And here we must not forget that amongst these seven Kings, during the *Heptarchie*, commonly one was most puissant, over-ruling the rest, who styled himself *King of the English Nation*.

18. But to return to the *British Church*, and the year of our Lord 449, wherein *St. Patrick*, the *Apostle of Ireland*, is notoriously reported to have come to *Glasfenbury*; where finding twelve old Monks, (Successors to those who were first founded there by *Ioseph of Arimathea*) he, though unwilling, was chosen their *Abbot*, and lived with them 39 years, observing the Rule of *St. Mark*, and his *Egyptian Monks*: the Order of *Benedictines* being as yet unborn in the world. Give we here a List of these 12 Monks; withall forewarning the Reader, that for all their harsh Sound, they are so many Saints, least otherwise he should suspect them by the ill noise of their Names to be worfe Creatures.

- |             |                  |             |                |
|-------------|------------------|-------------|----------------|
| 1. Brumham  | 4. VVenereth     | 7. Lowar    | 10. Sweloves   |
| 2. Hyregaan | 5. Bantom-meweng | 8. VVellius | 11. Hindocimus |
| 3. Brenwall | 6. Adel-wolred   | 9. Breden   | 12. Hiu.       |

But know that some of these Names, as the 3., 6. and 9. are pure, plain *Saxon* words, which renders the rest suspected. So that whosoever it was, that first gave these *British Monks* such *Saxon* Names, made more Haste then good Speed, preventing the true Language of that Age.

19. So great was the Credit of *St. Patrick* at *Glasfenbury*, that after his Death and Buriall there, that Church which formerly was dedicated to the *Virgin Mary* alone, was in after-Ages jointly consecrated to her and *St. Patrick*. A great Presumption: For if it be true, what is reported, that at the first, by direction of the Angel *Gabriel*, that Church was solely devoted to the *Virgin Mary*; surely either the fame, or some other Angel of equal Power, ought to have ordered the Admission of *St. Patrick* to the same, to be match'd and impaled with the Blest *Virgin* in the Honour thereof. In reference to *St. Patrick*'s being at *Glasfenbury*, severall *Saxon* Kings granted large Charters, with great Profits and Priviledges to this Place.

20. But now the Spight is, that an unparallel'd Critick in Antiquity, leaves this *Patrick* at this time sweating in the Irish Harveft, having newly converted *Lempfer* to the Faith, and now gone into the province of *Manster* on

a Camden's Brit. pag. 139.

Irish St. Patrick said to live and die at Glasfenbury.

b First observed by Mr. Camden, and since by the Archbishop of Armach. He is made Co-parent in the Church with the Virgin Mary. c See i. Cent. 11. Page.

d James Usher, de Brit. Eccl. Primord. pag. 873, 883. Row. 895. Yet the Credit of Patrick's being at Glasfenbury shew'd by shaken.

Anno Dom. 449.

on the same Occasion. Yea, he denies (and proveth the same) that this *Patrick* ever liv'd, or was buried at *Glasfenbury*. But be it known to whom it may concern, that the *British* are not so over-fond of *St. Patrick*, as to ravish him into their Country against his will, and the consent of Time. Yea, *St. Patrick* mis'd as much Honour, in not being at *Glasfenbury*, as *Glasfenbury* hath lost Credit, if he were never there; seeing the *British* justly let as high a Rate on that Place, as the *Irish* do on his Person. See but the Glorious Titles (which with small Alteration might serve for *Ierusalem* it self) given to *Glasfenbury*: and seeing now the Place is for the most part buried in it's own Dust, let none envy these Epithets for the Epitaph thereof.

Here lies the City which once was the Fountain and Original of all Religion, built by Christs Disciples, consecrated by Christ himself; and this place is the MOTHER OF SAINTS.

We are sorry therefore for *St. Patrick*'s sake, if he was never there. To save all, some have found out another *Patrick*, called *Senior*, or *Sen Patrick*, (a nice difference) equal with the *Irish* *Apostle* in Time, and not much inferior in Holiness, who certainly liv'd at *Glasfenbury*. The plain truth is, that as in the *Comedian*, when there were two *Amphitruos*, and two *Sofias*, they made much fallacious Intricacy, and pleasant Delusion in the eyes of the Spectatours: So there being in this Age two *Patricks* (Others say three) two *Merlins*, two *Gildas*, and (that the Homonymy may be as well in Places as in Persons) three *Bangors*, three *Glasfenburies*, (as Haste or Ignorance in Writers mistake them) these jumbled together have made a marvelous Confusion in Writers, to the great prejudice of History, where they are not exactly observed.

21. But leaving *St. Patrick*, let us trie whether we can have better Successe with *St. Vrsula*, Daughter of *Dinoth*, or *Deo-notus* Duke of *Cornwall*, who in this year is said with eleven thousand Virgins to have failed over into *Little Britain* in *France*; there to be married to the *Britans* their Country-men, who refused to wed *French*-women for their Wives: but by foul Weather these Virgins were cast on the *French* Shore, amongst Pagans, by whom they were cruelly murdered, for refusing to forsake their Religion, or betray their Chastity. Others tell the Story quite contrary; how the aforesaid *Vrsula* with her Virgin-Army, went to *Rome*, where she conversed with Pope *Cyriacus*, her Country-man, and with him returning back into *Britain*, was murdered by the command of *Attila* King of the *Hunnes*, at *Colen*, with all the rest of the Virgins, and the aforesaid Pope *Cyriacus*, whose Name is omitted in the Papall Catalogue, because before his Death he surrendered his place to *Americus* his Successor. In which Relation we much commend the even tenor thereof, consisting of so level Lies, that no one swelling Improbability is above the rest; but for matter of Time, Place, and Persons, all passages unlikely alike. We dare not defame *Britain*, as to suspect that eleven thousand Christian Virgins, all at once, able to travail, might be found therein: though at this time *Paganisme* prospered in this Land, and Religion was in a low Condition. But what made these Christian *Amazons* with *Vrsula* their *Penthesilea* to go (not to say to gad) to *Rome*? Surely they were no Daughters of *Sarah*, which did abide in her tent, but rather Sisters of *Dinah*, which would go abroad to see foreign Fashions; and therefore their Hard Usage is the lesse to be pitied. Was it modest for so many Maids to wander by themselves, without a Masculine Guard to protect them? did ever such a Wood of weak Ivy grow alone, without any other Trees to support it? But the City of *Colen* will not abate us one of the eleven thousand, where their Reliques, and Sepulchrell Inscriptions are at this day to be seen. And we may as safely believe that these

E 2 Virgins

a Or Borough b In the Charter of King Ina, and also in King Edgar's. c Malmesbury MS. de Antig. Eccl. Glasfen. d Located in the Charter of King Kenwin c Flautus his Amphitruo. f See Ulfers. pag. 195. g Ambrosius. h Caledonius. i Albanus. k Bandonius. l The fabulous History of St. Vrsula confuted. m To Flindshire. n In Carnarvonshire. o In Down in Ireland. p Glascia in Scotland. q Dunghall in Ireland. r Vrsula Elizabeth. lib. 4. cap. 2. Edit. Paris. an. 1513. s Colen. anno 1628.

m Gen. 18. 9. n Gen. 34. 1.



a Camden's  
Brit. in Bark-  
shire.

Why so little  
Church-History  
in this Age.

b Helton Barth,  
a Church-Hist. lib. 8.

c James Ar-  
machide Brit.  
Ecc. primord.  
pag. 442.  
Gildas a  
strange fight  
suddenly il-  
lenced.  
d Girald. Cam-  
brof. in the  
life of Saint  
David.

e James Ar-  
machide Brit.  
Ecc. primord.  
pag. 443.

The partiali-  
ty of Saxon  
Writers.

The British  
treacherously  
murdered.

Virgin-Martyrs lie there entomb'd, as that the Bodies of the three Wise men of the East, commonly called the Three Kings of *Colen*, which came to visit our Infant-Saviour at *Bethlehem*, are interred in the same City, which the Monks of *Colen* brag of, and shew to Travellers. Besides all this, there is a Town in *Barkshire* called *Maiden-head*, which (as many other Churches in Christendome,) was dedicated in memory of their Virginity: which if it be not an Argument strong enough to convert the Reader to the belief of this Story, we must leave him to his Infidelity; that as Tales of Bug-bears are made to fright crying Children, so this Story of *Ysida* was contrived to befool Credulous men.

22. Nor hath the judicious Reader cause to wonder, that no better account is given of the *British* Church in this Age, considering the general Persecution by Pagan Saxons. Religion now a dayes *plaid leaff in fight*, hiding it self in Holes; and the Face of the Church was to *blubber'd with Teares*, that she may seem almost to have *wept her Eyes out*, having lost her Seers, and principall Pastours. Only two prime Preachers appear: *Vodine* the learned and pious Bishop of *London*; who taking the confidence to reprove *Vortiger* the *British* King, for putting away his lawful Wife, and wedding *Röwen*, the Heathen daughter of *Hengist*, was by him most barbarously murdered: The second *Gildas Albanus* (much ancienter then his name-like surname the *Wife*) born in *Scotland*, bred in *France*, whence returning into the South of *Britain*, he applied himself to the preaching of Divinity, and reading Librall Sciences to many Auditors and Scholars at *Pepidiau* a Promontory in *Pembrokeshire*.

23. It happened on a day, as *Gildas* was in his Sermon, (Reader, whether smiling or frowning, forgive the Digression) a Nunne big with child came into the Congregation, wherat the Preacher presently was *struck dumb*, (would not a Maid's Child amaze any man?) and could proceed no further. Afterward he gave this reason of his Silence, because that Virgin bare in her body an Infant of such signall Sanctity, as farre transcended him. Thus as lesser Load-stones are reported to loose their Vertue in the presence of those that are bigger; so *Gildas* was silenced at the approach of the *Welsh* St. *David*, (being then but *Hanse en Keldar*,) though afterward, like *Zachary*, he recovered his Speech again. Thus fabulous Authors, make this St. *David* a Mock-*John Baptist*, forcing a fond Parallel betwixt them; where to make the Proportion current, *Gildas* must be allowed Father to St. *David*. But enough; I like this sent too ill, I will follow it no further.

24. Mean time fierce and frequent Fighting betwixt the *British* and *Saxons*, about defending and enlarging their Dominions. And although *Gildas* (and out of him *Bede*) confesse often alternation of Success, yet other *Saxon* Writers mention not the least Overthrow of their own Side, but constant Conquering: as if their Generals had always buckled on Victory with their Armour. It is almost incredible, that ingenuous men should be so injurious to the Truth, and their own Credits, by Partiality, were it not that the Factions of Modern Pens invite us to the belief thereof; not describing Battels with a *Full Face* (presenting both Sides) but with a *Half Face*, advancing their own, and depressing the Archivements of the Opposite Party. Most true it is, the *British* got many Victories, especially under hopeful Prince *Vortimer*, whose Valour was the best Bank against the *Saxon* Deluge; untill broken down by untimely Death, the Pagans generally prevailed, much by their Courage, more by their Treachery.

25. For they invited the *British* to a Parley and Banquet on *Salesbury* Plain; where suddenly drawing out their Saxons, concealed under their long Coats, being crooked Swords, the Emblem of their indirect Proceedings, they made their innocent Guests with their blood, pay the Shors of their Entertainment. Here *Aurelius Ambrosius* is reported to have erected that Monument of *Stone-Henge* to their memory.

Anno  
Dom.  
450

453

462

Anno  
Dom.  
463

466

26. It is contrived in form of a Crown, consisting of three Circles of stones set up Gate-wise; some called *Corse-stones*, of 12 Tunne, others called *Crowes*, of 7 Tuns weight: (those haply for greater, and these for inferior Officers;) and one Stone at distance seems to stand Sentinel for the rest. It seems equally impossible that they were bred here, or brought thither, seeing (no navigable water near) such voluminous bulks are unmanageable in Cart or Wagon. As for the Tale of *Merlin's* conjuring them by Magick out of *Ireland*, and bringing them aloft in the Skies (what in *Charles VVain's*) is too ridiculous to be confuted. This hath put Learned men on necessity to conceive them artificial Stones, confolidated of Sand. Stand they there in Defiance of Wind & Weather, (which hath discomposed the method of them) which imfaded of any Pretious matter (a Bait to tempt Avarice; no doubt long since had been indicted of Superstition; whereas now they are protected by their own Weight & Worthlessness).

27. *Vortiger* the *British* King fled into *Wales*, to his Castle *Genereu*, impregnable for Situation, which he mann'd and woman'd, conveying a multitude of his Whores into it, and there lived surfeiting in Lust, while his Land lay sweltering in Bloud. Here *Aurelius Ambrosius* setting fire on his Castle, burnt him and his to Ashes. This gave occasion to the Report so constantly affirmed by many Authours, (and men are prone to believe Prodigious Deaths, of such as led Licentious Lives) that *Vortiger's* Palace, like another *Sodom*, was burnt by Fire from Heaven. Indeed in a secondary sense it was true; as all Exemplary Punishments, more visibly proceed from Divine Vengeance. But otherwise, the first Raisers of this Fable, did apparent Wrong to the Attribute of Gods Truth, in pretending to do extraordinary Right unto his Justice.

28. This *Aurelius Ambrosius* is said to be extracted of the *Roman* Race, who having done this Execution on *Vortiger* the Tyrant, was a singular Champion of the *British* against their Enemies. One composed of Valour and Religion, wholly employing himself in time of Peace, to raise new Churches, repair old, and endow both: unworthy therefore the Libell of an *Italian* Author, who on no other Evidence, then his own bare Assertion, traduce this *Ambrosius*, to have been a favourer of *Judaisme*, *Arrianisme*, *Manicheisme*, and a Persecuter of the Professours of true Religion. Thus the greatest Vertue Sanctuary too small to secure any from the pursuit of Slanderous Pens: and thus some humorous Authours, leaving the Road of true Reports, because common, go a Way by themselves of different Relation, so to entitle themselves to more immediate and peculiar Intelligence; as if others, (being only of Truth's Council,) had not received such private Instructions as themselves, being Cabinet-Historians.

29. Leave we this *Ambrosius* bickering with the *Saxons*, with interchange of Success, much commended for his Constancy in all Conditions. For sometimes his Valour was the Hammer upon, sometimes his Patience was the Anvil beneath his Enemies; but always he bravely bare up his Spirits: and as the Sun looks biggest on the Earth when he is nearest to see, so he carried it out with the boldest appearance, in the lowest Declination of his Fortune. If we behold the Church in his time, the most visible estate thereof presents it self to us in the Academy, which *Dubritius* kept, near the River *Wye* in *Monmouthshire*. His Father, say some, was unknown; others make him to be son to a *Pepiau* a Petty King in this Age: it being observable, that in this and the next Century, all men eminent for Learning and Religion, are either made without known Fathers, or Sons to Kings (no Mean betwixt these Extremes, as by many instances may appear;) so that such as consider the Narrowness of the Principality, will admire at the Number of *British* Princes. This *Dubritius* taught many Scholars for seven years together, in Humane & Divine Learning, (being himself in his Life, a Book of Piety of the best Edition for his Pupils to peruse;) amongst whom the chiefest, *Thelias*, *Sampson*, *Ybelin*, *Merchigwin*, *Elgwared*, &c. for the Reader had better believe then read the Names of the rest, remarkable only for Length, and Hardness, without any other Information. Afterward *Dubritius*

The description of  
Duns-leger, a  
Camden's  
Britann. in  
Wiltshire.

Vortiger burning  
in his castle  
burnt to  
ashes.

Aurelius  
cautiously  
stand by  
an Italian.

b Girald.  
Vitebricis  
Chro. part. 1.

The Academy of  
Learned men  
under Dubritius.

c Iohann. Tin-  
marchus in  
vite vita.  
d Chro. collig.  
Warwicenses.

e Vil. Armach.  
de Brit. Ecc.  
primord.  
pag. 445.

a Vid. Speed's  
map of this  
County.

b Vid. Ar-  
mach. ad. p. 121.

Forged lies  
obtruded on  
posterity in  
lieu of lost  
truths.  
c 1 Kings 14.  
27.

d Joh. Cap-  
grave in vita  
S. Cuthberti.

The massacre  
of the Monks  
at Winche-  
ster.  
e P. Antonin-  
us ecc. Hist.  
cap. 9.  
F. Hist. Math.  
Hartleagues  
designed the  
year 586.

Merlin left in  
a twilight;  
whether that  
Magician was  
an Impollon,  
or his whole  
Story an Im-  
pollure put  
upon credu-  
lous poster-  
ity.

was removed to *Warwick* (haply mistaken for *Werwick* a Village some two miles from *Ann. Dom.* *Cardigan*) and from thence it seems returned to *Mech-Ribis*, that is, the *Plate of a Hag*; because he was admonished, in a Vision in his Sleep, there to build a Chappel or Oratory, where he should find a white Sow lodging with the Hogs. a clean Conciit, and as full of Wit as Devotion. It seems the *Friar*, Father of this Fable, had read as farre as the eighth Book of *Virgil's Aeneids*, where the River *Tiber*, in a Dream, adviſed *Eneca* to erect an Altar, and sacrifice to *Juno* in the place where he should find the Sow lying with the Pigs; and from this Pagan Hint, was adventured for a *Papish Legend*.

30. Here we cannot but renew our former Complaint; and it is some Mitigation to our Misery, (as perchance some Ease to the Reader) if we can but vent our old Grievances in new Expressions: how in stead of true History, devoured by Time, prodigious Tales of impudent brazen-faced Monks are obtruded upon us. Thus when the Golden Shields of King *Solomon* were taken away, *Rehoboam* substituted Shields of Brass in their room; though not so Good, perchance more Gaudy, especially to ignorant eyes viewing them at distance, and wanting either the Skill or Opportunity to bring them to the Touch. Amongst which the Tale of *Cungarus* the Eremite, otherwise called *Docerius* (but first let the one Man be allowed, before his two Names be admitted;) may challenge a principal place; being reported Son of a *Constantinopolitan* Emperour, and *Luctia* his Emperesse. A Name un-owned by any *Grecian* Historians. The best is that unconfessionable Liars, though they most hurt themselves, do the least harm others, whose *Loud Ones* are both the Poison and the Antidote, seeing no Wife man will believe them. Small Griet and Gravel may choak a man, but that Stone can never stop his Throat, which cannot enter into his Mouth.

31. In very deed, very little at this time was ever reported of Church-matters. For a Drought of Christian Writers (in the Heat of Persecution) caused a dearth of all History. Now it was that *Cerdicus* first King of the *West-Saxons*, having overcome the *Britanni* at *Winchester*, kill'd all the Monks belonging to the Church of *St. amphibalus*, & turned the same into a Temple of Idolatry. Altho *Theom* Archbishop of *London*, seeing the Pagan *Saxons* to prevail, left his See, and about this time may be presumed to have fled into *Wales*. I say, about this time, For what Liberty is allowed to Prognosticators of Weather, to use all favourable Correctives and Qualifications (*like to be rain, inclined to rain, ther, to use all favourable Correctives and Qualifications* in relating actions past in point of Chronologies; *his fere temporibus per has tempora, circa, circiter, plus minus, &c.* And what we take upon Trust in this kind, let the Reader be pleased to charge, not on the Score of our Ignorance, but on the Uncertainty of that Ages Computation. As for *St. Petrock*, Son to the King of *Cumberland*, we remit him to the next Age, because though Budding in this, full Blown in the next Century.

32. This Age is assigned by Authors for that Famous *Ambrose Merlin* (differing from *Sylvestre Merlin* the Sor) though it be doubtfull whether ever such a man in *verum naturae*; it being suspicious.

First, Because he is reported born at *Cacer-merthen*, & that City so denominated from him. Whereas it is called *Maridunum* by *Ptoleme* many years before. Thus it is ominous to begin with a Lie.

Secondly, Because it was said his Mother was a Nun, got with Child by a Devil in the form of an *Inchubus*; perchance such a one as *Chaucer* describes. It seems, that as *Vestall Virgins*, when they had stollen a Great Belly, used to entitle some Deity to the getting of their Child, (so did the Mother of *Romulus* and *Remus*) whereby they both saved themselves from Shame, & gained Reputation; Nuns in this Age, when with child, unable to persuade people (as the Poets feign of the *Spanish Mares*) that they were impregnated by the Wind alone, made the World believe that some Spirit had comforted with them. This makes the whole Story of *Merlin* very doubtful; and as for all his Miracles & Prophecies, they sink with the Subject. For sure the same Hand which made the Puppet, gave it all its Motions, and suited his Person with Properties accordingly. May the Reader be pleased to take notice of three ancient *British Writers*.

1. *Aquila Septorius*, or the Eagle of *Shaftsbury*, whether He or She.
2. *Perdix Praefagus*, or Partridge the prophetess.
3. *Merlin Ambrose*.

All three Birds of a Feather; and perchance hatch'd in the same Nest of ignorant Credulity; nor can I meet with a fourth to make up the Mess, except it be the *Arabian Phoenix*. But because it is a Task too great for a Giant, to encounter a received Tradition, let *Merlin* be left in a Twilight as we found him. And surely no judicious man will censure the Mention of *Merlin* (whose Magical Pranks and Conjurings are so frequent in our Stories) to be a Deviation from the History of the Church, who hath read both of *Simon Magus*, and *Elymas* the Sorcerer in the Acts of the Apostles.

495

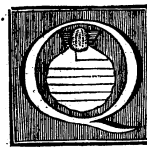
# THE SIXTH CENTURY.

To *Doufe Fuller* of Hampshire, Esquire.

I Cannot say certainly of you as *Naomi* did of *Boaz*, \*He is near of kin unto us, having no Assurance (though great Probability) of Alliance unto you. However, Sir, if you shall be pleased in Courtesy to account me your Kinsman, I will endeavour that (as it will be an Honour to me) it may be to you no Disgrace.

\* 2 Ruth 20.

501



Questionless we shall not be accounted Trespassers, though only Ecclesiastical Buſinesse be our right Road, to go a little in the By-way of State-matters, because leading the shortest Passage for the present to our Church-story. Most miserable at this time was the *British* Common-wealth, crowded up into barren Corners, whilst their Enemies, the *Pagan Saxons*, possessed the East and South; if not the greatest, the best part of the *Island*. Much ado had

The most miserable estate of the *British* Common-wealth.

*Vter Pen-dragon*, the *British* King, with all the finews of his Care and Courage, to keep his disjoynted Kingdome together: whose onely desire was to prolong the Life, it being above his hopes to procure the Health of that languishing State. And though sometimes the *Britanni* got the better, yet one may say, their Victories were spent before they were gain'd; being so farre behind-hand before, that their Conquest made no Shew, swallowed up in the discharging of old Arrearages. Needs then must Religion now in *Britain* be in a dolefull condition; For he who expects a flourishing Church in a fading Common-wealth, let him try whether one side of his Face can smile, when the other is pinched.

508

2. *Pen-dragon* dying, left the *British* Kingdome to *Arthur* his Son, so famous in History, that he is counted one of the *Nine Worthies*: and it is more then comes to the Proportion of *Britain*, that amongst but Nine in the whole World, Two should prove Natives of this *Island*, *Constantine* and *Arthur*. This later was the *British* Hero, who could not defend that *Troy*, which was designed to destruction: and it foundeth much to his Honour, that perceiving his Countrey condemned by Gods Justice to Ruine, he could procure a Reprieve, though not prevail for the Pardon thereof. More unhappy was he after his Death, Hyperbolical Monks for advancing his Victories, above all reach of Belief, that the twelve pitch'd Batels of *Arthur*, wherein he conquered the *Pagan Saxons*, find no more credit then the twelve Labours of *Hercules*. Belike the Monks hoped to passe their Lies for current, because countenanced with the mixture of some Truths; whereas the contrary came to passe, and the very Truths which they have written of him are discredited, because found in company with so many Lies. Inſomuch that learned *Leland* is put

King *Arthur's* actions much discredited by Monkish fictions.

THE

put to it, to make a Book for the afflicting of *Arthur*. Many are unfetled about him, because *Gildas* his Country-man (living much about his Age) makes no mention of him: though such may be something satisfied, if considering, the principall Intent of that Querulous *Autheur* is not to praise, but to reprove, not greatly to grace, but justly to shame his Country, his Book being a bare Black Bill of the Sins and Sufferings, Monsters and Tyrants of Britain, keeping no Catalogue of the *Virtues* of this Island; so that neither *Lucius*, *Constantine*, nor *Arthur* are once named by him. But the best evidence that once *Arthur* lived in Britain is, because it is certain he died in Britain, as appeared undeniably by his *Corps*, *Coffin* and *Epitaph*, taken up out of his Monument in *Glassbury*, in the reign of King *Henry* the second, whereof many Persons of Quality were eye-witnesses.

3. The entire Body of the *British* Church at this time was in *Wales*, where *Banchon* on the North, and *Cael-lion* (on *Ysk*, in *Monmouthshire*) on the South, were the two Eyes thereof, for Learning and Religion. The latter had in it the Court of King *Arthur*, the See of an *Arch-Bishop*, a Colledge of 200 *Philosophers*, who therein studied *Astronomie*, and was a Populous place, of great extent. But Cities, as well as their Builders, are mortal: it is reduced at this day to a small Village. But as Aged Parents content and comfort themselves in beholding their Children, wherein their Memories will be continued after their Death; so *Cael-lion* is not a little delighted to see herself still survive in her Daughter *Newport*, a neighbouring Town raised out of the Ruines of her Mother. Whilst the other stood in Prime, there was scarce an Eminent man, who did not touch here for his Education; whom we will reckon in order, the rather, because all the *Church-History* of this Age seems confined to some principall Persons. *Dubritius* afore-mentioned was the Father and Founder of them all, late Bishop of *Landaffe*, now *Arch-Bishop* of *Cael-lion*, a great Champion of the Truth against *Pelagius*, and he had the honour here to crown two Kings, *Yter* and *Arthur*. Being very old, here resigned his *Arch-bishoprick* to *David*, his Scholar; and that he might be more able and active to wrestle with Death, he stript himself out of all worldly employment, and became an *Anchoret*, in the Island of *Bardsey*. Six hundred yeares after, (namely May the 20, 1120) his Bones were translated to *Landaffe*, and by *Vrbau*, Bishop thereof, buried in the Church, towards the North side thereof.

4. *David*, the next *Arch-Bishop*, of Royal Extraction, was Uncle to King *Arthur*. He privately studied the *Scriptures* 10 yeares, before he would presume to preach, and alwayes carried the *Gospels* about him. He kept a *Synod* against the *Pelagian Error* (a second Edition whereof was set forth in his time) and confirmed many wavering Souls in the Faith. By leave obtained from King *Arthur*, he removed the *Archiepiscopall* Seat from *Cael-lion* to *Aenevea*, now called *S. David's*, in *Pembroke-shire*. In which exchange his Devotion is rather to be admired, than his Discretion to be commended; leaving a Fruitfull Soile, for a bleach Barren place; though the worse it was, the better for his purpose, being a great promoter of a Monasticall life. And though the place was much exposed to the Rapine of *Pirats*, yet this Holy man laid up his heavenly Treasure, where *Thieves do not break through, nor steal*.

5. Yet I am sensible that I have spent, to my shame, so much precious time in reading the Legend of his Life, that I will not wilfully double my guiltinesse in writing the same, and tempt the Reader to offend in like nature. This Miracle I cannot omit. *David* one day was preaching in an open Field to the Multitude, and could not be well seen because of the Concourfe; (though they make him four Cubits high, a man and half in stature;) when behold the Earth, whereon he stood, effionfly bearing itself up, mounted him to a competent Visibility above all his Audience. Where-

a Giraldu  
Cambricus  
an eye wit-  
ness. Camden's  
Brit. in Som-  
erfetshire.

Car-lion a  
principall  
Staple of  
Learning  
& Religion.

b Thomas  
James out of  
Alexander  
Elphinstons.

c Camden's  
Brit. in Mon-  
mouthshire.

d Fra. God-  
win in Epif.  
Menevianus  
pag. 600.

S. David an  
advancer of  
Monastick  
life.

e Giraldu  
Cambricus.

f Camden's  
Brit. in Pen-  
brokeshire.

One para-  
mount mi-  
racle of S. Da-  
vid.

g Flowers of  
the English  
Saints, p. 222.  
h Balanus cen-  
tima Na. 55.

anno  
Dom.  
508

516

519

as

anno  
Dom.  
519

as our *Saviour* himself, when he taught the people, was pleased to chuse a Mountain, making use of the advantage of Nature, without improving his Miraculous Power. He died aged 146 yeares, on the first of *March*, still celebrated by the *Welsh* with wearing of a *Leek*; perchance to perpetuate the memory of his Abstinence, whose contented mind made many a favoury Meal on such *Roots of the Earth*.

6. A wonder it is to see how many *Metaphysics* (extreme Aged men) these times did produce. *S. Patrick* died aged 122. *Sampson* aged 120. *David* 146. *Gildas* *Badonius* 90, &c. Some Reason whereof may be alleged, because living retired in a Contemplative way, they did not bruise their Bodies, with embroiling them in Worldly Affairs: or it may be ascribed to their Temperate Diet, whilst many of our Age spill their Radical *Mossure* through the Leaks of their own Luxury. Nor is it absurd to say, that God made these great Tapers of a more firm and compacted Wax than ordinary, that so they might last the longer in burning to give Light to his Church, and bestowed on them an especial strong naturall Constitution.

7. About the same time (Accurateness in computing yeares is not to be expected; for never were more Doublings and Redoublings made by a hunted Hare, then there are Intricacies in the Chronology of this Age, going backward and forward;) flourished *Cadocus* Abbot of *Llan-carvan* in *Glamorgan-shire*, Son of the Prince and Toparch of that Country. This godly and learned man so renounced the World, that he retained part of his paternall Principality in his possession, whereby he daily fed three hundred of Clergy-men, Widows, and Poor people; besides Guests and Visitants daily resorting to him. He is equally commended for his Policy, in keeping the Root (the Right of his Estate) in his own hands; and for his Piety, in bestowing the Fruit (the Profits thereof) in the relieving of others. It seems, in that Age willfull Poverty was not by vow entail'd on Monasticall life. Nor did this *Cadocus* (as Regulars in after-times) with open hands scatter away his whole Means, so foolishly to grasp his Fift full of Popular Applause. He is said afterwards to have died at *Beneventum* in *Italy*.

8. *Ithurus* comes next into play, a zealous man, and deep Scholar; who not far from *Cadocus*, at *Llan-lwyt* in *Glamorgan-shire* (contrastedly for *Llan-llut*) preached Gods Word, and set up a Colledge of Scholars, being himself a great observer of a Single Life. It is reported of him, that when his Wife repaired to him for due Benevolence, or some ghostly Counsell, he put out her Eyes, out of Anger, for interrupting him in his constant course of Chastity. But surely some blind Monk, having one of his Eyes put out with Ignorance, and the other with Superstition, was the first founder of this Fable. Thus godly Saints in that Age were made Martyrs after their Death; persecuted (though in their Commendation) with impudent and improbable Lies. It is reported also of the same *Ithurus*, that he turned Men into Stones. Had it been Stones into Men, (converting stupid Souls into Christians, by his Preaching) it had been capable of an Allegorickall Construction: whereas, as now told, it is a Lie in the literal, and Non-sense in the mysticall meaning thereof.

9. *Sampson* succeeds, Scholar to *Ithurus*, made by *Dubritius* Bishop at large, *sine titulo*. It seems in that Age, all Bishops were not fixed to the Chair of a peculiar Church, but some might sit down in any Vacant place for their Cathedral, and there exercise their *Episcopall Authority*; provided it were without Prejudice to other Bishops. Afterwards this *Sampson* was made Arch-Bishop of *Dole* in *French Britain*; and in those dayes, such was the Correspondency betwixt this Greater, and that Lesser Britain, that they seemed to possesse Learned men in common betwixt them. Scarce am I re-

a Math. 23.

\* Several rea-  
sons hereof af-  
signed by Au-  
thours.

Reasons why  
men in this  
Age lived so  
long.  
b S. Balanus  
in their gen-  
eral liver.

The discreet  
devotion of  
Cadocus.

c Ioan. Tim-  
marchensis in  
sua vita.

Ithurus ab-  
solved with  
Monckish for-  
geries.

d Balanus de  
Script. Britan.  
centur. prima.

e Idem in  
prim.

f Sampson  
Archbishop  
of Dole.  
g Atruch de  
Brit. Ec. prim.  
pag. 1119.

a Balesus  
of Papi, Britain  
in Sampson.

Foreign Pa-  
ters for all  
Bishops  
b Camden's  
Brit. in Car-  
diganshire.

Petrock the  
Captain of  
Cornish  
Saints.

The piety of  
s. Tilius.  
c Harpfield  
in Eccl. Hist.  
p. 41. c. 27.  
d Math. 1. 14

e Balesus  
contests p. 10.  
num. 5. 8.

f In the book  
of his life ex-  
tant in the  
Church of  
Laudoffe.

g Flowers of  
the Saints  
p. 131.

Several other  
Worthies of  
the same Age.

h Godwin in  
his Catalogue  
of Bishops of  
St. Asaph.  
i Vide our Li-  
brary of British  
History. num. 1.

Passours in  
this Age why  
in constant  
motion.

conciled to this *Sampson*, for carrying away with him the Monuments of *British Antiquity*. Had he put them out to the Bank, by procuring severall Copies to be transcribed, Learning thereby had been a *Gainer*; and a *Saver*, had he onely secured the Originals; whereas now her Loss is irrecoverable: Principall and Interest, Authenticks and Transcripts, are all imbezelled: Nor is the matter much, whether they had miscarried at home; b<sup>e</sup> Foes Violence, or abroad, by such Friends Negligence.

10. It were a Sin to omit *St. Petrock*, for three and twenty years a constant Preacher at *Llan-Patern* in *Cardigan-shire*. His fatherlike Care over his Flock passeth with peculiar Commendation; that he *govern'd his people by feeding them, and fed his people by governing them*. Some yeares after the Place continued an Episcopall See; and was extinguished upon Occasion of the People barbarously murdering of their Bishop.

11. *St. Petrock* comes in for his share, (from whom *Petrock-flow*; contracted *Padstow*, in *Cornwall* is denominat.) One of great Piety and Paintfulness in that Age. Afterward he is said to have gone to the *East-Indies*; (all far Countreys are *East-Indies* to ignorant people;) and at his returne to be buried at *Bodman* in *Cornwall*. That County is the *Corni-copia* of Saints, (most of *Irish* extraction) and the names of their Towns and Villages; the best Nomenclator of the Devout men of this Age. If the people of that Province have as much Holiness in their Hearts, as the Parishes therein carry Sanctity in their Names, *Cornwall* may passe for another *Holy Land* in publick reputation.

12. Next *St. Petrock* comes *St. Tilius*; for it is pity to part two such intimate Friends. He was called, by allusion to his Name, *Helios*, which in *Greek* signifieth the *Sun*, because of the Lustre of his *Life and Learning*. But the *Vulgar* sort; who count it no fault to miscall their *Betters*, if they have hard Names, called him *Eliud*, (one of that name was one of our *Savours Ancestors*;) turning the *Greek* into an *Hebrew* word, and understanding both alike. He was *Scholar* to *Dubritius*, and succeeded him in the *Bishoprick* of *Laudoffe*. A pious man, constant Preacher, and zealous reprovcr of the reigning Sins of that time. This is all the certain truth extant of him; which some Monks counting too little, have with their fabulous breath blown up the Story of his Life to such a Bigness, that the Credit thereof breaks with it's own *Improbability*. Witness his Journey to *Jerusalem*; full of strange Miracles, where he had a *Cymball* given him, exceeding the sound of an *Organ*, and ringing every hour of it's own accord. No doubt a *Load one*. Laden with *Merits*, saith the *Author*, (I had thought nothing but Sin could burthen a Saint;) he departed this Life, having his Memory continued in many Churches of *South-Wales*, dedicated to him; and is remembered in the *Roman* Kalender on the ninth of *February*.

13. I had almost forgotten *Congel*, Abbot of *Bangor*, who much altered the Discipline of that Monastery; *Kentigern* the famous Bishop of *Elmŷe* in *North-Wales*; *St. Asaph* his Successour in the same place. In whose mouth this Sentence was frequent, *Such, who are against the preaching of God's Word, envy the Salvation of Mankind*. As for *Gildas*, surnamed the *Wise*, their Contemporary, we reserve his Character for our Library of *British* Historians. Many other worthy men flourished at the same time; and a National Church being a large Room, it is hard to count all the Candles God lighted therein.

14. Most of these men seem born under a *Travelling Planet*; seldom having their Education in the place of their Nativity: oft-times composed of *Irish* Infancy, *British* Breeding, and *French* Preferment; taking a *Cowle* in one Country, a *Crozier* in another, and a *Grave* in a third; neither bred where born, nor beneficed where bred, nor buried where beneficed; but wandering in severall Kingdomes. Nor is this to be imputed to any

humour

Anno  
Dom.  
580

*humour of Inconstancy* (the running Gout of the Soul) or any affected Unsettledness in them; but proceeding from other weighty Considerations. First, to procure their Safety. For in time of *Persecution*, the surest place to shift in, is constant shifting of Places: not staying any where so long, as to give mens Malice a steady aime to level at them. Secondly, to gain Experience in those things, which grew not all in the same Soile. Lastly, that the Gospell thereby might be further, and faster propagated. When there be many Guests and little Meat, the same Dish must go clean through the Board; and divine Providence ordered it, that in the Scarcity of Preachers, one Eminent man, travelling far, should successively feed many Countries.

15. To most of these Authours many written Volumes are assigned, the Titles and Beginnings whereof you may find in our Country-men *Bede* and *Pitts*, who will persuade you that they have seen and perused some of them. This they do partly to enhance the merit of their Industry, in finding out so many Rarities; and partly to commend to the world the latitude of their own Reading. I shall as soon believe that they have seen all *Solomon's* Volumes, which he wrote from the *Cedar* of *Libanus*, to the *Hyslope* that groweth on the *Wall*. But this *Humour* possesseth many men, that brag of many Books, coming under their Discovery: as if not onely with the *Mice*, they had crept through the Crannies of all Libraries; but also with the *Moles*, had got betwixt the Leaves of all Treatises therein. In plain truth, as it is probable that those *British* Prelates wrote many Books of consequence; so it is certain that long since by Time they have been abolished. As for those spurious Tracts, which Monks in after-Ages set out under these Worthy mens names, they are no more to be accounted the true Off-spring of these learned Saints, then that common Manna, ordinarily sold in Apothecaries Shops, is the self-same with that Angels Food, which fell down from Heaven, and feasted the *Israelites*.

Books falsely  
ascribed on  
British writ-  
ters.



THE  
CHURCH-HISTORY  
OF  
BRITAIN.

---

THE SECOND BOOK.

---

*From the Conversion of the  
Saxons to Christianity, untill the (commonly  
called) Conquest of the Normans.*

---





To the right Honourable

**H E N R Y**  
**LORD MARQUES**  
 O F  
**D O R C H E S T E R .**  
*EARLE OF*  
**K I N G S T O N .**

*Viscount Newark, Lord Peirrepont, &c.*



Ow low Learning ran in our Land a-  
 mongst the Native *Nobility* some two  
 hundred yeares since, in the Reign  
 of King *Henry* the sixth, too plainly ap-  
 peareth by the Motto in the Sword of the Mar-  
 tiall Earle of *Shrewsbury*, (where at the same time  
 one may Smile at the *Simplicity*, and Sigh at the

*Barbarisme* thereof;) SUM TALBOTI, PRO OCCIDERE INIMICOS MEOS. The best *Latin* that Lord (and perchance his Chaplains too, in that Age) could afford.

But in the next Generation we may observe the Rise of Learning in Noble Families. I behold *John Tiptoft* Earle of *Worcester* (bred in *Bailioll Colledge*) as the first *English* Person of Honour that graced Learning with the Study thereof, in the dayes of King *Edward* the fourth, both at Home and in Foreign Vniversities. He made so 'Eloquent an Oration in the *Vatican*, in the presence of Pope *Pius* the second, (one of the least Bad, and most Learned of any of his Order) that his *Holiness* was divided betwixt Weeping and VVondering thereat.

This Earle may be said to have left *John Bourchier*, Baron of *Berners* and Governour of *Calis*, the Heir to his Learning; as who wrote many Treatises, and made Excursions into Variety of Studies, in the dayes of King *Henry* the seventh.

This Learned Baron had severall Successours under King *Henry* the eighth, at the same time, to his Parts and Liberall Studies.

1. *Henry* Lord *Stafford*, Son to the last Duke of *Buckingham* of that Name.
2. *William* Lord *Montjoy*, a great Patron to *Erasmus*, and well skilled in Chymistry and Mathematicks.

3. *Henry*

\* I. Bale de  
Script. Angl.

\* Idem de  
Vitz de Scip.  
Anglus.

3. *Henry* Howard, Earle of *Surrey*, (though last in Time, not least in Merit) the first reviver of *English* Poetry: so that he may seem in some sort to wave his *Coronet*, to wear the *Lawrell*.

Since whose time to our dayes Learning hath ever had a visible succession in our Nobility. Amongst whom your Honour, as Captain of the Highest Form, is most illustrious.

Indeed, your Lordship is a reall Refutation of that Scandalous Position which some maintain, That such who are generally seen in all Arts, cannot be eminently skilfull in any one. A Position no better then a Libell on Learning, invented and vented either by the Idle, who would not themselves Study; or by the Envious, who desire to discourage the Endeavours of others.

VVhereas there is such a Sympathy betwixt several Sciences (as also betwixt the learned Languages) that (as in a Regular Fortification one Piece strengtheneth another) a resolute Firmness ariseth from their Complication, reflecting Life and Lustre one on another. Arts may be said to be Arched together: and all Learned Faculties have such a Mutual Reciprocation. Thus one is the better Canonist, for being a good Civilian, and a better Common-Lawyer, for being both of them. And hereof your Honour is an Experimentall Proof, whose Knowledge is spread so broad, yet lieth so thick in all Liberall Sciences.

VVhat remaineth, but that I crave leave humbly to mind your Lordship of that allusive Motto to your Name,



Name, *P I E R E P O N E T E*; that your *Honour* re-  
posing yourself piously in this life, may in a good  
Old Age be gloriously translated into another?  
The desire of

*Your Lordships*  
Most Bounden  
Oratour,  
THOMAS FULLER.



Anno-  
Dom.



THE  
CHURCH-HISTORY  
OF  
BRITAIN.  
VI. CENTURIE.

585



*T*is wonderfull to see how the Fruits of great Events  
are virtually comprised in the small Seed of their Causes;  
and how a Contemprable Accident may give the Occa-  
sion of most Considerable Effects; as may appear by  
the Conversion of the Saxons to Christianity. For it  
happened that certain *Saxon Children* were to be sold  
for *Slaves*, at the Market-place at *Rome*, when Divine  
Providence, the great *Clock-keeper* of Time, ordering  
not onely Houres, but even \* *Infants*, to his own Honour, so disposed it,  
that *Gregory*, afterwards first *Bishop* of *Rome* of that Name, was present to  
behold them. It grieved the Good man to see the Disproportion betwixt  
the Faces and Fortunes, the Complexions and Conditions of those Children,  
condemned to a Servile Estate, though carrying Liberrall Looks, so legible  
was Ingenuity in their Faces. It added more to his Sorrow, when he con-  
ceived that those Youths were twice Vassalls, bought by their Masters, and  
<sup>b</sup> sold under *Sin*; Servants in their Bodies, and Slaves in their Souls to Sa-  
tan: which occasioned the \* Good man to enter into further enquiry with  
the *Merchants* (which set them to Sale) what they were, and whence they  
came, according to this ensuing Dialogue.

*Greg. Whence come these Captives?*

*Mer. From the Isle of Britain.*

*Greg. Are those Islanders Christians?*

*Mer. O no: they are Pagans.*

*Greg. It is sad that the Antchour of Darknesse should possesse men with so  
bright Faces. But what is the name of their particular Nation?*

*Mer. They are called Angli.*

*Greg. And well may, for their Angel-like Faces: it becometh such to be  
Cobeyres with the Angels in Heaven. In what Province of Eng-  
land did they live?*

*Mer. In <sup>d</sup> Deira.*

*Greg.*

The first oc-  
casion of the  
Saxons con-  
version to  
Christianity.

<sup>a</sup> Luke 2. 38.

<sup>b</sup> Rom. 7. 14.  
<sup>c</sup> Bede Hist.  
ecclesiast. l. 2.  
cap. 1.

<sup>d</sup> Which at  
this day is the  
Bishoprick of  
Durham, or  
Dunham.

Greg. They are to be freed de Dei ira, from the Anger of God. How call  
ye the King of that Country?

Mer. ELLA.

Greg. Surely Hallelujah ought to be sung in his Kingdome to the Praise of  
that God who created all things.

Thus *Gregorie's* gracious Heart for the Sound of every word to the Tune of spiri-  
tuall Goodnesse. Nor can his words be justly censured for Levity if we con-  
sider how in that Age, the Elegancy of Poetry consisted in Rhythme, and  
the Eloquence of *Prose* in Allusions. And, which was the main, where  
his Pleasant Conceits did end, there his Pious Endeavours began, which  
did not terminate in a Verball Jest, but produce Reall Effects, which en-  
sued hereupon.

2. For repairing to *Pelagius* Bishop of Rome, he imparted his Dis-  
coveries unto him, desiring that some might be sent to endeavour the Con-  
version of the *English Nation*, tendering his Personall Service thereunto. But  
*Pelagius* was unwilling to expose *Gregory* to so dangerous a Design, and the  
People of Rome accounting him a precious Jewell, to be choicely kept for  
his own wearing, would not cast this Pearl before Swine, by hazarding him  
to the Insolency of the Pagans. Now *Pelagius* not long after being called into  
another World, *Gregory* succeeded in his place, who rising to new Great-  
nesse, did not fall from his old Goodnesse, but prosecuting his Project with  
more Earnestnesse, sent *Augustine* the Monk, with *Mellius*, and Fourty  
more, to preach the Gospel in Britain. He himself tarrying behind in Body,  
went with them in his Spirit, accompanying them with his effectual Pray-  
ers: and none will deny, but that *Moses* in the Mount contributed as much  
to the conquering of Amalek, as *Joshua* in the Valley.

3. These men had not gone far, when they were surprised with a Quam  
of Fears, and sending *Augustine* back again to *Gregory*, requested to be  
excused from going to so Barbarous a Nation, not as yet converted to Civi-  
lity, whose Language they did not understand. Here some will be ready  
to decide them for Cowards; who more seriously considering with how  
many Excuses *Moses*, being sent by God himself, declined the going to  
Pharaoh, and how loth *Jeremy* was to preach to his Country-men, the stiff-  
necked Jews, will presently change their Censuring into Commiserating the  
F frailty of Flesh, and common Condition of Mankind. But those make short  
Miles, who looking through a Window, travell a Dayes-journey in an  
instant, whilst Wayfaring men must honestly pay for every Step, and dearly  
earn it with their Industry. It is facile for men in their pleasing Specula-  
tions to project the Conversion of a Kingdome, and with themselves to dis-  
course a Heathen Nation into Christianity; whilst those must encounter many  
Difficulties, who really go about to perform it. *Gregory* perceiving them to  
tire in their Undertakings, spurr'd them on with his Exhortatory Letter; the  
Copy whereof is here inserted, to acquaint us with the Style of the Bishops  
of Rome in that Age.

*Gregory, the Servant of the Servants of God, &c.* For so-  
much as better it were never to begin a Good Work, then  
after it is once begun, to go from it again; you must needs my  
dear Sons, now fulfill the Good Work, which by the help of God  
you have taken in hand. Let therefore neither the Travell of the  
Journey, neither the Talk of evil-tongued Men dismay you. But  
with all Force and Fervour make up that you have by the motion of  
God begun; assuring your selves, that after your great Labour, eter-  
nall Reward shall follow. Be you in all points obedient unto *Augu-  
stine*, whom I have sent back unto you, and appointed him to be your  
Abbot;

*Gregory*  
would con-  
vert England  
in his person  
but doth it  
by his proxy.

a 1 Corinth. 5.  
b Exod. 17. 11.

*Augustine*  
and his fel-  
lows think  
for fear.

c Exod. ch. 3.  
and 4.  
d 1st. 1. 6.

e Bede's Hi-  
story of the  
Church of  
England.  
1 Book. 21.  
Chap. transla-  
ted by Staple-  
ton.

Anno.  
Dom.  
585

586

Anno.  
Dom.  
586

Abbot; knowing that shall much profit your Souls, which you shall  
do upon Obedience to his Commandment. Our Almighty Lord defend  
you with his Grace, and grant me to see the Fruit of your Labours in  
his Kingdome of Heaven. And though I cannot Labour my self with  
you, yet I may enjoy part of your Reward, for that I have a Will to  
Labour. God keep you healthy, my dearly beloved Children.

Dated the 23. of July, our Lord MAURICIUS TIBERIUS  
reigning, our most Vertuous Emperour, in the 14. year of his Empire,  
the 13. year after his Consulship, Indictione 14.

As yet we see the Chaplain had not lorded it over his Patron; as yet the  
Popes Crown was not built three stories high, but observed a Distance of  
Submission towards the Emperour, as appears by his respectfull Expre-  
ssions. Yea, this Bishop measured the time by the yeares of the Emperours  
Reign, whose Successours have learnt a new Arithmetick, in their mo-  
dern dates of Charters, only reckoning by the yeares of their own Con-  
secration, without relating to any Imperial Account. *Gregory* (by the  
way) was the first, which in Humility used the Stile of *Servus Servorum  
Dei*. But as in the Method of Nature, a Low Valley is immediately seconded  
with an Ambitious Hill: so after this Humble *Gregory*, (a submissive Soul)  
within two yeares followed *Boniface* the third, in whom was the Pitch of  
Pride, and Height of aspiring Haughtinesse, to be termed the *Princeps  
Bishop* of the World.

4. Besides the aforesaid Letter, *Gregory* wrote many others, one to *Theo-  
doric* and *Theodebert*, Kings of France, and several Epistles to sundry French  
Bishops, to accommodate and assist *Augustine* and his Companions in so  
pious a Design. And, which must not be forgotten, with them he sent  
over *Candidus*, a Priest, into France, to receive the Profits and long-de-  
tained Arrears of the Popes Patrimoniolum, as he terms it, (the Diminutive  
is well increased at this time) and with the Money to buy Cloaths for the  
Poore, and also to buy English-Pagan-captive Youths in France of 17 or  
18 years old, that they might be brought up in Christianity in Monasteries;  
so at once bestowing both Liberty, Religion, and Learning upon them.  
A Transcendent degree of Charity; an Almes worthy *Gregory's* hands to  
give it. And now *Augustine* with his Partners well encouraged, effec-  
tually prosecute their Project, passing quietly through France, save only  
at the Village of *Saye* in *Anjou*, where some giggling Huswives, (Light Leaves  
will be wagg'd with Little Wind) causelessly fell a flouting at them. But  
in after-Ages, the People of the same Place, to repair this Wrong, erected  
a Masculine Church (Women being interdicted the Entrance thereof)  
to the Memory of *S. Augustine*; and how fondly one Woman smarmed for  
her Presumption herein, take it on the trust of<sup>a</sup> my Author.

Plebs parat Ecclesiam mulieribus haud referendam:  
Introitum sentat una, sed illa perit.

They build a Church where Women may not enter:  
One try'd, but lost her life for her adventure.

Yet *Augustine* himself found courteous Usage from the Weaker Sex: wit-  
nesse the kind Carriage of *Brunichilda*, the Queen of France, unto him, (for  
which *Gregory* in an Epistle, returned her solemn Thanks,) and *Bertha* the  
King of France his Daughter, Wife to *Ethelbert* King of Kent.

5. *Augustine* safely wafted over the Sea, lands with the rest at *Thanet* in  
Kent, taking, as it seems, deep Footing, if it be true what one<sup>c</sup> writes, that  
the Print of his Steps where he first landed left as perfect a Mark in a main  
Rock, as if it had been in Wax; and the Romanists will cry shame on our  
Hard

*Augustine*  
troubled  
with mock-  
ing Michels  
in his Passage  
through  
France.

c *Gregory*,  
lib. 5. Epist. 58  
b *Idem* lib. 5.  
Epist. 10.  
c *Idem* lib. 5.  
Epist. 57.

d Alexander  
Elfenbelen  
in *Annal* of  
Saints, and  
John Cap-  
grave.

e Lib. 7. 7p. 5.  
f *Florus*  
Sanctorum  
Mart. 26. in  
the life of  
S. Augustine  
pag. 499.

*Augustine* far  
all his Power  
of working  
Miracles,  
needs inter-  
preters to  
preach to the  
English.

596

H

c Sidonius  
Apollinaris  
lib. 8. *Epist.*

the Saxons worshipped the Peculiar God *Herthas*, the self-same which in *Englsh* we call the Earth, adoring that whereon they did daily trample.

8. Besides these, they had other Lesser Gods, of a Lower Form and Younger House; as *Helmsted*, *Prono*, *Frigeast* and *Sirve*: all which at this day (to use the <sup>a</sup> Prophets Expression) are left to the Moles and the Bats; fit Company for them, which have Eyes and see not, Blind to the blind, like all those which put Confidence in them. And as the true and real <sup>b</sup> Serpent of *Aaron*, did swallow up and devour the seeming Serpents, which *Jannes* and *Jambres*, the *Egyptian* Inchanters, did make; so, long since in *England*, the Religion of the true God hath out-lived and out-lasted, confuted and confounded all false and feigned Deities. To conclude this Discourse, I have heard of a man, who being Drunk, rode over a Narrow Bridge (the first and last that ever passed that Way, as which in likelihood led him to imminent Death,) and next morning viewing how he had escaped, he fell into a Swoon, with acting over again the Danger of his Adventure in his bare Apprehension. So, should *England* (now, thanks be to God, grown sober and restored to her self) seriously recollect her sad Condition, when Posting in the Paths of Perdition, being intoxicated with the Cup of Idolatry, she would fall into a Trance of Amazement, at the consideration of her desperate state, before Christianity recovered her to her right Senses: the manner whereof we now come to relate.

9. When *Augustine* the Monk (as is afore said) landed in *Thanet*, *Ethelbert* was then King of *Kent*. One, who had very much of Good Nature in him; of a *Wild Olive* well civilized, and a Stock fit to be grafted upon. Yea, he was already, with <sup>c</sup> King *Agrippa* (though not in the same sense) almost a Christian; because his other half, <sup>d</sup> Queen *Berhta*, daughter to the King of *France*, was a Christian: to whom he permitted the free use of her Religion, allowing her both *Liquidard* a Bishop, for her Chaplain, and an old Church in *Canterbury* (formerly dedicated by the *Romans* to *S<sup>t</sup>. Martin*) to exercise her Devotion therein. Besides, at this time, this *Ethelbert* was in effect Monarch of *England*; whilst his Person had Residence chiefly in *Kent*, his Power had Influence even to *Humber*, all the rest of the *Saxon* Kings being Homagers unto him: which afterward much expedited the passage of the Gospel in *England*. Thus each officious Accident shall dutifully tender his Service to the advance of that Design, which God will have effected.

10. Then *Augustine* acquainted this *Ethelbert* with his Arrivall, informing him by his Messengers, that he brought the best Tidings unto him, which would certainly procure eternal Happiness in Heaven, and endless Reigning in Bliss with the true God, to such as should entertain them. Soon after *Ethelbert* repaired into *Thanet*; to whom *Augustine* made his address <sup>e</sup> *μὴ ἀποδοῦναι πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς κυρίως*, with a deal of [spiritual, carnal] *Pompe*; <sup>f</sup> having a Silver Cross carried before him for a Banner, the Image of our Saviour painted in a Table, and singing the Litanie in the way as they went. King *Ethelbert* desired all things berwixt them might be transacted in the open Aire, refusing to come under a Roof, for fear of Fascination. And indeed a Stranger (who had never seen the like before) beholding *Augustine* with such abundance of Trinkets about him, being formerly jealous, might hereby have his Suspicion encreased, that he went about some strange Machination. However, *Ethelbert* returned him a civil Answer; That their Promises were fair and good; but because new and uncertain, he could not presently assent unto them, and leave the ancient Customes of the *Englsh*, which had been for so long time observed. But because they were Strangers, coming

All these antiquated by Christianity. a *Isaiah* 2.20.

b *Exod.* 7.12.

The character of King *Ethelbert*.

c *Acts* 26.28.

d *Bede* Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 25.

*Augustine's* addresses, and *Ethelbert's* answer.

e *Beda*, in *prim.*

Anno Domini. 596

coming from Far Countries, to communicate to him and his such things as they conceived were good and true; he would not forbid any Converts, whom their Preaching could persuade to their Opinion, and also would provide them Necessaries for their comfortable Accommodation.

597

11. Hence *Augustine*, with his Followers, advanced to *Canterbury*, to the afore said old Church of *S<sup>t</sup>. Martin's*. Here they lived so piously, prayed so fervently, fasted so frequently, preached so constantly, wrought Miracles so commonly, that many people of Inferiour Rank, and at last King *Ethelbert* himself was baptized, and embraced the Christian Religion. The same *Ethelbert* also ordered, that none should be forced into Religion, having understood, that Christs Service ought to be voluntary, and not compelled. And if his Courtiers had been as cautious, not to embrace Religion for Fashion, as the King was careful they should not receive it for Fear, there had not at that time been made so many Christians, for Convenience (probably) rather, then for Conscience, who soon after returned again to Paganisme. However, as it is rendered a reason in the days of *Hesekiah*, why the Jews at so short warning, so unanimously kept the Passover, God had prepared the People, for the thing was done suddenly: so, on the same account it came to passe, that in so little a time (besides temporary Believers) so many true and sincere Converts embraced the Christian Faith.

12. Then *Augustine* by his Letters informed *Gregory* of the Progress, and Proficiency of his Paines in *England*. *Gregory* returned him a discreet Answer, rejoicing with him, and advising him, not to be puffed up by Pride, for the great Miracles wrought by him; but, *timendo gaudere, & gaudento permeserere*. He minded him how, when the Disciples triumphed at their casting out of Devils, Christ more spiritualized their Joy, rather to rejoyce that their Names were written in Heaven. And indeed, as some eminent in Piety never attained this Honour (*S<sup>t</sup>. John [Baptist] did no miracle*;) so many, finally disavowed of God, as unknown unto him, shall plead for themselves (and truly no doubt) <sup>a</sup> in thy Name have we cast out Devils. Yet, this Admonition of *Gregory* is with me (and ought to be with all unprejudiced persons) an Argument beyond exception, that (though no discreet man will believe *Augustine's* Miracles in the latitude of Monkish Relations) he is ignorantly and uncharitably peevish and morose, who utterly denies some Miracles to have been really effected by him. About the same time, *S<sup>t</sup>. Gregory* sent from *Rome* *Melitus*, *Iustus*, *Paulinus*, and *Ruffinianus*, to be Fellow-labourers with *Augustine* in the *English* Harvelt.

600

13. This was *Kent* converted to Christianity. For such as account this a Conversion of all *England*, to make their words good, do make use of a long and strong *Synecdoche*, a Part for the Whole, farre more then Half of the Land lying some yeares after in the Darkness of Paganisme; which others afterward enlightened with the Beams of the Gospel. But, as he is esteemed the Architect, or Master-workman, not who builds up most of the Wall; but, who first designeth the Fabrick, and layeth the Foundation thereof: in the same respect, *Augustine* carrieth away the Credit of all that came after him, because the primitive Planter of the Gospel amongst the Saxons. And it is observable that this Conversion was done without any Persecution (yea considerable Opposition;) costing some Pain, no Torture, some Swear, no Bloud; nor one Martyr being made in the whole managing thereof. Mean time, the poor Christian Britans, living peaceably at home, there enjoyed God, the Gospel, and their Mountains; little skillful in, and less caring for the Ceremonies at a mode, brought over by *Augustine*: and indeed their Poverty could not

*Ethelbert* and others converted to the Christian Faith.

a *Bede* Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 26.

*Gregory's* answer to *Augustine's* letters.

b *Luke* 10.17

c *John* 10.41.

d *Matt* 7.22.

Conclusion of this Century.

not go to the Cost of *Augustine's Silver Crosse*, which made them worship the *God of their Fathers* after their own homely, but hearty Fashion; not willing to disturb *Augustine* and his Followers in their new Rites, but that he had a mind to disquiet them in their old Service, as in the sequel of the History will appeare.

Anno.  
Dom.  
600



THE

# THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

AMICO SUO

GR. B.

Socrates interrogatus, quo Philro Natura Sympathias conciliaret, quidve esset in causa, ut alii hominum primo occurfu amant medullitus, alii sibi mutuo sint infensi; hanc rationem reddidit.

Deus, inquit, ab eterno quicquid futurum esset animarum creavit; creatas, per immensum temporis spatium in uno cumulo collocavit; collocatas, corporibus, prout indies generantur, infundit. Hinc est, si contingat vel fortuitum consortium inter eos homines, quorum anime in hoc acervo propinquiores, quod primo visu (quasi veteris vicinitatis memores) se invicem diligant; dum isti, primo intuitu, antipathie stimulis urgantur, quorum anime adversantes diametricè opponebantur.

Fateor commentum hoc Socraticum à Theologia abhorre; & in Philosophia plurimè assatis laborare. Quod si ei subesset tantum veritatis, quantum ingenii, sanctè simè voverem, in hoc animarum cumulo Tuam & Meam contiguas olim jacuisse; cum Te primum conspectum & amicitia amarem, & à Te redamarer.

601 1.



Uch about this time Pope Gregory sent two Arch-Bishops *Palls* into England; the one for *London*, the other for *York*. The former of these Cities had been honoured with an Arch-bishop's See some hundred yeares since King *Lucius*. But at the instance of *Augustine*, and by a new Order of the foresaid Gregory, this *Pall* sent to *London*, was removed thence to *Canterbury*, (whereof *Augustine* was made Arch-Bishop) and there, for the future, fixed and confirmed for severall Reasons. First, *London* already had Lustre enough, being the biggest City in Britain; and it was needlesse to adde new Spirituall to her old Temporall Greatness; which joyned, might cause Pride in any one place, whilst divided, they might give Honour to two Cities. Secondly, *London*, by reason of the Receipt thereof, was likely to prove the residing place for the English Monarch; and it was probable that the Archiepiscopall Dignity would there be eclipsed and out-shined by the Regall Diadem. Thirdly, had *Augustine* been Arch-Bishop of *London*, he might have seemed to succeed the British Arch-Bishops, and to have derived some Right from them, contrary

Why the Arch bishops See was removed from London to Canterbury. a Reg. Wender, Nant. Florist. and Koff. Hist.



Anno  
Dom.  
601

Witnesses  
produced a-  
gainst him.

c Manuscript  
in pub. lib. Can.  
tab. pag. 167.

and Cited in  
Jewell's Apo-  
log. part 1.  
pag. 11.

a Sir Henry  
Speelman's  
Councils,  
pag. 111.

b Manuscr. in  
Barnes Coll.  
Librar. Camb.

c Testimonies  
in his behalf.  
e Bede's Hist.  
lib. 2. cap. 2.  
edidit V. H.  
Island.

The Para-  
graph in  
Bede's testi-  
mony que-  
rioned.

d Matt. West.  
Church Hist.  
M3, Bibl.  
pub. Cantab.  
rig.

e James U-  
sher Brit.  
Eccl. Antiq.  
pag. 1157.

f Mr. Fox his  
moderation  
much moveth  
the Jury.

g Angl. Bri-  
tan. pag. 48.  
g Apol. part 1.  
pag. 11.

h Ails and  
Momm.  
part 1. p. 154.  
col. 2.

i Nicolas Tri-  
vet, largely  
cited by

Sir Henry  
Speelman in  
his Councils,  
pag. 112.

The bloud of  
Bangor  
Monks re-  
venged.

3. *Nicolas Trivet*, a *Dominican*, who wrote some three hundred years since, a depoled, That *Ethelbert King of Kent*, being highly offended, in- cited *Ethelfride King of Northumberland*, and other petty Saxon Kings, because they had condemned *Augustine in the Council*, &c.
4. *Elfschensis Monachus* commenting on those words of *Augustine*, *Delictum aeternum Religio*, Religion shall again be destroyed, thus expoundeth them; This was afterwards fulfilled, either by *Gormund*, or by *Augustine*, who caused twelve hundred Monks to be slain at *Bangor in Wales*, because they obeyed him not in a Council.

These Testimonies much moved the Jury, who, notwithstanding, reserved their other Ear, as it became Honest men, to hearken to the Depositions in *Augustine's* behalf.

12. Amongst these, that of *Bede* was most material: *Sicque completum est presagium sancti Pontificis Augustini [quomvis ipsam multo ante tempore ad caelestia regna sublato] ut etiam temporalis interitus ultionem sentirent perfidi*, *caelestia regna sublato]* ut etiam temporalis interitus ultionem sentirent perfidi, Which words (for, it is scarcely obliterated perpetua salutis consilia preverant. Which words (for, it is scarcely remembered, all Pleas must now be in English) may thus be translated; I solemnly remember, all Pleas must now be in English) may thus be translated; And so the prophecy of holy Bishop *Augustine* was fulfilled [although himself long before that was taken out of his Life to the Kingdom of Heaven] that also the treacherous People might feel the Revenge of Temporal Ruine, because they had despised the Counsels of Eternal Salvation offered unto them.

13. Much Difference arose hereabouts: the rather, because some urged that Parenthesis (*Although himself long before*, &c.) to have been studiously interpolated in *Bede*, on purpose for the Purgation of *Augustine*, by some in after-Ages that favoured him; alledging, that it is not in the ancient Saxon Copies, being put in as a piece of new Cloth into an old Garment, with intent to fill it up, but in event making it worse; because this Passage checketh the Pen of *Bede* in the full Speed thereof (no less against the Rules of History, than of Horsemanship) as he was writing the Life of *Augustine*, the Story whereof notwithstanding still runs on, and continues until the end of the next Chapter. Here some of the Jury betook themselves to the point of Chronologic, as most proper to decide the matter now depending; but such was the Variety of Authours, that no Certainty could thence be extracted. For, though the Massacre of the Monks of *Bangor* is generally noted to be Anno 603, which falls out before the Death of *Augustine*: yet the Annals of *Walter* (whose Authority is not to be contemned) observe the same in the year 613, which undoubtedly was after *Augustine's* Decease.

14. Then a second sort of Witnesses presented themselves, as *M. Parker*, Bishop *Iewel*, and others, somewhat sharp against *Augustine* in their Expressions: which wrought the less with the Jury, partly, because of such Authours their known Opposition to the *Romish* Church; and partly, because of their Modern writing, almost a thousand years after the matter in fact. Only the Moderate Testimony of Reverend Mr. Fox much moved the whole Court, as one thoroughly well-affected in Religion, and averse from all Popery, and Cruelty, thus expressing himself: *This seemeth rather suspitious then true, that Ethelbert being a Christian King, either could so much prevail with a Pagan Idolater, or else would attempt so far to commit such a cruel Deed: But of uncertain things I have nothing certainly to say, less to judge.* This (I say) prevailed so far with the Jury, that consulting with themselves, they found an Ignoramus. With whose commendable Charity I concur; preferring rather to clear a *Twilight* Innocence into Noon-day, than to darken it into Midnight.

15. To return to the Monks of *Bangor*. Their innocent Bloud went not long unrevenged: for we find recorded, how three British Princes, namely, *Bledrick Duke of Cornwall*, *Margaduc Duke of South-Wales*, and *Cadwal Duke of North-Wales*, bade Battel to the Northumberlanders, as they were invading

Wales,

Anno  
Dom.  
603

*Wales*, and not onely dangerously wounded the aforesaid *Ethelfride* their King, but also discomfited his Army, and slew ten thousand and sixty of his Soldiers, forcing him at last to Articles of Composition; that he should confine himself within his own Country, North of *Trent*, and leave all *Wales* to be entirely and peaceably enjoyed by the *Britans*, the true Owners thereof.

16. However here, to our great Grief, we are fain to take our Farewell, for some hundreds of years, of the *British* Church, wanting Instructions concerning the Remarkable Particulars thereof. Yet Dr. *Harpesfield* delivers a Check, both for his false Ground-work, and presumptuous Inference built thereupon. For, first, he slighteth the *British*, as such an one, as since this their Dissenting from *Augustine*, and the *Romish* Church in Ceremonies, never achieved any Actions of Renown, or mounted to any Eminency in the world. Then, he imputeth their being so long depressed, and at last subdued by the *English*, as a just Punishment of God, on their not Complying with *Rome*: so pragmaticall a Prier he is into Divine Secrets. But he who thus casteth forth a National Abuse, can never see where such a Stone lighteth, for (besides the Nation for the time being) their Posterity engaged therein have just cause either to find, or make Reparation to themselves. I could, and would my self assert the *British* from this Scandalous Pen, were it not against the Rules of Manners and Discretion, to take this Office out of the hands of some of their own Nation, for whom it is more proper, as they are more able to perform it.

17. Onely give me leave to insert a Line or two (some Pleasant Discourse will not do amiss, after so much Sad matter) in Commendation of the *British* Tongue, and Vindication thereof, against such as caulelessly traduce it. First, their Language is Native. It was one of those which departed from *Babel*: and herein it relates to God, as the more immediate Authour thereof; whereas most Tongues in *Europe* owe their Beginning to humane Depraving of some Original Language. Thus the *Italian*, *Spanish*, and *French*, Daughters, or Nieces to the *Latine*, are generated from the Corruption thereof. Secondly, Unmixed. For, though it hath some few Forrain Words, and useth them sometimes, yet the rather accepteth them out of State, then borroweth them out of Need, as having besides these, other Words of her own to express the same things. Yea, the *Romans* were so far from making the *Britans* to do, that they could not make them to speak as they would have them: their very Language never had a perfect Conquest in this Island. Thirdly, Unaltered. Other Tongues are daily disguised with forrain Words, so that in a Century of years, they grow Strangers to themselves: as now an *English*-man needs an Interpreter to understand *Chaucer's* English. But the *British* continues so constant to itself, that the Prophecies of old *Telliesin* (who lived above a thousand years since) are at this day intelligible in that Tongue. Lastly, Durable, which had it's Beginning at the Confusion of Tongues, and is likely not to have it's Ending till the Dissolution of the World.

18. Some indeed inveigh against it, as being hard to be pronounced, having a conflix of many Consonants, and some of them double-founded; yea, whereas the Mouth is the place wherein the Office of Speech is generally kept, the *British* words must be uttered through the Throat. But this rather argues the Antiquity thereof, herein running parallel with the *Hebrew* (the common Tongue of the Old World, before it was inclosed into severall Languages) and hath much Affinity therewith, in joynting of words with Affixes, and many other Correspondencies. Some also cavill, that it grates and tortures the eares of Hearers with the Harshness thereof: whereas indeed it is unpleasant onely to such as are Ignorant of it. And thus every Tongue seems stammering, which is not understood; yea, *Greek* it self is Barbarine to *Barbarians*. Besides, what is nick-named Harshness therein, maketh it indeed more full, stately, and masculine. But such is the Epicurisme of Modern

Times,

Farewell to-  
ken for some  
years of the  
British  
Church.  
a scilicet. Hist.  
Sculo 7. c. 19.  
pag. 114.

Commenda-  
tion of the  
British lan-  
guage

Caulelessly  
traduced by  
ignorance.



Times, to adduce all words to the Ear, that (as in the *French*) they melt out, in pronouncing, many essential Letters, taking out all the Bones, to make them bend the better in speaking; and such Hypocrites in their Words speak them not truly in their naive Strength, as the plain-dealing *British* do, which some pronounce every letter therein more manly, if less melodious. Lastly, some condemn it unjustly as a Worthless Tongue, because leading to no matter of moment; and, who will care to carry about that Key, which can unlock no Treasure? But this is false; that Tongue affording Monuments of Antiquity, *some being left, though many be lost; and* moe had been extant, but for want of Diligence in Seeking, and Carelessness in Preserving them.

19. But, craving pardon of the Reader for this Digression, we reassume our *Augustine*, who all this while was very industrious, and no less successful in converting the *Saxons* to the Christian Faith: Inasmuch that a certain Author reporteth, how in the River *Swaile* near *Richmond* in *Torkshire*, *Augustine* on one day baptized above ten thousand; adding withall, that the People not onely passed without Danger through so deep a River, but also they who were sick, and deformed when they went in, were whole<sup>b</sup> and handsome when they came forth again. The judicious Reader may in this Miracle discover, how the Author thereof (no doubt some ignorant Monk) hath therein jumbled and confounded three distinct Scripture-Histories, to make a mock-Parallel betwixt the Rivers *Jordan* and *Swaile*;

<p>c 1st. 4. 1. d Math. 3. 6. e 2. Kin. 5. 14.</p>	<p>Borrowing</p>	<p>1. The Peoples safe passing through it, 2. Their being baptized in it, 3. The curing of their Infirmities by it,</p>	<p>from</p>	<p><i>Joshua's</i> conducting the <i>Israelites</i> through <i>John's</i> baptizing the <i>Jews</i> in <i>Elizha's</i> healing <i>Naa-man's</i> leprosie in</p>	<p><i>Jordan.</i></p>
--	------------------	---	-------------	---	-----------------------

But here it must be remembered, that *Bede* maketh no mention at all hereof, and ascribeth this numerous Baptizing to *Paulinus* Arch-Bishop of *Tork* many years after. It would argue too much Morosity in us, to demurre in our faith to the whole Fact, till Authours are all agreed about the Doer thereof. For mine own part, I conceive *Paulinus* the more probable Person, as questioning whether *Augustine* (most conversant amongst the *South* and *West-Saxons*) ever moved so far Northward.

20. And, if so many were baptized in one day, it appears plainly, that in that Age, the Administration of that Sacrament was not loaded with those Superstitious Ceremonies, as essential therunto, of Croffing, Spittle, Oyl, Cream, Salt, and such like Trinkets; which *Protestants* generally as little know what they are, as *Papists* why they use them. I say, in that Age nothing was used with Baptisme but Baptisme, the *VWord* and the *VWater* made the Sacrament. Yea, the Arch-Bishop is said to have<sup>c</sup> commanded by the voice of Cryers, that the People should enter the River confidently, two by two, and, in the name of the Trinity, baptize one another by turns. This, indeed, was the most compendious way; otherwile *Joshua's* day, wherein the Sun stood still, had been too short for one mans personal performance of such an Employment.

21. Another considerable Accession was made to Christianity in the *South-West* part of this Isle, and particularly in *Dorsetshire*; where *Augustine* at *Cern*, destroyed the Idol of *Heale*, or *Æsculapius*, which the *Saxons* formerly adored. But in his journey thither (Reader, they are not mine, but my Authours words) with his Holy Company, they were cruelly oppressed with three familiar Discommodities of Travellers, Hunger, Thirst, and Weariness; when *Augustine* striking his Staff into the Ground, fetch'd forth a crystal Fountain, which quenched the extremity of their Thirst: whence the Place was after-

ward

ward called *Cernel*, from *Cerno* in *Latine*, to see, and *El* in *Hebrew*, God. A Composition of a Name hardly to be preceeded, that a Word should commence per *salutem*, from *Latine* into *Hebrew*, without taking *Greek* by the way thereof. Why not rather *Cernwell*, Behold the fountain; or *Cernhell*, see the destruction of the idol? But in truth, in all Books ancient and modern, the Place is plainly written *Cern*, without any paralogical apposition thereunto.

22. Indeed, most of the Miracles assign'd unto this *Augustine*, intended with their Strangeness to raise and heighten, with their Levity and Absurdity do depress and offend true Devotion. Witness, how when the Villagers in *Dorsetshire* beat *Augustine*, and his Fellows, and in Mockery fasten'd Fish-tails at their Backs, in punishment hereof, All that Generation had that given them by Nature, which so contemptibly they fasten'd on the Backs of these Holy men. Fy for shame! he needs an hard Place on his Face that reports it, and a soft Place in his Head that believes it.

23. However, for the main, we undoubtedly believe that the Preaching of *Augustine* and his Fellows took good Effect, finding the visible Progreffe, and the Improvement thereof, in the Conversion of so many from Paganisme to Christianity. For, *Sebert* King of *Essex* (nephew to *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, by *Ricula* his Sister) embraced the Faith, with all his Kingdom, by the Ministry of *Aethelstan*, whom *Augustine* ordained Bishop of *London*; much about the same time making one *Iustus* a Roman (who was *vir sui nominis*, a man answering his Name) Bishop of *Rochefer*. Many other remarkable matters happened in the Life of *Augustine*, especially those Questions and Answers, which passed betwixt him and *Gregory* the Great; by us purposely omitted, partly, because they are too voluminous to insert; and partly, because they are at large in many Authours, to whom we remit the Reader.

24. And now was the time come of *Augustine's* Dissolution, whose Body was buried in the Northern Porch of the New Church in *Canterbury*, dedicated to *Peter* and *Paul*, having (as *Bede* informs us) this Inscription written upon his Monument; Here resteth Lord *Augustine* the first Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; who being in times past sent hither from Blessed *Gregory* Bishop of the Roman City, and supported by God with the working of Miracles, brought King *Ethelbert* and his Country, from the worshipping of Idols to the Faith of Christ: and the dayes of his Office being finished in Peace, he died the seventh of the Calends of June, the same King reigning.

25. But in this Epitaph one thing is wanting, and that mainly material; namely the Year when he died. Strangely is that Watch contrived, and is generally useless, which shews the Minute of the Hour, not the Hour of the Day. As this Epitaph points at the Day, of smaller consequence; leaving out the Year, of greater concernment. This hath put mens Fancies on various Conjectures. Some make it a mere Omission of *Bede*: which notwithstanding is very strange, because otherwise he is most Critical, and Punctual in the Notation of Time. Others conceive it a fault of Commission, in some of after-Ages, who purposely expunged the Year (besfrew their Fingers that thrust out the Eyes, the Date of this Epitaph) lest the same should make too clear Discoveries of *Augustine's* surviving after the Massacre of the Monks of *Bangor*; which would increase the Suspicion of his having a Finger therein. Others place the Neglect in the Monument-maker, and not in *Bede*, seeing he was but the bare Relater of the Epitaph, and therefore loath to add, or alter any thing thereof. Perchance the Tomb-maker registred the Day, as a Nicety most likely to be forgotten, omitting the Year, as a thing generally, universally, and notoriously known. All men keeping a Record thereof, which in process of time became wholly forgotten. Thus, those things are not long effectually kept by any, which are equally to be kept by All,

*Augustine* baptized ten thousand in one day.  
a *Cred* by *Mr. Camden*, Preface of *Brit.* pag. 156.  
b *Florus* *Saxton* *rom.* 1. *mirac* by *Hierome* *Porter* pag. 245.

The simplicity of ancient Baptisme.

*Camden* *ut* *prin*.

The Idol destroyed by *Augustine* at *Cern*.  
c *Camden's* *Brit.* in *Dorsetshire*.  
d *Florus* *Saxton* in the life of *Augustine* p. 515, 516.

Anno Domini 603

a So both in *Camden*, and *Harpfield*.

A ridiculous miracle.

b *Florus* *Saxton* *ut* *prin*.

The great improvement of the Gospel.

610  
alias  
611  
alias  
612

c *Bede*, *Book* of *Martyrs*, and others.  
*Augustine's* death and Epitaph.  
d *Eccles.* *Epist.* lib. 2. cap. 5.

The date of the year, how wanting therein.

Anno  
Dom:  
610

<sup>1</sup> Gal. 1, 1.

Laurentius  
succeedeth  
Augustine.  
b Bede Eccles.  
Hist. lib. 2. c. 4.

\*Idem Ibidem

c 1 Kings 19.  
16.

27. After the death of *Auguftine*, *Laurentius* a *Romifh* in whom *Auguftine* in his Life-time not only defigned for, but ordained <sup>b</sup> in that Place, out of his abundant Caution, that the Infant-Church might not be Orphan an Hour, left *Saran* fuch affault the Breach of fuch a Vacancy, to be Difadvantage of Religion. Such a private-Ordination in fuch cafes was Canonically, it being \* a Tradition, that *S: Peter* in like manner conſecrated Clement his Succellor in the Church of *Rome*. And fure it is, the Prophet *Elijah* (no doubt to his great Comfort whileft living) \* anointed *Elijah* to miniſter in his Room, in his propheticall Function. In one reſpect *Laurentius* exceeded *Auguftine*, that he reduced the Recufant *Briſians* and *Scots*, (probably deſigning himſelf more humbly than his Predeceſſor) to ſome tolerable Conformity to the *Romifh* Ceremonies, eſpecially in the Celebration of *Eaſter*. Now, ſeeing frequent Mention hath formerly been made, of the Difference between the *Romifh* and *Briſiſh* Churches, in Obſervation of that Feſtivity, we will endeavour, as truly as we can, to ſtate the Controverſie betwixt them, with Arguments each ſide produced in their own behalf.

28. But, because the Point in hand is so nice (rather then necessary) that a little Variation therein may be material, I will carefully follow the true Copy I can get, in stating the Question, taking it from a Learned <sup>d</sup> Pen exactly skilled therein.

The Romans kept Easter upon that Sunday which fell berwixt the 15. & 21. day of the<sup>st</sup> Moon (both terms included) next after the 21. day of March, which they accounted to be the feat of the Vernal Equinoctial. And in reckoning the Age of the Moon, they followed the Alexandrian Cycle of 19 years, as it was explained unto them by Dionysius Exiguus.

The Britans kept  
Easter upon the Sunday that  
fell betwixt the 14. and 20.  
day of the Moon, following  
in their Account thereof,  
not the 19 yeares Computa-  
tion of Anarolius, but Sul-  
pitius Severus his Circle of  
84 yeares.

It

The Britons  
their plea.

*Nos seriem<sup>a</sup> patriam, non frivola scripta tenemus,  
Discipulo \* eusebii Polycarpo dante Iohannis.  
Ille etenim bis septemque sub tempore Phæbe  
Sanctum præfixit nobis fore Pascha colendum,  
Atque nefas dixit, si quis contraria sentit.*

No writings fond we follow, but do hold  
Our Country Course, which *Polycarp* of old,  
Scholar to Blessed *John*, to us hath given.  
For he, when th' Moon had finish'd *Dayes* twice seven,  
Bad us to keep the holy *Paschal* Time,  
And count Dissenting for an heinous Crime.

Time was, when once the Activity of *Peter* and *John* with holy Zeal was excellently employed, contending in a Race, which should first come to the Grave of our *Saviour*: but see here the *Romans* and the *Britans*, the pretended Followers of these two Apostles, not running, but wrestling in a violent Contention, who should most truly observe the Resurrection of Christ out of his Grave.

d. b. John 20.4

30. Strange! that so Good, and Wife men, should thus fall out about the *Mint* and *Cummin* of Religion, a Ceremony not at all decided in Scripture. It is to be feared, that the *When* marred the *How* of *Easter*; and the Controverſie about the *Time*, Spoiled a more materiall Circumſtance, of the *Manner* of keeping this Feaſt theſe oppoſite Parties (ſince being mutually in Charity at the receiving of the Sacrament, at that ſolemn Feſtival, kept among the *Jews* with unleavened Bread, celebrated among *Chriſtians* with too much Leaven (ſowre and ſwelling) of Anger and Paſſion. The beſtis, for the preſent *Laurenius* compoſed the Quarrel, and brought both *Britans* and *Scots*: (that is, the Inhabitants of *Ireland*) to comply with the *Romans* therein. But as every ſmall Winch, or ſtepping awrie, is enough to put an ill-ſore Bone out of joynt, ſo each petty Animofity was great enough to diſcompoſe this Agreement. But enough of this Controverſie for the preſent, we ſhall meet it too ſoon again; which like a refleſſive Ghoſt, will haunt our *Engliſh* Hiſtory, for more than an hundred and fifty years together.

The contro-  
versie reco-  
ciled by La-  
rentius.

613

31. Only I will add that, although about *Augustine's* time, this Controversie was then most heightened and inflamed; yet an old Grudge it was long before, betwixt the *Romans and Britains*. For, if old *Taleiſſyn* (ſtilled *Chief of Bards by the Britains*) lived (as *Pittes*, a Catholick Writer, will have it) in the year five hundred and forty; and ifſe following verſes be *Taleiſſyn's*, as it is <sup>e</sup> undoubtedly believ'd; then this Difference was on foot fifty yeares before *Augustine* came into *England*.

The antiquity of this difference.

d De Britan  
Scriptoribus  
etate 6<sup>a</sup>.  
pag. 95.  
c Chron. of  
Wales p. 25

Gwa'r offiriad byd  
Nys engreifftia gwyd  
Ac ny phregetha:  
Gwa ny chcidwey gail  
Ac cfyn vigail  
Ac nys arcilia:  
Gwa ny chcidwey dh  
Rhacbleidhie Rhufen  
Aiffon gwppa.

*Woe to that Priest yborn  
 That will not cleanly weed his Corn,  
 And preach his charge among :  
 Woe to that Shepherd (I say)  
 That will not watch his Fold a way,  
 As to his Office doth belong.  
 Woe to him that doth not keep  
 From Romish Wolves his Sheep  
 With staffe and weapon strong.*

U  
K

g. These





France, and got the benefit of Learning by his Banishment. For, wanting accommodations to appear in Princely Equipage, he applied himself to the more close to his Studies: seeing, that Means which would maintain a Prince but like a Scholar, would maintain a Scholar like a Prince. Yea, which was best of all, on his Learning he grafted true Religion; Bede giving him this Character, that he became *Vir Christianissimus & doctissimus*: (can more be said in so few words?) and returning home, assisted by the Preaching of Felix, a Monk of Burgundy, *iusta nominis sui sacramentum*, said Bede (happy was his Name, and Happiness was with him) converted his Subjects to Christianity. This Felix was made the first Bishop of *Dunwich* in Suffolk; a place formerly furnished with *two and fifty Churches*, and hath scarce two now remaining, the rest being swallowed up by the Sea. I can hardly hold my self from calling the Sea *sacriligious*; save that, on second thoughts, considering that Element to be but a *Natural Agent*, yea, such whose Motions are ordered by Divine Providence, *Hither shalt thou come, and no farther*, I will rather reserve this Epithete, *sacriligious*, to be bestowed on those men, who willingly and wilfully demolish the places appointed for God's Service.

a Weaver's  
Fenwell  
Monuments  
in Suffolk.

Difference  
about  
the antiquity  
of the Uni-  
versity of  
Cambridge.

b See Causes  
on the antiqui-  
ty of Cam-  
bridge.

c Gen. 38. 28.

The leading  
testimony of  
Bede explai-  
ned.

46. This *Sigebert* is generally reputed the *Founder* of the University of *Cambridge*. And because the point in hand is somewhat litigious, we will take the more Paines in clearing thereof, two things being warily premised. First, that *Sigebert's* founding the University of *Cambridge* ought not by any to be extended to lessen and abate, much less to drown and destroy her more ancient Title to Learning, which she deriveth (according to good *Auronthous*) from many hundred years before. *Valent, quantum valere possint*, let such her over-grown Evidences stand as valid as they may, by us neither confirmed, nor confuted for the present. And indeed, all such Old things in either University, though specious to the Eye, must be closely kept, and tenderly touched; lest otherwise, being roughly handled, they should moulder into Dust. Secondly, let none suspect, my Extraction from *Cambridge* will betray me to partiality to my Mother, who desire in this Difference to be like *Melchisedec, alyweldoroy, without Descent*, only to be directed by the Truth. And here I make this fair and free Confession, which, I hope, will be accepted for ingenuous: That, as in *Thamar's* travel of *Twins*, *Zarah* first put out his Hand, and then drew it in again, whilest *Pharez* first came forth into the World: so I plainly perceive *Cambridge* with an extended Arme, time out of mind, first challenging the Birth-right; and Priority of place for Learning; but afterwards drawing it in again, the lay for many yeares desolate, and of lesse account; whilest *Oxford*, if later, larger, came forth in more entire Proportion, and ever since constantly continued in the full Dimensions of an University.

47. These things being thus cautiously stated, we proceed, beginning with *Bede*, on whose Testimony all the following History is founded.

Beda lib. 3. Eccles. Hist. cap. 18.

*Sigebertus, ubi Regno potius est, max ea qua in Gallis bene disposita vidit, imitari cupiens, instituit Scholam, in qua pueri literis erudirentur, juvante se Episcopo Felice (quem de Cantia acceperat) eisque pedagogos ac magistros, juxta morem Cantuariorum, praebeante.*

*Sigebert*, when he had obtained the Kingdome, presently desiring to imitate those things which he had seen well-ordered in *France*, instituted a School, wherein Youths might be trained up in Learning, *Felix* the Bishop (whom he had received out of *Kent*) assisting him, and providing for them Teachers, and Masters, according to the Customs of those in *Canterbury*.

See

Anno  
Dom.  
630

631  
But  
some  
make  
it four  
yeares  
after.

See here; King *Sigebert*, to make his School complete, united therein such Convenientes for Education, as he had observed commendable

1. Abroad, in *France*: where Learning at, and before his time, was brought to great Perfection; *St. Hierome* affirming, that even in his Age, he had seen *Studia in Gallis florantissima*, most flourishing Universities in *France*.

a In Epistola  
ad Rusticum.

2. At home, in *Canterbury*: where even at this time Learning was professed, though more increased some forty yeares after; when as the same *Bede* reports, that in the dayes of *Theodorus* the Arch-Bishop, there were those that taught *Geometry*, *Aritmetick* and *Musick* (the fashionable studies of that Age) together with *Divinity*. The perfect Character of an University, where Divinity the *Queen* is waited on by her *Majds of Honour*.

b Hist. Ecclef.

But I question, whether the Formalty of Commencing was used in that Age: inclining rather to the negative, that such Distinction of *Graduates* was then unknown. except in *St. Paul's* sense, *Such as used the office of a Deacon well, purchased to themselves a good Degree*.

c 1 Tim. 3. 13

48. So much for *Bede's* Text. Come we now to ancient Authours commenting upon him. *Ancient* I call those, who wrote many yeares before the Differences were started about the Seniority of the Universities, and therefore are presumed impartiall, as unconcerned in a Controvercie which did not appear. First, *Polydore* *Virgil*, who from *Bede's* words plainly collects, that *Sigebert* then founded the University of *Cambridge*. Nor see I any cause for that Passage in the *Affertion of Oxford's* Antiquity, charging *Polydore*, *Quod affectibus indulgens, adamante studet Academiæ*, who being a *Forrainger*, and an *Italian*, had nothing to bays his Affection to one University more than the other. Learned *Leland* succeeds, who being employed by King *Henry* the eighth to make a Collection of *British* Antiquities (much scattered at the Dissolution of *Abbies*) thus expresseth himself.

Authours  
commenting  
on Bede's  
text.

d Lib. 4. c.  
lib. 5. pag. 107.  
e Writen  
Anno 1566.  
pag. 20.

f In his Com-  
ment. in Cy-  
gram Cam-  
ntm.

*Olim Granta fuit Titulus Vrbs inclita multis,  
Vicini à Fluvio nomine, Nomen habens.  
Saxones hanc Belli deurbavere procellis;  
Sed nova pro veteri, non procul inde sita est:  
Quam Felix Monachus, Sigeberti iussa sequutus,  
Atribus illustrem reddidit, atque Scholis.  
Hæc ego, perquirens Gentis Monumenta Britannæ,  
Afferri in Laudem, Granta diserta, tuam.*

*Grant*, long ago a City of great Fame,  
From neighbouring River doth receive her Name.  
When storms of *Saxon*-warres her overthrew,  
Near to the old, sprang up another new.  
Monk *Felix*, whilest he *Sigebert* obeys,  
Light'ned this place with Schools, and Learning's rays.  
Searching the Monuments of *British* Nation,  
This I assert in *Grant's* due Commendation.

Here we omit the severall Testimonies of *Bale*, *George Lilie*, and *Thomas Cooper*, in their severall Histories Anno 636. with many more, concluding *Sigebert* then the Founder of the University of *Cambridge*.

g In Sigebert-  
to, c. rursum  
Cent. 1. in  
Felicis.

49. But our Cousin-germans of *Oxford* will scarce give Credit hereunto, multiplying Objections against it. Obj. There were (say they) many places (besides *Cambridge*) in the Kingdome of the *East-Angles* (containing *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Cambridgeshire*) which, with equal Probability, may pretend to this School of *Sigebert's* Foundation, seeing *Bede* doth not nominatim affirm *Cambridge* for the particular Place, where this University was erected.

First obje-  
ction against  
Sigebert's  
founding of  
Cambridge.

so. Anf.

Anwer.

50. *Ans.* Though *Bede* be Dumb in this particular, not naming *Cambridge*; yet he makes such Signes, that most intelligent Antiquaries by us alleged, understand him to intend the fame: especially seeing *Cambridge* is acknowledged by all Authours, *time out of mind*, to have been a place for the Education of Students in Literature.

Second Objection.

51. *Obj.* If any such University was founded by *Sigebert*, it was at *Grantechester*, differing, as in Appellation, so in Situation from *Cambridge* (as being a good mile South-West thereof.) *Cambridge* therefore cannot entitle itself, but by apparent Usurpation, to the ancient Privileges of *Grantechester*.

Anwer.

52. *Ans.* Most unall it is for ancient places to alter their Names (*Babylon* to *Bagdet*, *Byzantium* to *Constantinople*, our old *Verulam* to *St. Albans*) still retaining the numerical Nature they had before. *Oxford* (they tell us) was once called *Bellostum*, and yet not altered from it's fame self by another Name. Nor is it any news for great Cities, in proceſſe of time (as weary of long standing) to ease themselves a little, by hitching into another place. Thus, some part of modern *Rome* is removed more then a mile from the ancient Area thereof. Thus, *Jerusalem* at this day is come down from Mount *Sion*, and more South-West climbed up Mount *Calvary*. Yet, either of these Places would account themselves highly injured, if not reputed, for the main, the same with the former. Sufficeth it, that some part of *Cambridge* stands at this day, where *Grantechester* did (which anciently extended North-West, as far as the Village called *Howfe*) and that's enough to keep possession of the Privileges of *Grantechester*, as properly belonging therunto. Especially, seeing *Oxford* at this day lays claim to the Antiquities of *Croxlade* and *Lechlade* (Towns distant sixteen miles off, the one in *Wills*, the other in *Glocestershire*) (Two ancient Schools of *Greek* and *Latine* (as some will have it) removed afterwards to *Oxford*, from whence some of her Aſſertours do date her Beginning).

Third Objection.

53. *Obj.* *Sigebert* founded but *Scholam*, which makes little to the Honour of *Cambridge*: For thereby her Professours are degraded to Pedants; and by a retrograde Motion *Cambridge* is sent back to *Eaton*, I mean, is made no better then a great Grammar-School.

e Caus de Antiqu. Cantab. (ex libro Barnwellen) pag. 11.

54. *Ans.* If the best of *Latine* Oratours may be believed, *Schola* properly signifies the Place where all Arts are publicly professed. *Ex Platonis schola Ponticus Heracles*, *Ponticus Heracles* came out of the School of *Plato*: Which is notoriously known to have been an *Academie*; yea, all his Scholars known by the name of *Academicks* to this day. Those of *Salerno* in *Italy*, dedicating a book of Physick to our *Henry* (the second, I take it) begin thus,

*Anglorum Regi scribit Schola tota Salerni.*

School-boys deserve to be whipped indeed, if presuming to prescribe Receipts to a King: But that *Schola* there is sufficiently known to have been a famous University. And under the favour of the University, the word *Universitas* is but a base, and barbarous *Latine* (whiles *Schola* is pure *Greek* originally) to design, either the Place where generall Learning is publicly professed, or the Persons studying therein. And, though I dare not totally concur with that Learned Critick, that *Universitas* was first used in the fore-said sense, about the reign of King *Henry* the third, yet, I believe, it will not be found in any Classick Authour, in that modern acception.

55. *Obj.* In good Authours, *Sigebert* is said to have founded not only *Scholam*, a School, but *Scholas*, Schools, in the plural. If *Schola* therefore be an University, either he made moe Universities then one in *Cambridge* (which is absurd to affirm;) or else he erected moe Universities in other places of his Kingdom, which *Cambrigiens* will not willingly confesse.

Anwer.

56. *Ans.* The variation of the Number is of no Concernment. For, if respect be had to the severall Arts there professed, *Sigebert* founded Schools in the plural:

b Mr. Camden in his description of Cambridge, sheweth Grantechester and Cambridge for the same place.

c Mr. Camden in his Britannia, pag. 38. in Oxfordshire, Fourth Objection.

Anno Dom. 631

plural: but if regard be taken of the Cyclopedy of the Learning resulting from those severall Sciences, he erected but one Grand School. Every Fresh-man knows that the single Quadrant, wherein the publick Lectures are read, and Acts kept, is called plurally the Schools, in each University.

57. *Obj.* But *Bede* terms them *Pueros*, *Boyes*, properly under the Rod, and *Ferula*, whom *Sigebert* placed in his School: and the word *Pedagogi*, *Vthers*, placed over them, imports the fame; that they were no University-Students, but a company of little Lads, that lived there under Correction.

58. *Ans.* Criticks will satisfy you, that the word *Pueri* signifies even those of more Maturity, especially if living *sub regime*, under the Discipline of Superiours. Secondly, *Bede*, being a great Divine, and conversant in Scripture-phraſe, borroweth an expression thence; Christ calling his Disciples *Maſſa*, *Children*. He useth also *Pedagogos* in the same notion with *St. Paul's* *maſſagogy's* *to Xpus*, which our last Translators read *Instructours in Christ*, even to the *Corinthians*, who still needed such *Pedagogues* or Teachers, though already *enriched in all utterance and knowledge*. Thirdly, the Saxon ancient Copy of *Bede*, which (doubtless) doth emphatically render the *Latine*, translates *pueri* *george menn*. Fourthly, *Asserius Menevensis*, speaking of *Alfred's* founding of *Oxford*, saith, that he endowed the same, *Sua propria Gentis nobilibus Pueris, & etiam ignobilibus*; and it is but equal, that the *Pueri* at *Cambridge* should be allowed as much man in them, as those at *Oxford*. Lastly, the young Eric of Scholars, when first admitted, is such, to whom *Pueri*, in the proper sense thereof, may well be applied. And here it may seasonably be remembered, how an *Oxford* Antiquary affirmeth, that *Edward* the fifth Prince of *Wales*, and *Richard* his brother, Duke of *York*, *Oxoniam studuerunt*, studied at *Oxford*, in the life-time of their Father. Stout Students no doubt, whereof the Elder could not then be ten, the Younger not nine yeares old. But forget what Lawyers hold, that the Kings eldest Son is at full Age (for some Purposes) at the day of his Birth (in which respect he may sue out his *Liveries* for the Dukedom of *Cornwall*;) and this (perchance) may somewhat mend the matter.

59. But enough of this matter, which some will censure as an Impertinency to our Church-History, and scarcely coming within the Church-yard thereof. My Prayers shall be, that each University may turn all Envy into generous, yea gracious, yea glorious Emulation, contending by laudable means, which shall surpass other in their Serviceableness to God, the Church, and Commonwealth: that so Commencing in Piety, and Proceeding in Learning, they may agree against their two generall Adversaries, Ignorance, and Profaneness. May it never be said of them, what *Agamemnon* said of her self, that she was too old to bear Sons: may they never be superannuated into Barrenness, but like the good Trees in Gods Garden, they shall still bring forth Fruit in their oldage, they shall be fat and flourishing.

632

60. Seasonably *Sigebert* erected an University at *Cambridge*, thereby in part to repair the late great Loss of Christianity in *England* when (the year after) *Edwine*, King of *Northumberland*, was slain in Battle by *Cadwall* King of *Wales*, and *Penda* King of the *Mercians*. After whose Death, his whole Kingdomerelapſed to Paganisme, and *paulinus*, Arch-Bishop of *York*, taking with him Queen *Ethelburge*, returned into *Kent*, and there became Bishop of the (then vacant) Church of *Rocheſter*. Mortified man, he minded not whether he went up, or down hill, whilſt he went on ſtrait in his Calling to glorifie God, and edifie others; sensible of no Digraſſe, when degrading himself from a great Arch-Bishop, to become a poor Bishop. Such betray much Pride and Peeviſhneſſe, who, outed of eminent Places, will rather be Nothing in the Church, then any thing leſſe then what they have been before.

L

61. After

Fifth Objection.

Anwer.

a John 21. 5. b 1 Cor. 4. 15.

c 1 Cor. 5.

\* All the Scholars of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, not being Fellows, are termed pueri in their Statutes. d Bryan Twine Antiq. Oxon. p. 122. Conclusion with prayer.

e Rub. 1. 12.

Edwine, King of Northumberland, slain in Battle by Cadwall King of Wales, and Penda King of the Mercians. After whose Death, his whole Kingdomerelapſed to Paganisme, and paulinus, Arch-Bishop of York, taking with him Queen Ethelburge, returned into Kent, and there became Bishop of the (then vacant) Church of Rocheſter. Mortified man, he minded not whether he went up, or down hill, whilſt he went on ſtrait in his Calling to glorifie God, and edifie others; sensible of no Digraſſe, when degrading himself from a great Arch-Bishop, to become a poor Bishop. Such betray much Pride and Peeviſhneſſe, who, outed of eminent Places, will rather be Nothing in the Church, then any thing leſſe then what they have been before.

The unhappy year.

a Camden's Brit. pag. 797.

A lost year well found.

b Bede Eccl. Hist. lib. 1. c. 1.

c Idem lib. 3. cap. 9.

d Idem lib. 3. 50. c. 14.

A victory given from heaven.

f Swedish Intelligence.

g Bilem. v. 11. h Idem 20. 12.

Pope Honorius his intellectual letter.

61. After the death of King *Edwine*, his Kingdom of *Northumberland* was divided into two parts, both petty Kingdoms;

1. *Bernicia*, reaching from the River *Tees* to *Edenburgh Frith*, where of *Eanfrit* was King.
2. *Deira* (whence (say some) *Deirham*, or *Durham*) lay betwixt *Tees* and *Humber*, whereof *Ofsrick* was King.

These both proved Apostates from the Christian Faith: and God in his justice let in *Cadwald*, King of the *Britans*, upon them, who slew them, harafed their Country, and made a lamentable Defolation, within the compass of one year, without respect to Age or Sex; untill *Ofswald* (bred and brought up in *Scotland*) next of the *Bloud-Royal*, came to be King of *Northumberland*, whom God sent to redeem that miserable Country from the hands of their Enemies, and many eminent Victories he obtained.

62. The fatal year, wherein so many Outrages were committed on the Apostate *Northumberlanders*, by *Cadwald* King of the *Britans*, is detested by all *Saxon* Chronologers. And therefore all the *Annalists*, and writers of all Histories in that Age, by joyned consent, universally resolved to damn and drown the Memoriall of that *Annus infamatus* (as they call it) *Unlucky year*, but made so by *Yngodly men*. Yea, they unanimously agreed to allow those two Apostate Kings, no years reign in their Chronicles, adding the time (subtracted from them) to *Ofswald*, their Christian Successour, accounting (him to have reigned) nine years; which indeed were but eight of his own, and one of these Historians their Adoption. Yet is it no news even in Scripture to bury the reign of Tyrants, under the Monument of a good Prince succeeding them. Thus when *Ehud* is said to have judged the land four score years, those eighteen years are included, wherein *Eglon* the *Moabite* oppressed *Israel*.

63. Amongst the many Victories atchieved by this *Ofswald*, one most remarkable was gained by him near *Hexam* in *Northumberland*, against the Pagan, against whom he erected the Standard of the Croffe, in a place which time out of mind was called *Heaven-feld* (*Haledon* at this day,) by a *Prolepsis*, not answering the name thereof untill this time. Hence a Poet writing the life of *Ofswald*;

*Tunc primum servit causam cur nomen haberet*  
*Heaven-feld, hoc est, coelestis campus; & illi*  
*Nomen ab antiquo dedit appellatio Gentis*  
*Præterita, tanquam belli præfaga futuri.*

Then he began the reason first to know  
Of *Heaven-feld*, why it was called so;  
Nam'd by the Natives long since by foresight,  
That in that field would fince a heavenly fight.

Thus it is generally reported, that the place nigh *Lipfick*, where the King of *Sweden* got one of his signal Victories, was, time out of mind, termed by the Dutch *Gots Acre*, or, *Gods ground*. And thus, as *Onesimus* and *Eutychus* were so called from their Infancy, but never truly answered their Names, till after the Conversion of the one, and Reviving of the other: so Places (whether casually, or prophetically) have Names anciently imposed upon them, which are sometimes verified many Ages after.

64. About this time *Honorius* the Pope sent his Letter to the *Scotch* Nation, advising them to a Uniformity with the Church of *Rome* in the Celebration of *Easter*. His main Reason is thought to have more of State, then Strength; humane Haughtinesse, then holy Divinity in it. Namely he counselleth them, *Ne paucitatem suam in extremis terre finibus constitutam sapientiores omnibus Christi Ecclesiis estimarent*. This is that *Honorius*, of whom the

Anno Dom. 632

633

635

Anno Dom. 633

the second, his Successour, complaineth in his Epistle to the Bishops of *Spain*, *Flammam hæretici dogmatis non ut decuit Apostolicam auctoritatem incipientem extinxit, sed negligendo conseruit*: By his negligence he did countenance the heretical Opinions (meaning of the *Monothelites*, then beginning afresh to spring up again) which he ought to have suppressed. Thus he, who could fiddle about the Ceremony of keeping *Easter*, could quickly connive at yea (interpretatively) consent to the depraving of the Doctrinall part of Religion: But his Letter to the *Scotch* took little effect, who kept their *Easter* not one Minute the sooner, or later, for all his writing unto them.

65. In a better Work, and with better Success, was *Birinus* employed, an Italian by Birth, sent over by Pope *Honorius* for the Conversion of the remainder of *England*; and to that purpose (that his Preaching belike might be the more powerfull) made a Bishop before his coming over; by *Afterius* Bishop of *Genoa*. Here I am at a loss, Bishop of what? Where was his Diocese or Bishoprick? Were not Bishop and Bishoprick so correlated in that Age, that they must be together? the trick of making Titular Bishops not as yet being used in *Rome*. It is impossible, that Bishop here should import into more then a plain Priest; and, that he onely took Orders before he came over into *England*. Well, commend me to the Memory of this man, who first was made Bishop, and then made himself a Bishoprick, by earning it out of the Pagan *English*, whom he intended to convert to Christianity. Yea, he passed his solemn Promise in the presence of the Pope, that he would preach the Gospel in the hearts of the uttermost coasts of *England* (meaning the Northern parts thereof) *whither no Teacher had as any time gone before him*. Minded herein like *S. Paul*, not to boast in another mans line, of things made ready to his hand.

66. This his Promise *Birinus*, though he literally brake, virtually kept; for he chanced to land amongst the *West-Saxons* (then called *Geufes*) in the *South-Weft* part of *England*, where as yet the Inhabitants were pure-impure Pagans: Having here found a fit subject for his Pains, why should he go farther to seek the same? Is not Providence the best Herald to marshal us? and ought we not to sit down where it disposeth us? Besides, according to Military Rules, it was best to clear the Coasts as he went, and not to leave a Pagan-Foe behind his back. Moved herewith, *Birinus* here sets up his Staffe [Episcopal] fixeth himself, falls a preaching, converts many, and amongst the rest, *Kynigils* the *West-Saxon* King, whom he baptized. *Ofswald*, King of *Northumberland*, chanced to be present at that time, and was first God-Father, then Father in Law to King *Kynigils*, to whom he gave his Daughter to Wife.

67. *Dorchester* (not the Town which denominates *Dorsetshire*, but) an old City in *Oxfordshire* (not in *Barkshire*, as *Stapleton* mistakes it) was made the Seat of *Birinus* his Bishoprick. Bede faith, *Donaverunt autem ambo Reges eidem Episcopo civitatem, quæ vocatur Dorica, &c.* Both the Kings (*Ofswald*, and *Kynigils*) gave to the said Bishop the City *Dorica*, or *Dorchester*. Both of them Hence observe, first, that *Ofswald* (whose Concurrency in this Grant was required) though particular King of *Northumberland*, was also Monarch of all *England*. To justify our former Observation, that amongst the seven *Saxon* Kings, always one was paramount above the rest. Secondly, that this *Dorchester* (though it lay North of *Thames* in *Oxfordshire*, which properly belonged to the Kingdom of *Mercia*) pertained now to the *West-Saxons*, beyond the ordinary Limits assigned to that Kingdom.

68. In this year *Honorius* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* divided *England* (understand, so much thereof as was Christian) into Parishes. But that most exquisite Antiquary seems very unwilling to admit so early and ancient Parishes, in the modern proper Acceptation of the word. Who knoweth not, that *Parochia* at large, signifieth the Diocese of the Bishop? and two new

L 2

Dioceses,

Tom. 2. De cret. Epist. ed. Romæ 1591. pag. 634.

Birinus converts the West-Saxons to the faith. b Bede lib. 3. cap. 7.

c Idem ibid.

d: Cor. 10. 16.

A broken promise well kept.

e Bede Eccl. Hist. 3. 1. cap. 7.

Dorchester made a Bishop's See. f In his translation of Bede fol. 52.

England divided into Parishes. g Mr. Selden in his Hist. of Tithes, cap. 9. pag. 256.



Dioceses, (*Dunwich* and *Dorchester*) were erected under *Honorius* in the Province of *Canterbury*. But whether Parishes, as usually understood, for places bounded in regard of the Profits from the people therein, payable only to a Pastour incumbent there, I say, whether such Parishes were extant in this Age, may well be questioned, as inconsistent with the Community of Ecclesiastick Profits, which then seemed jointly enjoyed by the Bishop and his Clergy.

69. No sooner was *Oswald* (whom we formerly mentioned) settled in his Kingdom of *Northumberland*, but his first Princely Care was, to provide Pastours to instruct his People in Christianity. In order whereunto he sends into *Scotland* (where he had his own Education) for some Eminent Preachers. Unfit all the Sun should come out of the *North*, to enlighten the *South*; as here it came to passe. One Preacher was sent him thence; whose Name we find not, but thus much of his Nature; that, being over-rigid and severe, his Sermons made no Impression on his *English* Auditory. *Hard with hard* (saith the Proverb) *makes no Fall*: and no Wonder, if the spiritual Building went on no better, wherein the Austerity and Harshness of the Pastour, met with the Ignorance and Sturdiness of the People. Home he returns, complaining of his ill Success; and one *Aidan*, of a Milder temper, and more Discretion (a Grace which none ever spoke against, but such as wanted it) was sent back in his room.

70. *Aidan* coming into *England*, settled himself at *Lindisferne*, or *Holy-Island*, in *Northumberland*; a place which is an *Island* and no *Island*; twice in twenty four hours, as divided by the Tide from, so conjoined at Low-water to the Continent. His exemplary Life was a Pattern for all pious Pastours. First, he left to the Clergy, *Suberitum abstinentie, vel continentie exemplum*; though we read not he vowed Virginity himself, or imposed it on others. He lived as he taught; and, whatsoever the Bounty of Princes or great Persons bestowed on him, he gave to the Poor. He seldom travelled but on Foot; and, when invited to large Feasts at Court, used to arise after a short Refection, and betake himself to his Meditations. He redeemed many Slaves from Captivity, making them first Free-men, then Christians.

71. All these his excellent Practices *Bede* dasheth with this *Alley*, that He had a Zeal of God, although not fully according to Knowledge; merely because he dissent from the *Romish* Church in the Celebration of *Easter*. But whether those words of *St. Paul*, spoken of his Country-men the *Jews*, in reference to their Stumbling at Christ, the Saviour of Mankind, be fitly applicable to *Aidan*, only dissenting in an outward Ceremony, let others decide. True it is, this *Aidan* was a prime Champion of the *Quartadecimans*, as who had been brought up under, or with *St. Colme*, in *Ireland*. The writer of the Life of this *St. Colme* (let this be inserted by the way) reports, how the said Saint had a Revelation of the Holy Ghost, which prophesied unto him of this Discord, which after many dayes should arise in the Church, about the diversity of the Feast of *Easter*. Yet he telleth us not, that the Holy Ghost reproved this *Colme* (whose Example animated others against the *Roman* Rite) for his Error; as if God cared not, which of both Sides carried the Controvercie.

72. But all which *Bede* speaketh in Diminution of *Aidan*, may freely be forgiven him, were it but for his faithfull recording of the following Passage in *Aidan's* Life: and take it with *Stapleton's* own Translation thereof.

*Omnes qui cum eo incedebant, sive Attonsi, sive Laii, meditari debent, id est, aut legendis Scripturis, aut Psalmis descendis operam dare.*

All they which went with him, were they professed into Religion, or were they Lay-brethren, gave themselves continually to Contemplation; that is to say, bestowed all their time in reading Scripture, or learning the Psalter.

*Bede*, speaking hereof, addeth moreover, *tantum vita illius à nostri temporis Jegenia*

A morose Preacher little edified.

*Aidan* his due commendation.

*Bede* his allowance. A *Bede's* Hist. lib. 3. cap. 10. 2.

c Arch-Bishop Usher in the Religion of the Irish p. 99.

Lay-men diligence in reading Scripture.

Anno Dom. 637

*Infamia distat, et sic much differed his life from the Laziness of our Age: taxing those of his Time for Neglect of the Scriptures. And the Ignorance be-moaned in his Age, continued and encreased after his Death.*

73. When *Aidan* came first into *England*, he was not perfect in the Language of our Country. For although the Speech of the modern Southern-Scotts be only a *Dorick* Dialect of, no distinct Language from *English*; yet *Aidan*, who naturally spoke *Wish*, was not intelligible of his *English* Congregation. Wherefore King *Oswald*, a better *Scott*-man (as bird amongst them) then *Aidan* was *English*-man, interpreted to the People, what the other preached unto them. Thus these two put together made a perfect Preacher. And although some will say, Sermons thus at the Second-hand must lose much of their Life and Lustre; yet the same Spirit working in both, the Ordinance proved effectual to the Salvation of many Souls.

74. This year the first *Lent* was kept in *England*, conceive it in those Parts thereof which obeyed the *Roman* Celebration of *Easter*. Otherwise it is suspicious, that the *Quartadecimans* were no good *Quadragesimarians*, and no such conscientious Observers of *Lent*, on the *Romish* Account. Surely, if people were taught in *Lent* to fast (as from Flesh, so) from a proud and false opinion of Meriting thereby, Policy would be well-pleased, and Piety not offended at the Observing thereof; whilst Continent-Countries might keep it without any Loss to their Souls, and Islands with great Gain to their Estates.

75. *Oswald*, King of *Northumberland*, fighting at *Maserfield* (since *Oswald's* in *Shropshire*) against *Penda*, the Pagan Prince of *Mercia*, was overthrown, slain, and his Body most barbarously abused, and chopped in pieces: Yea, it is observable that such *Saxon* Kings, which were first converted to Christianity, and such who were the most active Restorers of Religion after a general Apostasy, commonly came to Violent Deaths, by the hands of Heathens. As, *Edwine*, first Christian King of *Northumberland*, slain by Pagan *Penda*, Anno 632.

*Erpenwald*, first Christian King of *East-Angles*, slain by his own People, Anno 639.

*Penda*, first Christian King of *Mercia*, slain by his own Wife, Anno 656.

*Edwald*, or *Ethelwald*, first Christian King of *Sussex*, slain likewise.

*Oswald*, the most Religious Restorer of Christianity in *Northumberland*, Anno 642.

*Anna*, the most Pious King of the *East-Angles*, slain by *Penda*, Anno 654.

*Edmond*, the most Devout King of the *East-Angles*, martyred by the *Danes*, Anno 870.

Inquiring into the Causes hereof, we find; First, that the Lustre of their Lives shining before men, made them the fairer Mark for their malicious Enemies. Secondly, Satan, accounting them Traitors against his Kingdom of *Darkness*, left no stone unturned, thereby to bring them to Temporal Destruction; the greatest Hurt which his Power could inflict. Thirdly, God, to try the Patience of his Infant-Church, acquainted them with Afflictions from their very Cradle. Such therefore are mistaken, who make Prosperity a note either of Piety in particular Persons, or Verity in a whole Church; seeing, take it one time with another, and it misbeth the Mark often then it hits is; As for our *Oswald*, Legions of Miracles are attributed unto him after Death; all which we willingly omit, insinuating only on One as most remarkable.

76. The Story goes thus. On an *Easter-day* *Oswald* was sitting in his Palace at Dinner with Bishop *Aidan*: when in comes one of his Servants, and informeth him; that abundance of Poor people from all parts fate in the Streets; expecting some Alms for their Relief. Presently King *Oswald* commands,

The royal interpreter.

The first Lent in England.

The ill success of good Kings.

*Oswald's* hand, said never to flourish.

Anno Dom. 637



*The Church-History of Britain.*

mands, not only that the Meat <sup>eat</sup> before him should be given them, but also that the large Silver-Charger holding the same should be broke in pieces, and (in want per chance of present Coin) parted betwixt them. Whereupon, *Aidan* laying hold on *ofwald's right hand* and that alone, we know, ought to be the Almoner *May this hand (said he) never be confirmed* : which is said accordingly to come to-paſſe. So that when all the other Members of King *ofwald's* Body (from aſunder by his barbarous Enemies) were purified, his *right Hand* always remained unconfirmed.

*Nullus Verme perit, nulla Putredine tabet  
Dextra viri; nullo constringit Frigore, nullo  
Dissolvi Fervore potest: sed semper eodem  
Immutata statu persistit, mortua viri.*

No Worm, no Rottenesse taints his right Hand,  
Corruption-free in vain the Cold dorch strive  
To freeze, or Heat to melt it, which dorch stand  
Still at one stay; and though dead, is alive.

But it is not enough for us, that we have the *Poets Pen* for it; if we also had *Oswald's Hand* to shew for the same, much might be wrought on our belief herein.

Mystically  
true.

d Psal. 112. 6.  
c Prov. 10. 7.

Over-offici-  
ousness oc-  
casioned pur-  
gatory.

f Eccles. Hist.  
lib. 3. cap. 12.  
g Lib. 3. cap. 2

[illegible]

152

ter-Ages became like that *wild<sup>a</sup> Gourd*, poyfoning mens Souls with Superstition, when they fell to down-right Praying for the departed.

644 79. This year *Paulinus*, late Arch-Bishop of *York*, since Bishop of *Rocheſter*, ended his Life; and one *Ithamar* ſucceeded him, born in *Kent*, and the firſt *Engliſh*-man Biſhop, all being Forrainers before him. Aſhe was the firſt of his Nation, I believe him the ſecond of his Name, meeting with no more ſave onely <sup>b</sup> *Ithamar*, the youngſt Son of *Aaron*, High-Prieſt of *Iſrael*.

The death of *Paulinus*.

b Exod. 6. 23.

645 80. After King *Ofwald's* Death, four Christian contemporary Kings flourished in England. First *Ofwy*, King of *Northumberland*, more commendable for the Managing, then the Gaining of his Kingdome; except any will say, that no good Keeping can make amends for the ill Getting of a Crown, seeing he defeated *Ethelwald* (*Ofwald's* Son, and) the true Heire thereof. *Bede* termeth him *Regem Christianissimum, The most Christian King*; a Stile where-with the present Majesty of *France* will not be offended, as which many years after was settled on his Ancestours. Long had this *Ofwy* endeavoured in vain by Presents to purchase Peace from *Penda*, the Pagan King of *Mercia*, who miserably harassed his Country; and refused any Gifts, (though never so rich and great) which were tendered unto him. At last, faith my <sup>d</sup> Author, *Ofwy* resolved, *Wy will offer our Presents to such a King, who is higher in Command, and humbler in his Courtisie, as who will not disdain to accept them.* Whereupon he devoted his Daughter to God, in her perpetual Virginity, and soon after obtained a memorable Conquest over his Enemies, and cleared the Country from his Cruelty.

81. Secondly, *Sigebert*, King of *Effex*, and the Restorer of Religion in his Kingdom (which formerly had apostatized after the Departure of *Mellus*) valiant, and pious, though taxed for his contumacious Company-keeping (contrary to his Confessors command) with an Excommunicated Count, in whose House he was afterward murdered by two Villains: Who, being demanded the Cause of their Cruelty, why they killed so harmless and innocent a Prince, had nothing to say for themselves, but they did it, because *his Goodness had done the Kingdom hurt*; such his proneness to pardon offenders, on their (though but seeming) Submission, that his *Meekness made many Mischiefours*. But I hope, and believe, that the Heirs of *Sigebert* (though the story be silent herein) finding his Fault, amended it in themselves, and exercised just Severity in the Execution of these two damnable Traitors.

654. 82. *Anna* may be accounted the third Successour to *Sigebert*, and happy in numerous and holy Off-spring. Yea, all his Children (Iave *Iovinicus* the eldest, slain with his Father in a Fight against Pagan *Penda*) were either Mired, or Vailed, when Living; Sainted, and Shrined, when Dead: as *Erkenwald*, Bishop of *London*; *Ethelred*, or *Andrey*, and *Sexburga*, successively Foundresses and Abbesses of *Ely* *Wistguth*, a Nun therein; and *Ethilburg*, Abbess of *Beorking*, nigh *London*.

83 *Penda*, Prince of *Merica*, may make up the Quaternion, who married *Affreda*, Daughter of *Offy King of Northumberland*; and thereupon renouncing Paganism, embraced Christianity, and propagated it in his Dominions. Indeed *Penda*, his Father, that Persecuter of Piety, was still alive (and survived two years after) persisting an Heathen till Death, but mollified to permit a Toleration of Christianity in his Subjects. *Yea*, *Penda* in his Old-age used an expression (which might have befecmed the Mouth of a better man) namely, That he hated not Christians, but *only such who* <sup>†</sup> *professed Christ's Faith, without his Works*; accounting them contemptible, who pretended to Believe in God, without Obeying him.

84. Abrace of Brethren, both Bishops, both eminent for Learning and Religion, now appeared in the Church, so like in Name, they are oft mistaken in Authors one for another. Now, though it be *pleasant for Brethren to live*

The death of  
*Paulinus.*

b Exod. 6. 23.  
Most Chri-  
stian King  
of my.

- c Lib. 3. c. 21.

d Idem.

Sigbert the  
too-good.

c Beda lib. 3.  
v. 660. 22.

Anna happy  
in an holy  
illuc.

The conversion of the  
Mercians to  
Christianity.  
under Prince  
Peada.

fBeda lib. 3.  
cap. 21.

St. Ceddē,  
and St. Chad.

live together in Unity, yet it is not fit, by Error they should be jumbled together in Confusion. Observe their Difference therefore.

Anno  
Dom.  
656

*a Flores Rav.  
Monum pag. 35;  
b Idem p. 224.*

*St. Cedd* (in Latine *Ceddus*) I believe the elder, born at London (where afterward he was Bishop) bred in *Holy Island*, an active promoter in making the *East-Saxons Converts* (or rather *Reverts*) to the Faith. He is remembered in the *Romish* Kalender, January the seventh.

*Fridona first  
English  
Arch-bishop.*

The later of these was, as the Longest Liver, so the most eminent in his Life, who made many Christians, and amongst the rest *Wulfade* and *Rufine*, Sons to *Wulphere* King of *Mercia*, succeeding *Penda* therein, who was suddenly slain, and his untimely Death was a great Loss to Religion.

*e Sanders  
de Schijm.  
pag. 297.*

*J Bede Hist.  
lib. 3. p. 217.*

*e Binnius  
Tom. 1. p. 579.  
in Notis in  
Epist. 17. In  
nocentius  
primi.*

*Wulphere's  
murder of  
his two Sons.  
[Theodoret.  
lib. 3. cap. 23.]*

*The making  
of Glasie  
brought first  
into England.*

*English Bi-  
shops dissent  
from others  
in keeping  
Easter.*

85. Look we now on the See of *Canterbury*, where (to our comfort) we have gotten one of our own Country-men into the place, *Fridona* a *Saxon*. Yet, for the more State of the business, he assumed the name of *Deus-dedit*. We know, Arch-Bishops of his See are termed *Alerius orbis Papa*, and such changing of Names was fashionable with the Popes. He was consecrated by *Ithamar* alone, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, the first *English* Bishop consecrating the first *English* Arch-Bishop. Let no Sophister cavill with his thread-bare Maxime, *Nihil dat quod non habet*, but leave it to the Canon-Lawyers, to decide what may be done in case of Extremity. Mean time, how causeless is the Caption of the Papists at the Consecration of *Matthew Parker*, because no Arch-Bishop (though four Bishops) was present thereat. Seeing, though an Arch-Bishop be requisite *ad Dignitatem*, Bishops will suffice *ad Honestatem*; and a single Bishop (as *Ithamar* here) may be effectually *ad essentiam* of an Archiepiscopal Consecration. No wonder therefore if *Evagrius* was acknowledged a legitimate Bishop by the Pope himself, though contrary to the Rigour of the Canon, consecrated by *Paulinus* alone. *Deus-dedit* answered his Name (A good Arch-Bishop is Gods Gift) and for nine yeares and more, ruled the Church to his great Commendation.

86. A barbarous Murder was committed by *Wulphere*, King of *Mercia*, who understanding that his two Sons, *Wulfade* and *Rufine*, had embraced Christianity, cruelly slew them with his own Hands. But afterwards, repenting of this foul a Fact, he himself turned Christian, and in Testimony thereof, finished the fair Fabrick of the Monastery at *Peterborough*, begun by *Penda* his Brother. The whole Story thereof was, till lately, set forth in Painting, and Poetry (such as it was) in the Glas windows, round about the Cloisters of *Peterborough*.

*Wulfade pray'd Chad, that ghostly Leach,  
The Faith of Christ himſelf to teach.*

87. And now, having fallen on the mention of Glasie, be it seasonably remembered, that just at this time one *Benault*, a forrain Bishop (but of what place I find not) brought the Mystery of making Glasie into *England*, to the great Beautifying of our Churches and Houses; the Eyes being the Grace of the Body, as Windows are of Buildings. I conceive, his Invention was *White Glasie* alone, more ancient than Painted Glasie in this Island, as Plain-song is much ſenior to all Decanting, and running of Division.

88. The Paroxysme continued and increased, betwixt the *Scottish* Bishops (headed, after *Aidan's* Death, by *Finan*, Bishop of *Holy-Island*) and such who celebrated *Easter* after the *Roman* Rite. The later fo bitterly detested the

forme

*St. Chad* (in Latine *Cedda*) born in *Northumberland*, bred likewise in *Holy Island*, and Scholar to *Aidanus*. He was Bishop of *Lichfield*; a milde, and modest man, of whom more hereafter. His death is celebrated in the Kalender *March* the second, and the Dust of his Tombe is by Papists reported to cure all Diseases [alike] in Man and Beast. I believe it might make the *dumb to see*, and the lame to speak.

Anno  
Dom.  
662

former, that they would not receive Consecration of them, or Imposition of Hands; as if their very Fingers ends were infected with Schisme, for dissenting from *Rome*. Yea, they would neither give the Sacrament of the Eucharist to them, nor receive it from them: and yet they never quarrelled at, or questioned the validity of Baptisme conferred by them; seeing Bishop *Finan* christened the King of the *East-Saxons*, and all his Subjects. Somewhat more moderate were the *Scots*, or *Quartadecimans*, in their Carriage to the other, seeing *St. Chad* (scotized in his Judgement) refused not Consecration from *Wyni*, Bishop of *Wincheſter*, though one of the contrary Opinion.

89. Nor was this Controverſie confined to Cloisters and Colledges, but derived it self from the Kings Court, down into private Families. Thus *Oſny*, King of *Northumberland*, was of the *Scottish* Perswasion, whilst his Queen and eldest Son were of the *Romish* Opinion, in Celebration of *Eſter*. One *Board* would not hold them, whom one *Bedd* did contain. It fell out so sometimes, that the Husband's *Palm-Sunday* was the Wife's *Eſter-day*; and in other Families, the Wife fasted, and kept *Lent* still, whilst her Husband feasted, and observed *Eſter*. Say not, that Wife deferred to fast always, who in so indifferent a Ceremony would not conform to her Husband's Judgement. For Conſciences, in such kinds, are to be led, not drawn. Great was the Disturbance in every great Family; onely the Poor gained by the Difference, causing a *Duplicate* of *Festivals*, two *Easters* being kept every year in the same House.

663

90. To compose this Controverſie (if possible) a Council was called at *Streaneb-Hall* (now *Whitby* in *Yorkshire*) by the procurement of *St. Hilda*, Abbess therein. Here appeared, amongst many others,

For the Romish Easter,  
*Vvilfride*, an Abbot,  
a zealous Cham-  
pion.  
*Romanus*, a Priest, ve-  
ry hot in the Quar-  
rel: And others.

Moderators.

*Hilda*, the Abbess of  
*Streaneb-Hall*.  
*St. Cedd*, Bishop of *Lon-  
don*, propending to  
the *Scottish*, but not  
thoroughly perswaded.

For the Scottish Easter.

*St. Coleman*, Bi-  
shop of *Holy-  
Island*, who  
succeeded *Fi-  
nan* in that  
place.

But *Baronius* and *Binnius* will in no case allow this for a Council (though elsewhere extending that name to meaner Meetings) onely they call it a Collation; because (sodooth) it wanted some Council-Formalities, all Bishops not being solemnly summoned, but onely some Volunteers appearing therein. Besides, as there was something too little, so something too much for a Canonical Council; *Hilda*, a Woman, being Moderatresse therein; which seemed irregular.

91. In this Council, or Collation (call it which you please) after much arguing *pro* and *con*, *Vvilfride* at last knockt all down with this Argument; That the *Romish* Celebration of *Eſter* was founded on the Practice of *St. Peter*, Prince of the Apostles, and Porter of Heaven. King *Oſny* hearing this was affrighted, who had rather anger all the other eleven Apostles, then offend *St. Peter*, one so high in Power and Place; for fear (as he said) left coming to Heaven-gate, *St. Peter* should deny him a *Cass* of his Office, and refuse to let him into Happiness. *St. Coleman*, being on the other side, was angry, that so slight an Argument had made so deep an Impression on the King's Credulity. And, to manifest his Distaste, after the Council was broken up, carried all those of his own Opinion home with him into *Scotland*. One *Tuda* succeeded him in his Bishoprick of *Holy-Island*, the first of that See that conformed himself in this Controverſie to the *Romish* Church, and died in the same year, of the Plague.

92. As for *Vvilfride*, he was well rewarded for his Paines in this Council, being presently promoted to be Bishop of *Tork*, which, since *Paulinus* his Death, was no longer an Arch-Bishop's, but a plain Bishop's Sec. But, though

M

appointed

This contro-  
verſie ſpreads  
into private  
families.

A Council  
is called to  
compose this  
controverſie.

*Vvilfride* his  
prevailing  
argument,

His intended,  
but disap-  
pointed pre-  
ferment.

appointed for the place by King *Oswy*, he refused Consecration from any *English* Bishops, being all irregular, as consecrated by the schismatical *Scots*; only *Vvyni*, late Bishop of *Vvinchester*, now of *London*, was ordained canonically, but lately he had contracted just Shame for his Simony, in buying his Bishoprick. Over goes *Vvilfride* therefore to *Rome* for Consecration, and stays there so long, that in his Absence the King put *St. Chad* into the Bishoprick of *Tork*. The writer of *Vvilfride's* Life complains lowly hereof;

*Audacter sponsam vivam rapere marito.*

Boldly in the Husband's life,

Away from him they took his Wife.

But, by the Poets leave, *Tork* was but espoused, not married to *Vvilfride*, whilst he was in *England*: and after his going over beyond-Sea, he stayed so long, that his Church presumed him dead, and herself a Maid-Widow, which lawfully might receive another Husband. At last *Vvilfride* returning home had *Tork* restored unto him, and *St. Chad* was removed to the new-founded Bishoprick of *Lichfield*.

Abbeys Hilda.  
122 Chron. 34.  
22.

93. The Abbeys *Hilda*, whom we mentioned before, was like another *Huldab*, which lived in the Colledge, superiour to most of her Sex in Learning, inferiour to none in Religion. Monks ascribe it to her Sanctity, that she turned many Serpents in that Country into Stones. Plenty of which Stones are found at this day about *Vvithby*, the place of her Abode, having the Shape of Serpents, but most headless; as the Tale is truthlesse, relating it to her Miraculous Operation. Who knows not, but that at *Alderly* in *Glocestershire*, there are found Stones resembling Cockles, or Periwinkles, in a place far from the Sea? which are esteemed by the Learned the Gamesome Work of Nature, sometimes pleased to disport it self, and pose us by propounding such Riddles unto us.

A miracle  
imputed to  
her holiness.

94. Some impute it also to *Hilda* her Holiness, that Wilde-geese, when flying over the Grounds near her Convent, fell down to the ground, as doing Homage to the Sanctity thereof. As the Credit of the Reporters hath converted wise men to believe the Thing: so they justly remain incredulous, that it proceeded from any Miracle, but secret Antipathy. But as Philosophers, when posed in Nature, and prosecuted to render Reasons of her Mysteries, took Sanctuary at *Ocultia Qualitas*: Monks in the same kind make their Refuge to the Shrine of some Saint, attributing all they cannot answer, to His, or Her miraculous Operation. Yea sometimes such is Monkish Impudence, falsely to assign that to a Saint (though all Chronologies protest against the Possibility thereof) which is the plain and pregnant effect of Nature. Witness when they write, that *Richard de la Vvich*, Bishop of *Chichester*, with his fervent Prayers obtained, that the *Vviches*, or salt Springs, should boil out of the earth in *Durwich* in *Vvorcestershire*, which are mentioned, and defcribed by ancient Authors dead before the Cradle of the said *Richard de la Vvich* was made.

b As Camden  
saith in Wor-  
cestershire.

Theodorus  
Arch-bishop  
of Canterbury.

c Hist. 22. 5.  
di. 104. 15.

e 1 Cor. 9. 22.  
His stern-  
ness to keep  
Easter after  
the Romish  
rite.

95. Look we now on the See of *Canterbury*, and there after the Death of the last Arch-Bishop (and four yeares Vacancy) we find that Church hath changed her *Latine* into *Greek*, I mean, dead *Dens-dedit*, into *Theodorus* his Successour, put in by the pope. This *Theodorus* was a *Grecian* by Name, and Nation, fellow-Citizen with *St. Paul*, born in *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*; and herein like him, that he *spoke with Tongues more then they all*, had more skill in learned Languages then all his Brethren, Bishops of *England*, in that Age. Yea, as Children when young, are permitted to Play; but when of some yeares, are sent to learn their Book: so hitherto the Infant-Church of *England* may be said to have lost time for matter of Learning, and now *Theodorus* let it first to School, brought Books to it, and it to Books; erecting a well-furnished Library, and teaching his Clergie how to make use thereof.

96. I could wish this *Theodorus* had had one Quality more of *St. Paul*; that in matters Indifferent, he would have been *made all things to all men, that by*

Anno  
Dom.  
663

67\*

Anno  
Dom.  
675

all means he might save some. Whereas he most rigourously pressed Conformity to *Rome*, in the Observation of *Easter*: and to that purpose a Council was called at *Herad-ford*, now *Hartford*, and not *Hereford*, as judicious and industrious Bishop *Godwine* (partiall to the place whereof he himself was Bishop) doth mistake it. Here *Easter* was settled after the *Romish* Rite; and we are not sorry for the same, willing rather it should be any way ordered, then that the Reader (with whom I sympathize, more then grutch my own Pains) should be troubled any longer with such a small-great Controversie, low in it's own Merit, but heightened with the spleen and Passion of such as prosecuted it. In this Synod nine other Articles were concluded of, as they follow here in order, out of *Bede*, as *Stapleton* himself hath translated them.

a Lib. 4. cap. 55.

1. That no Bishop should have ought to do in another's Diocese, but be contented with the Charge of the people committed unto him.
2. That no Bishop should molest, or any wife trouble such Monasteries as were consecrated, and given to God, nor violently take from them ought that was theirs.
3. That Monks should not go from place to place, that is to say, from one Monastery to another, unless by the leave of their own Abbot; but should continue in the Obedience which they promised at the time of their Conversion, and entering into Religion.
4. That none of the Clergie forsaking his own Bishop, should run up and down where he list, nor when he came any whither, should be received without Letters of Commendation from his Diocesan. And, if that he be once received, & will not return, being warned and called, both the Receiver and he that is Received shall incur the Sentence of Excommunication.
5. That such Bishops and Clerks as are Strangers, be content with such Hospitality as is given them; and that it be lawfull for none of them to execute any Office of a Priest, without the permission of the Bishop in whose Diocese they are known to be.
6. That whereas by the ancient Decrees, a Synod and Convocation ought to be assembled twice a year; yet because diverse Inconveniences do happen among us, it hath seemed good to us all, that it should be assembled once a year, the first day of *August*, at the place called *Clofeshoob*.
7. That no Bishop should ambitiously preferre himself before another, but should all acknowledge the time, and order of their Consecration.
8. That the Number of Bishops should be increased, the number of Christian folk waxing daily greater; but hereof at this time we said no further.
9. That no man commit Advoutry nor Fornication; that no man forsake his own Wife, but for onely Fornication, as the Holy Gospel teacheth. And, if any man put away his Wife being lawfully married unto him, if he will be a right Christian man, let him be joynt to none other; but let him so continue till sole, or else be reconciled again to his own Wife.

I wonder, no mention herein of settling the Tonsure of Priests (a Controversie running parallel with that of *Easter*) according to the *Roman* Rite. To conclude, let not the Reader expect the like exemplification of all Articles in following Synods, so largely as here we have presented them. For this Synod *Stapleton* calls the first of the *English Nation* (understand him, whose Canons are completely extant) and therefore more Patrimony is due to the Heir and Eldest Son, then to the younger Brethren, who shall be content to be confined to their Penions, I mean, to have their Articles not exemplified, but epitomized hereafter.

b In his trans-  
lation of Bede  
fol. 118.

He envied  
Wulfride Bi-  
shop of York.

97. *Theodorus*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, beheld *Wulfride*, Bishop of *York* (one of great Parts, and greater Passions) with envious eyes; and therefore, to abate his Power, he endeavoured that the Diocese of *York* might be divided. *Wulfride* offended hereat goes over to *Rome* to impede the Project, and by the way is tossed with a grievous Tempest. *It is an ill wind which bloweth no man Profit*. He is cast on the Shoar of *Freezeland* in *Belgia*, where the Inhabitants, as yet Pagans, were by his Preaching converted to Christianity.

This may be observed in this *Wulfride*, his *wisdom* were better then his *hope*, his *casual* and *occasional* were better then his *intentionall Performances* (which shews plainly, that Providence acted more vigorously in him, then his own Prudence.) I mean, when at Ease in Wealth, at home, he busied himself in Toys and Trifles of Ceremonious Controversies; but when (as now, and afterwards) a Stranger, and little better then an Exile, he effectually promoted the Honour and Glory of God.

The South-  
Saxons (as  
formerly the  
Freezelanders)  
converted by  
Wulfride.

98. And as it is observed of Nightingales, that they sing the sweetest, when farthest from their Nests: so this *Wulfride* was most diligent in God's Service, when at the greatest distance from his own Home. For though returning into *England*, he returned not unto *Tork*, but stayed in the Pagan Kingdom of the *South-Saxons*, who also, by God's Blessing on his Endeavours, were persuaded to embrace the Christian Faith.

The fifth, the  
last.

99. These *South-Saxons*, of all the seven Kingdoms, were the last which submitted themselves to the perfect Freedom of God's Service, and yet their Country was in Situation next to *Kent*, where the Gospel was first planted. Herein it was verified, *Many that are first, shall be last; and the last, first*. Yea, the Spirit, *which bloweth where it listeth*, observeth no visible Rules of Motion; but sometimes taking no notice of those in the middle, reacheth to them which are farthest off. Indeed *Edithwald* their King, was a little before Christened by the persuasion of *Wolphe*, King of *Mercia* (who was his Godfather, and in his baptizing gave him for a Gift the Isle of *Wight*, & *provinciam* \* *Meanuarorum in gente Occidentalium Saxonum*) but his Country still remained in Paganisme. And although *Dicul*, a *Scot*, with some six of his Brethren, had a small Monastery at *Bosenharn* in *Suffex*; yet they, rather enjoying themselves, then meddling with others, were more careful of their own Safety, then their Neighbours Conversion. And indeed, the Pagans neither heeded their Life, nor minded their Doctrine.

a Bede lib. 4.  
cap. 13.

Pagan obsti-  
nacy punish-  
ed with  
famine.

100. However, these *South-Saxons* paid for their Stubbornness, in standing out so long against the Gospel; for they always were a miserable people, and at this present afflicted with a great Famine, caused by three years Drought; so that forty men in a row, holding hand in hand, used to throw themselves into the Sea, to avoid the misery of a Lingering Death. In this wofull Condition did *Wulfride*, Bishop of *Tork*, find them, when he first preached the Gospel unto them; and on that very day whereint he baptized them (as if God from Heaven had powred water into the Font) he obtained store of Rain, which procured great Plenty. Observe (though I am not so ill-natured as to wrangle with all Miracles) an Apish Imitation of *Elijah* (who carried the Key of Heaven at his Girdle, to lock, or unlock it by his Prayer): only *Elijah* gave Rain after three years and six months, *Wulfride* after bare three years; it being good manners to come a little short of his Betters.

South-Saxons  
first taught  
to fish.  
b Bede thidm

101. Also (saith my <sup>b</sup> Author) he taught the people (who till then knew not how to catch any Fishes, but Eeles) how to take all kind of Fish in the Sea, and Rivers. Strange! that thus long they should live in Ignorance of so usefull a Trade, being (though Infidels) no Idiots: especially seeing mens Capacities come very soon to be of age to understand their own Profit; and the Examples of their Neighbours might have been Tutors unto them.

But

679

675

Anno  
Dom.  
680

But *Wulfride* afterward wanted no Hearers, People flocking unto him; as when Christ made his Auditors his Guefts, they followed after him, *because they ate of the Loaves, and were filled*. The Priests *Eappa*, *Padda*, *Bruchelin*, and *Odda*; assisted in baptizing the common people; and King *Edithwald* gave *Wulfride* a piece of Land, containing eighty nine Families, at *Sesley*, where he erected a Bishops See, since translated to *Chichester*.

102. Amongst other good deeds, *Wulfride* freed two hundred and fifty men and maid-Servants, both out of Soul-Slavery, and Bodily Bondage. For, having baptized them, he procured their Liberty of their Masters, which they (no doubt) cheerfully embraced, according to St. Paul's counsel, *Art thou called a Servant? care not for it: but if thou mayst be made free, use it rather*. And thus by God's Blessing, in the space of eighty and two yeares (from five hundred ninety seven, to six hundred seventy nine) was the whole *Saxon Heptarchie* converted to Christianity, and did never again relapse to Paganisme.

103. Mention being lately made of *Wolphe*, the *Mercian* King, his being Godfather unto *Edithwald*, King of the *South-Saxons*, some will much admire, that one arrived at yeares of Maturity, able to render an Account of his Faith, should have a Godfather, which (with *swaddling-clouts*) they conceive belong to Infants alone. Yet this was very fashionable in that Age: not only for the greater state, in Kings, Princes, and Publick Persons; but, in *majorum cautelam*, even amongst Private people. For such Successors were thought to put an Obligation on the Creditors (and by reflection on the Consciences) of new Christians (whereof too many in those dayes were baptized out of civile Designs) to walk worthy of their Profession, were it but to save their Friends Reputation, who had undertaken for their Sincerity therein.

104. *Cadwalader*, the last King of *Wales*, wearied out with Warre, Famine, and Pestilence, left his own Land, and (with some small Treasure) fled to *Alan*, King of Little *Britain*. But Princes are welcome in forrain parts, when Pleasure (not Need) brings them thither; or, whilst they are so considerable in themselves, as to command their own Entertainment. Whereas this distressed King his Company was beheld not only as Uselesse, and Expensive, but Dangerous, as likely to draw with it the Displeasure of the *Saxon* Kings (his Enemies) on his Entertainer. But it seems, *Cadwalader* had better Friends in Heaven, than any he found on Earth, if it be true what confidently is reported, that an Angel appeared unto him, advising him to go to *Rome*, there to take on him the Habite of a Monk, and spend the remainder of his Life. Here he purchased Lands, all by the foresaid Anglicall Direction, built an House (after his Death converted into an Hospitall) and by his Will so ordered it, that certain Priests of his own Country should for ever have the Rule and Government thereof. These were to entertain all *Welsh*-Pilgrims with Meat, Drink, and Lodging, for the space of a month, and to give them a certain Summe of Money for a *viaticum* at their Departure, towards their Charges in returning to their own Country.

105. Many a year did this Hospitall flourish in good Plenty, till the middle of Queen *Elizabeth* her Reign; when fair the Revenues belonging, and few the *Welsh*-Pilgrims repairing thero. This made Father *Parsons*, with the rest of our *English Jesuites*, cast an envious eye thereon, who would never be quier, untill they had obtained of Pope *Gregory* the 13. to eject the old *British*, and unite this Hospitall to the *English* Colledge at *Rome*. This, no doubt, stirred up the *Welsh* bloud of Dr. *Morris*, Dr. *Lewes*, Dr. *Smith*, Mr. *Griffith*, who in vain tickled to the utmost of their Power, to continue this Foundation to their Country-men. In my poor Opinion, seeing an Angel is said to direct in the Founding and endowing of this Hospitall, it was but

A double  
good deed.

a 1 Cor. 7. 21.

Godfathers  
used to men  
of mature  
Age.  
b Parag. 99.

Cadwalader  
founds a  
Welsh Hos-  
pital at Rome.

c Lewes  
Owen his  
running Re-  
gister, pag. 17.

Since, injuri-  
ously taken  
from the  
Welsh.

but fit that either the same Angel appearing again, or some other of an higher (or at least equal Dignity and Degree, in the Celestial Hierarchy) should have altered the Use, and confirmed the Alienation thereof. But of this more hereafter.

a Vide Annum  
Domin 1569.  
The Celestial  
Ritual Laws  
of King Ina.

b Jac. Uffer.  
Arch. Amab.  
de Brit. Ecclief.  
primord. p. 394

c Sr. Henry  
Spelman his  
Councils  
pag. 182. etc.

d The Luine,  
Liber esto,  
may not only  
impose a free-  
dome from  
fauls, but also;  
that such a  
free-servant  
should be ma-  
numis'd from  
servitude.  
See the follow-  
ing 115.  
paragraph.

106. Ina, King of the West-Saxons, about this time set forth his *Saxon Laws*, translated into English by Mr. Lambert. Eleven of his *Laws* concerned Church-matters; Kings in that Age understanding their own Power, the Pope having not as yet intrenched on their just *Prerogative*. These Constitutions were concluded on by the King, through the Persuasion of Keured his Father. Hedda and Erkenwald his Bishops, and all his Aldermen and wife Senators of the People. Let none wonder that Ina, in his Preface to these *Laws*, termeth *Erkenwald* his Bishop, whose See of London was properly under the King of the East-Saxons. For he might call him his in Affection, (whose Diocese was in another King's Possession;) Ina highly honouring *Erkenwald* for his Piety, and therefore inviting him (forward of himself to all Goodness) to be present at the passing of these *Laws*: Besides, some assign *Surrey* as part of the Kingdom of the West-Saxons: probably at this present Ina's Puissance fallied over the *Thames*, and London might be reduced into his *Honorary Protection*. But see here a Breviate of his *Church-Laws*.

1. That *Ministers* observe their appointed form of living.
2. That every *Infant* be baptized within thirty days after his Birth, on the Penalty of his Parents forfeiting thirty shillings; and if the Child chance to die before he be baptized, all his Estate.
3. If the Servant doth any Work on the Lords day at the Masters Command, the Servant shall be 4 acquitted, and the M<sup>r</sup>. pay thirty shillings. But if he did that work without his Masters Command, let him be beaten, or redeem it with Money, &c. A Priest offending in this kind was to be double punished.
4. The First-fruits of Seeds were to be paid to the Church on the Feast of St. Martin, on the Penalty of forty shillings, besides the payment of the said First-fruits twelve times over.
5. If any deserving Stripes shall flee to a Church, his Stripes shall be forgiven him. If guilty of a Capitall Crime, he shall enjoy his Life, but make Recompence according to what is right and due.
6. Fighters in the King's Court, to lose their Goods, and to bear the King's Mercy for their Life. Such as fight in the Church, to pay 120 shillings. If in the house of an Alderman, 60 shil. &c.
7. Such as falsifie their Witness or Pawn in the presence of the Bishop, to pay 120. shillings.
8. Several Penalties of Money imposed on those that should kill a Stranger.
9. Such as are breakers of the Peace in the Town of the King or Arch-Bishop, punishable with one hundred and twenty shillings; in the Town of an Alderman, eight shillings; in the Town of one of the King's Servants, sixty shillings, &c.
10. First-fruits of all Seeds were to be paid by House-keepers as due to that place wherein they themselves were resident on the day of Christ's Nativity.
11. What Summes of Money are to be paid by such who have killed their God-fathers or God-sons.

In this last Law, expresse Provision is made, *Episcopi filius occidatur*, in case the Son of a Bishop be kill'd: a Passage impertinently alledged by some, for the Proof of Bishops married in that Age; seeing neither Sons natural, nor conjugal, but only spiritual, at the Font, are thereby intended. Now let the learned in the Law render the Reason, why Murder in that Age was not punishable with Death, but might be bought off with Money.

107. A great

692

Anno  
Dom.  
694

107. A great Council (for so it is titled) was held at *Becaneld* by *Vithred*, King of Kent, and *Bertwald*, Arch-Bishop of Britain (so called therein) understand him of *Canterbury*; wherein many things were concluded in favour of the Church. Five *Kentish Abbesses*, namely, *Mildred*, *Etheldred*, *Ete*, *Wiltolde*, and *Herefwide*, were not only present, but subscribed their Names and Crosses to the Constitutions concluded therein. And we may observe, that their Subscriptions are not only placed before and above all *Presbyters*, but also above *Botted* a Bishop, (but of what Diocese not specified) present in this great Council. It seems it was the Courtesy of England to allow the upper hand to the weaker Sex, as in their *Sitting*, so in their Subscriptions.

108. We will conclude this Century with the miraculous Holiness of *Etheldred*, or *St. Audre*: professing at first to be afraid to adventure on so high a Subject, disheartened in reading a Popish Authour to rant so in her Commendation. "Let the fabulous Greeks talk no more of their chaste Penelope, who in the twenty years absence of her Husband *Ulysses* lived continually, in despite of the tempting Importunity of many noble Woors: and let the proud Romans cease to brag of their fair *Lucretia*, that chose rather to become the bloody instrument of her own Death, than to live after the violent Ravishment of her Honour: and let all the world turn their Minds to admire, and their Tongues and Pens to found the Praises of the Christian Vertues and Chastity of our blessed *Etheldred*, &c. But leaving the Bubbles of his Rhetorick to break of themselves, on serious considerations we are so far from admiring, 'tis more then we can do to excuse this *St. Audre*, as her Story is reported.

109. This *Audre* was Daughter to *Anna* King of the East-Angles, and from her Infancy a great affecter of Virginitie. However, she was over-persuaded to marry one *Tombert*, Prince of the *Fen-land*, with whom she lived three years in the Bands of unexperienced *Wedlock*, both, by mutual Consent, abstaining from Carnal Copulation. After his Death, so importunate were her Friends with her, that she married with *Egfride* King of *Northumberland*. Strange, that being once free, she would again entangle her self and stranger, that being married, she utterly refused to afford her Husband what the Apostle calls *due Benevolence*; though he by importunate Intreaties requested the same. Being *Benevolence*, it was Uncharitable to deny it; being *Due*, it was Unjust to detain it; being both, she was uncharitable and unjust in the same action. Was not this a Mockage of Marriage (if in that Age counted a Sacrament) solemnly to give her self unto her Husband, whom formerly she had passed away by a previous Vow of Virginitie? At last the wretched leave from her Husband to live a Nun in the Monastery of *Ely*, which she built and endowed. After her entrance therein she ever wore Wool-len, and never Linen about her: which whether it made her more Holy, or less Cleanly, let others decide. Our Authour tells us, that in Memory of her, our English Women are wont to wear about their Necks a certain Chain made of fine small Silk, which they call *Etheldred's Chain*. I must profess myself not so well acquainted with the Sex, as either to confute or confirm the truth thereof. At last she died of a Swelling in her Throat, and was buried in *Ely*.

111. Sixteen years her Corps slept in a private Grave near her own Convent; when it came into the head of Bishop *Vilfride* and her Friends, to bestow on her a more costly Buriall. But alas, the soft and fenny Ground of *Ely* (where scarce a stone bigg enough to bury a Worm under it) afforded not a Tombe-stone for that purpose. Being thus at a Loss, their want is said to be miraculously supplied; for under the ruined Walls of *Granchester*, or *Cambridge*, a Coffin was found, with a Cover correspondent, both of white Marble, which did fit her Body so exactly, as if (which one may believe was true) it was made for it. Herein was *Audre's Corps* stately inlaid, and for many yeares superstitiously adored.

112. Bur

Women pre-  
sent at the  
great Coun-  
cil of Becan-  
eld.

a Sr. Henry  
Spelman's  
Councils  
pag. 190.  
Romish  
braggs of  
St. Audre's  
Chastity.  
b The Flowers  
of the Saints  
written by  
Hierome  
Porter.

Twice a Wife,  
still a Maid.

Pretended  
chastity, real  
injustice.  
c 1 Cor. 7. 3.

d Bede Ecclief.  
Hist. l. 4. c. 19.  
Hierome  
Porter in his  
Flowers of the  
Saints, and  
Harpfield  
sec. 7. cap. 24.  
Her miracu-  
lous Monu-  
ment of  
Marble.

(Bede Ecclief.  
Hist. lib. 4.  
cap. 19.)

696

Confuted by  
a credible  
witness.

112. But *Jo. Cajus*, Fellow of *Gowile-Hall*, within ten Miles of *Ely*, at the Dissolution of *Abbeys*, being reputed no great Enemy to the *Romish* Religion, doth on his own Knowledge report,

In his *Histor. Cantab. lib. 1. pag. 8.*

*Quamquam illius evi cecitas admirationem in eo parit, quod regnante Hen. nuper 8. dirutum idem sepulchrum ex lapide communi fuit, non, ut Beda narrat, ex albo marmore.*

Although the blindness of that Age bred Admiration therein: yet when the Tombe was plucked down in the Reign of King *Henry* the eighth, it was found made of common Stone, & not of white Marble, as *Beda* reporteth.

Thus was her Tombe degraded & defaced one degree, which makes the Truth of all thereto be suspected. And if all Popish Miracles were brought to the Test, they would be found to shrink from Marble to common Stone, nay from Stone to Dirt and untimpered Mortar.

The Council  
at Bergham-  
sted.

a *St. Henry*  
Spelman's  
Councils  
p. 1904. &c.

*Wilfride* re-  
stored to  
*Tork*, and out-  
ed again.

113. It is needlesse here to insert the *Canons* concluded on at *Berghamsted*, by *Vinfred* King of *Kent*, and *Bertwald* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*. First, because Topically confined to that small Kingdom. Secondly, hard to be understood, as depending on some *Saxon* Law-terms, whereon Conjectures are the best Comment. Thirdly, such as are understood are obsolete; viz. If a Master gave his Servant Flesh to eat on a Fasting-day, his Servant was on the Refusal, and Complaint thereof, to be made free. Some punishments therein were very absurdly proportioned; viz. Six shillings or a Whipping was to be paid by that Servant who ate flesh on Fasting-days: and just the same Penalty was inflicted on him if convicted of offering Oblations to the Devil: as if equall their Offences. And be it remembered, that this Council was kept cum viris quibusdam Militaribus, some Soldiers being present thereat; and yet the fifth Canon therein was made to punish Adultery in men of their Profession.

114. As for Bishop *Wilfride*, whom lately we mentioned so active about the removal of *St. Audre's* Corps, he was about this time restored to his Bishoprick of *Tork*. Whereupon he fairly quitted the Bishoprick of *Selesy*, which *Edith* walc, and after *Cedwall*, Kings of *Sussex*, bestowed upon him; and returned to *Tork*. It is much this *Rowling Stone* should gather so much *Moss*, and get Wealth enough to found two Monasteries; who sometimes had three Bishopricks together, *Tork*, *Lindisferne*, and *Hagulfed*; sometimes none at all, living many yeares together in Exile. And indeed he continued not long in *Tork*, but being expelled thence again, was for a time made Bishop of *Leicester*. Nor was the King of *Northumberland* content with his bare Expulsion, but also he would have him confesse the same Legall, and resign it according to the late Decrees which the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* had made against him. But more hereof, God willing, in the next Century.

THE

697

Anno  
Dom.  
696

## THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

Thomæ Adamidi, Senatori Londinensi,  
Mecœnati meo.

IN hac tanta rerum Vicissitudine, quis, qui te novit, Constantiam tuam non suspiciat? Undique turbatur; Tu interim tibi met ipsi tota Tranquillitas, cum Deo, & Bonis, & Studiis tuis vacas.

Perlegas, quæso, hanc Centuriam, vel eo nomine, quod Funeraria Tui & Mei Bedæ exhibeat. Tuum dico, quia haud ita pridem sub auspiciis Patronatus tui, typis Saxonice pulcherrime prodit: Meum, quo Authore (vel potius Authoribus) in hoc Opere toties usus sum. Pluribus Viro occupatissimo molestus esse nolo. Vale.

701



Ainfull *Wilfride* was no sooner out of one Trouble, but he was engaged in another. Hereupon *Harpsfeld* calls him the *Athanasius* of that Age; once faith he, that *Father* was persecuted by *Hereticks*, and this *Wilfride* by *Catholicks*. He might have added, that *Athanasius* was troubled for Essentiall and Doctrinall Truths, whilst *Wilfride* was vexed about Ceremonious and Circumstantiall matters. And now *Alfride*, who succeeded *Egfride*, King of *Northumberland*, powerfully opposed him, being the paramount Prince, and in effect Monarch of the *Saxon Heptarchie*. For, as we have noted before, amongst these seven Kings, as amongst the *Planets*, there was ever one *Sun* that out-shined all the rest. This *Alfride*, joyning with *Bertwald* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, called a Council, and summoned *Wilfride*, who appeared there accordingly. But being demanded, whether he would obey the Decrees of *Theodore* late Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, he warily remitted; That he was willing to obey them so farre as they were consonant to the *Holy Canons*. This Answer was not satisfactory to his Adversaries, as having in it too little of a Grant, to please them, and yet not enough of a Deniall, to give them a just Offence. Then they sought by fair means to perfwade him, because much Trouble had arose in the Church about him, voluntarily to resign under hand and seal his Possessions, and Arch-Bishoprick; affirming, it would be a glorious act, to preferre the Publick Good before his Private Profit. But *Wilfride* persisted loyall to his own Innocence, affirming, such a Cession might be interpreted a Confession of his Guiltinesse, and appealed from that Council to his Holinesse; and

*Wilfride* persecuted by *Alfride* King of *Northumberland*. Hist. Eccl. Angl. pag. 95.

b *Malmesb. de Gestis Pont. lib. 1.*  
See *St. Henry*  
Spelman in  
Concilii  
Anno 701.

N

- this

*e Flores Sax-  
forum writte  
by Hierome  
Porter in the  
life of  
St. Guthlake  
pag. 348.  
f Math. 4.8.*



a Idem. p. 347.

A seventh  
conceit of a  
Monk.b Godwin in  
Catalogo Epi-  
scoporum,  
pag. 501.

c Ruedius. l. 3.

The fifth  
Synod for  
Image-wor-  
ship in En-  
gland.  
d See Sir  
Henry Spe-  
lman's Coun-  
cils pag. 210.e Magdalen-  
burgh's Cen-  
ted excentri-  
cus authori-  
bus, Naucleo-  
us, & Balao.  
Binnus and  
Baronius Jul-  
ien, and wily.f See our se-  
cond Book,  
Cent. 6. pa-  
ragr. 10.

said victoriously to have vanquished. But, whom Satan's Power could not foil, his Policy had almost destroyed; by perswading *Guthlake* to fast forty days and nights together, after the Example of *Moses* and *Elias*: till, finding this Project destructive to Nature, he was forced in his own Defence, to take some necessary, but very sparing Refection. He died in his own Cell, and *Pega* his sister, an Anchoritess, led a solitary life, not far from him.

8. *Looves* also, a poor plain man, was eminent in this Age: a *Shepherd*, say some; a *Neatheard*, others; *Swineheard*, say the third sort, and that most probable. For whilst he lived in *Worcestershire*, not far from the River *Avon*, the *Virgin Mary* is said to have appeared unto him, even where (fare well all good Tokens) he found a lost Sow with seven Piggs sucking upon her; and to have given order, that in that very place a Monastery should be erected to her Honour. The beastly Monk, who made this Vision, had e'en learned as far as *Virgil's Æneids*, whence he fetched the Platform of this pretty Conceit, a place so marked being foretold fortunate to *Æneas*, to found *Alba* [since *Rome*] therein.

*Litoreis ingens inventa sub ilicibus Sus  
Triginta caput sum enixa jacebit  
Alba solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati:  
Hic locus Urbis erit, requies ubi certa laborum.*

Where under Oakes on Shore there shall be found  
A mighty Sow, all white, cast on the ground,  
With thirty sucking Piggs; that place is sign'd  
To build your Town, and ease your wearied Mind.

Here the Monk, *mutatis mutandis*, (but principally shrinking the Number of the Pigs from thirty to seven, as more mystical) he applies the Apparition to his Purpose. A pretty Parallel, that *Pagan-Rome*, and *Popish Superstition* (if *Huc-and-try* should be made after them) might be discovered by the same Marks. This gave the first motion to the Foundation of *Evesham Abbey* (so called from *Eoves* afore said) first built in that Sow-place.

9. But the Building thereof was hastened by a second, more neat and cleanly, Apparition of the *Virgin Mary* in the same place, who is pretended to have shewed her self, with two Maiden-attendants, to *Egwin*, Bishop of *Worcester*, prompting him to expedite a Structure therein. *Egwin* posts presently to *Rome*, and makes faith of this Vision to *Constantine* the Pope; who convinced in his judgement of the truth thereof, dispatcheth his Commands to *Bright-wall*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, to assemble a Synod at *Alchester* in *Worcestershire*, to promote the building of an Abbey in that place: which was done accordingly, and the same was bountifully endowed by *Offa*, and other *Mercian* Kings, with very large Revenues. And not long after, another Synod (faith my Author) was called at *London*, to introduce into *England* the Doctrine of *Image-worship*, not heard of before, and now first beginning to appear in the publick practice thereof.

10. Here we expected that *Binnus* and *Baronius*, two of the *Romish* Champions, should have been both joyfull at and thankful for this *London* Synod, in favour of *Image-worship*, a point so beneficial to the *Popish* Coasters. But behold them, contrary to our expectation, sad and fullen; inasmuch as they cast away the Credit of this Synod, as of no account, and disdain to accept the same. For, say they, long before, by *Augustine* the Monk, *Worship* of Images was introduced into *England*. But let them shew us when, and where the same was done. We deny not but that *Augustine* brought in with him, in a Banner, the Image of Christ on the Croffe, very lively depicted; but this makes nothing to the *Worshipping* thereof. Vast the distance in their own nature, betwixt the Historical Use, and Adoration of Pictures, though, through humane

Anno  
Dom.  
708

709

Anno  
Dom.  
709

humane Corruption, the former, in after-Ages, hath proved introductory to the later. Nor was it probable, that *Augustine* would deliver Doctrine point-blank against *Gregory*, that sent him, who most zealously inveigheth against all *Worshipping* of Images. Wherefore, let *Binnus* and *Baronius* make much of this *London-Synod* for *Image-worship*, or else they must be glad to accept of later Councils in *England* to prove the same, seeing before this time none can be produced tending thereunto.

11. Now also flourished another noble-born Saint, namely *John of Beverley*, Arch-bishop of *York*, a Learned man, and who gave the Education to one more learned than himself, *Imcan*, *Venerable Bede*. Now, though *John Baptist* did none, yet *John of Beverley* is said to have done many Miracles. But, did not the Monk over-do, who reports in his Relation, that this *John of Beverley*, by making the Sign of the Croffe on a Dumb Youth, with a scalled head, not onely restored him to Speech, and an Head of Haire, but Eloquent Discourse, and brave Curled Locks? Some years before his Death, he quitted his Arch-bishoprick, and retired himself to his Monastery at *Beverley*, where he died: and which afterwards King *Abelstan* made (I will not call it a *SANCTUARY*, because unallowed with the largeness of the Liberties allowed thereunto, but) a place of Refuge for Murderers and Malefactors: so that the *FREED-STOOL* in *Beverley*, became the Seat of the *Scornfull*; and, such hainous Offenders as could recover the same, did therein securely defie all Legall Prosecution against them.

12. About this time it grew fashionable with Kings and Queens in *England*, to renounce the World, and turn Monks and Nuns, commonly in Convents of their own Foundation. Surely, it is not onely lawful, but commendable for men to leave the World, before it leaveth them, by being crucified thereunto, and using it as if they used it not: But let others dispute, whether this properly be Renouncing the World, for Christians to bury their Parts and Persons in a Cloister, which, put forth to the Bank, would turn to good Account for Church and Common-wealth. *David* (I dare say) as holy a man as any of these, lived a King, and died a King: the swaying of his Sceptre did not hinder the tuning of his Harp; his Dignity being no Impediment to his Devotion. And whilst these Kings turning Monks, pretended to go out of the World, a world of spiritual Pride and Superstition went into them, if (as it is too too suspicious) they had an high opinion to Merit Heaven thereby.

13. Amongst the *Saxon* Princes who thus renounced the World, in this and the next Century, these nine following were the principall.

- |  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| 1. <i>Kingulfus</i> , King of<br><i>West-Saxons</i> .    | 4. <i>Edbertus</i> , King of<br><i>Northumberland</i> . | 7. <i>Offa</i> , King of <i>East-Saxons</i> .          |
| 2. <i>Ina</i> , King of <i>West-Saxons</i> .             | 5. <i>Ethelredus</i> , King of <i>Mercia</i> .          | 8. <i>Sethi</i> , King of <i>East-Saxons</i> .         |
| 3. <i>Ceolulfus</i> , King of<br><i>Northumberland</i> . | 6. <i>Kenredus</i> , King of<br><i>Mercia</i> .         | 9. <i>Sigebertus</i> , King of<br><i>East-Angles</i> . |

Of all whom King *Ina* was paramount, for his reputed Piety; who accounting himself to hold all that he had of God, his Land-Lord in chief, paid not onely a great Fine, but settled a constant Rent on the Church, then accounted the Receiver-general of the God of Heaven. Great Fine; for besides his Benefaction to other, he bestowed on the Church of *Glasbury* two thousand six hundred forty pounds weight, in the Utensils thereof, of massie Gold and Silver. So that whilst some admire at his Bounty, why he gave so much; others wonder more at his Wealth, how he got so much; being in that Age wherein such Dearth of Coin, and he (though perchance, the honorary Monarch of *England*) but the effectual King of the *West-Saxons*. The constant Rent he settled, were the *Peter-pences* to the Pope of *Rome*, to be paid out of every

726

a In his epistle  
ad Serenum  
Magistru[m].The miracle-  
working of  
St. John of Be-  
verley.  
b Bede ac-  
knowledge[s]  
that he recei-  
ved the order  
of Priesthood  
from him.  
c John 10. 41.  
d Flowers of  
the lives of  
English Saints  
pag. 416.Kings and  
Queens turn  
Monks and  
Nuns.

e Gal. 6. 14.

King *Ina* his  
fine, and rent  
to the Church.f Sir Henry  
Spelman in  
his Councils,  
pag. 229.g Antiq. Brit.  
fol. 58.





God upon it. In fine, this wrought so farre on the King's good Nature, that Anno Dom. he not onely reformed himself, but, with *Cuthbert* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, called a solemn Synod at *Cloves-Ho*, or *Clives-at-Ho*, for the Reformation of others.

21. But where this *Cloves-Ho* should be, Authours make much Inquiry. It is generally conceived the same with *Cliff*, near *Cravefend*, in *Kent*. Though a learned Author will hardly consent thereunto; and his Intimations to the contrary are of no great Validity. For, whereas he alledgeth that this *Cliff* is in *Kent*, whilst *Ethelbald*, who called this Synod, was King of *Mercia*; He minded not mean time (what, no doubt, he knew well) that this *Ethelbald* is styled in the Letter of *Boniface* Arch-bishop of *Mentis* unto him, *Inclita Anglorum Imperii scepra gubernans, Ruling the famous Sceptre of the English Empire*. And whereas he objecteth, the Site of that place inconvenient for such an Assembly; It seems fit enough (though confessed dirty in Winter, and unhealthy at all times) for the Vicinity thereof to *London* and *Canterbury*, the residing places of the King and Arch-bishop, the two Persons in this Synod most concerned. Nor doth the modern Meannesse of the place make anything against it; it might be a Gallant in that Age, which is a Beggar now-a-days. And though, we confesse, there be many *Cliffs* in the In-land Shires (properly belonging to *Mercia*;) yet the addition of *Ho*, or *Haw*, speaketh the maritime posture thereof. So that *Clives-Ho*, or *Haw*, seems to be a *Cliff* near the Sea, well agreeing to the Situation of *Cliff in Kent* afore said.

22. But the Acts of this Synod are more certain, than the Place thereof, being (generally accounted) one and thirty Canons (although some small Variation in their Number, and Order) all extant at large in *Malmesbury*; and of which we take notice of these four, as of most Concernment;

1. That the Priests learn, and teach to know the Creed, Lords Prayer, and words of Consecration in the Masse [or Eucharist] in the English tongue. It seems Learning then ran low, that the Priests themselves had need to learn them: yet Ignorance was not then so high, but that the people were permitted to be taught them.
2. That the Lords Day be honourably observed. We understand it not so, as if the Sanctity of that Day depended only upon Ecclesiastical Constitutions; or, that the Command thereof in Scripture is so infirm, in point of right to oblige mens Consciences, that it needs the title of mans Power, ad corroborandum: Onely, Humane Authority was here cast in as over-weight, for the better Observation of the day. Carnal men being more affected, and affrighted with Corporal Penalties of mans inflicting (as nearer unto them,) then with Eternal Punishments, which Divine Justice, at distance, denounceth against them.
3. That the sin of Drunkenness be avoided, especially in the Clergy. Indeed it was high-time to suppress that Sin, which was grown so rife, that (as *Boniface*, Arch-bishop of *Mentis*, doth observe in his Letter to *Cuthbert*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*) the English Bishops were so farre from punishing it, that they were guilty of the same. Moreover he addeth, *Ebrietas speciale malum nostra Gentis: hoc nec Franci, nec Galli, nec Longobardi, nec Romani, nec Gracii faciunt. Drunkenness is a speciall Evil of our Nation* (namely of the Saxons, of which Country this *Boniface* was a Native) for neither Franks, nor Gauls, nor Lombards, nor Romans, nor Greeks (understand him, anciently, for we know the modern Proverb, of a merry Greek) are guilty thereof.
4. That Prayers be publicly made for Kings and Princes. An excellent Canon indeed, because Canonically Scripture, and long before made by *St. Paul* himself, I exhort therefore, that Supplications be made for all men, for Kings, &c.

This

*Cliff in Kent* probably the ancient *Cloves-Ho*, a Camden's Brit. in Kent.

b Extant in St. Henry Spelman's Councils, pag. 253.

c Plinmouth Haw. See Spectat Survey of London, the meaning of Haw.

d The chief Canons of this Synod. d in *Cuthbert*.

e Diffant, & doctant. Malmesbury.

f Extant in St. Henry Spelman's Councils p. 241.

g 1 Tim. 2.1.

This Synod being finished, with the Royal Assent, & all the Bishops their Subscriptions thereunto, *Cuthbert*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, with wonderfull Celery, returned the Canons concluded therein, by *Rinebert* his Deacon, to *Boniface* Arch-bishop of *Mentis*, who was affected with great joy at the sight thereof.

23. At this time flourished *Egbert*, Arch-bishop of *Tork*, famous in his Generation for, first his Royall Extraction, being Brother to *Eadbert*, King of *Northumberland*; both of them lovingly lying buried together, in the Porch of the Church of *Tork*. For in that Age, the greatest Princes and Prelates their Corpses came no nearer then the Church-Porch, and (as I may say) onely knocked at the Church-Doors; though, in after-Ages the Bodies of Meane persons were admitted into the Church, and buried therein. Secondly, for his procuring the Archiepiscopal Pall to his See. For after the Departure, or rather the Banishment of *Paulinus* from *Tork*, his Successors were content with the plain Title of Bishop, untill this *Egbert* (to do something extraordinary, proportionable to his Princely Extraction) procured the Relatation of his Pall, which ipso facto re-advanced his Church into an Arch-bishoprick. Thirdly, for furnishing the same with a plentiful Library, highly commended by *Alcuin*, in his Epistle to *Charles the Great*, wishing *France* had the like; which though exceeding *England* in Paper, till of late years, ever came short of it in Books. Fourthly, for his Canons, for the regulating of his Province. Whereof one sort is called, *Egbert's* his Excerptions out of *Fathers*, and is generally good: the other intituled, *Canons for the remedie of Sin*, and are fraught with abundance of abominable Beadlinesse, and Superstition.

24. I will give the Reader onely a Taste (or rather a Disticke) of these Canons, by which he may guesse the rest. If a Lay-man hath carnal knowledge of a Nun, let him doe Penance for two yeares &c. If a Child be begotten betweene men, then four yeares: if they kill it, then seven yeares Penance. Penance also is provided for Bestiality, and Sodomie, in the same Canons. Thus, where God in Scripture denounceth Death, *Who so steeleth mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed*; they now changed it into Penance, and in after-Ages commuted that Penance into Money; so by degrees making the word of God of none effect, by their paltry Canons. See we here also, how forced Virginitie was the Mother of much Uncleannes; it being applicable to them, what the Apostle speaketh of others: *It is a shame even to speak of those things, which are done of them in secret*. And one may justly admire how these Canonists, being pretended Virgins, could arrive at the knowledge of the Criticisms of all Obscenity; so that chaste Love may live seven and seven yeares in the undefiled Marriage-bed, and be utterly ignorant what the Language of Lust meaneth in such filthy Canons. Yea, when such Love, by the help of an Interpreter, shall understand the same, it would blush for Shame; were it not that that Red would be turned into Palenesse, as amazed at so horrid Uncleannes.

25. Some five yeares after, *Kenulphus*, King of *West-Saxons*, conferred large Privileges on the Monastery of *Abbingdon*. We will recite so much of his Charter, as concerns us, because useful to shew the Power which Kings in that Age had in Ecclesiastical Matters.

*Kenulphus, Rex, &c. per litteras suas patentes, consilio & consensu Episcoporum, & Senatorum gentis sue, largitus fuit Monasterio de Abbindon in Comitatu Barke, ac cuidam Richino tunc Abbati Monasterii &c. quandam ruris sui portionem, id est, quindecim Mansus in loco, qui a rusticis tunc nuncupabatur Culnam, cum omnibus utilitatibus ad eandem pertinentibus, tam in magnis, quam in*

*Kenulphus*, King, &c. by his Letters Patents, with the advice and consent of the Bishops, and Counsellours of His Country, hath given to the Monastery of *Abbindon* in the County of *Barks*, and to one *Richine* then Abbot of the Monastery, &c. a certain portion of his land, that is to say, fifteen Mansions, in a place which then of the Inhabitants was called *Culnam*, with all Profits to the same belonging, as well in great, as mean

*Egbert* Arch-bishop of *Tork* famous in several respects.

a In legge in St. Henry Spelman's Councils, pag. 258. The beatty Canons of *Egbert*.

b See St. Henry Spelman's Councils, pag. 252. c Cent. 9.6.

d Ephes. 5. 12.

The Charter of *Kenulphus* to the Abbot of *Abbingdon*, cited by *Stanford*, l. 3, fol. 111. and this Charter was copied primo Hen. 7. fol. 25. & 25.

*modicis rebus, in aeternam hereditatem. Et quod predictus Richinus, &c. ab omni Episcopali jure in sempiternum esset quietus, ut inhabitatores ejus nullius Episcopi, aut suorum Officialium jure inde deprimentur; sed in cunctis rerum eventibus, & discussionibus causarum, Abbatibus Monasterii predicti decreto subiacerent. Ita quod, &c.*

a 214 Reports  
part 5. fol. 9.

The Cavills  
of Parsons  
against  
St. Edm. Cook  
confuted.

b Catholik  
Divine, alias  
Parsons, in  
his answer to  
the Kings At-  
torney, p. 95,  
96, &c.

From this Charter, St. Edward's Cook the Kings Attorney inferreth, that King Kenulphus had Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction in himself, in that he had power to discharge and exempt this Abbot from the Jurisdiction of the Bishop. Which Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction was always invested in the Imperial Crown of England: and therefore the Statute made under Henry the eighth, concerning the Kings Spiritual Authority, was not introductory of a new Law, but declaratory only of an old.

26. But Father Parsons (for he it is who stands under the Vizard of the Catholick Divine, in a Book wrote of set purpose against Master Attorney, in this point) will by no means allow King Kenulphus any Ecclesiasticall Power; but by many Fetches seeks to evade so pregnant a Proof.

Arg. 1. First he pleadeth, that in this Charter, Kenulphus did not exempt the Abbot from all Jurisdiction Spiritual of the Bishop, but from some Temporal Interest, or Pretense, which, perhaps, the Bishop of the Diocese claimed over the Lordship of Culnam.

Ans. Perhaps (commend not his Modesty, but thank his Guiltinesse, for his timorous Assertion) faith he: but, how doth this appeare? for he bringeth no proof: and, if he affirmeth it on free cost, we can confute it as cheap, by denying it.

Arg. 2. Secondly, faith he, the King exempted the Abbot, ab omni Episcopali jure, that is, from all Rights of the Bishop, and not Jurisdiction.

Ans. Sharp Wit, to cut so small a Mote in two parts, for no purpose; seeing, jus and Jurisdiction are often known to import the same sense.

Arg. 3. Thirdly, he objecteth, the words no way seem fitly to agree to be spoken of the Bishops Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction, which run thus, That the Abbot should be quiet from the Bishops Right, and that the Inhabitants from thenceforward should not be oppressed by the Yoke of the Bishops Officers.

Ans. Why? what Incongruity, but that these words may be spoken, as they are, of Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction? Is the word Yoke too coarse they are, to be applied to the Bishops Spiritual Power, as they sometimes did manage it? I appeal to those who felt it: for no Yoke is heavy to him that puts it on, but to those who bear it. Mark by this way, the word he rendereth Officers, is in the Charter (not Officiarii, Lay-Latine, but) Officiales, which is Church-language, and the very dialect of the Court-Christian, and should be translated Officials, to whom Bishops committed their Spiritual Power. But Parsons knew well how to lay his Thumb on what he would not have seen.

Arg. 4. Fourthly, Howsoever it were, it is manifestly false, faith he, that this Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction of King Kenulphus was derived from his Crown; it might be, he had it from the Pope, which is most likely.

Ans. Which is most unlikely, for no Clause in the Charter relates to any delegate power; and yet such a Passage might easily have been inserted, yea, could not justly have been omitted, if he had claimed his Jurisdiction by Deputation from the Pope.

Arg. 5.

mean matters, as an inheritance for ever. And, that the aforesaid Richine, &c. should be for ever acquit from all Episcopal Jurisdiction, that the Inhabitants thereof be thenceforth oppressed with the yoke of no Bishop, or his Officials; but in all events of matters, and discussions of causes, they be subject to the decree of the Abbot of the aforesaid Monastery. So that, &c.

Anno Dom.

755

Arg. 5. Lastly, (which, he faith, seemeth to convince the whole matter, and decide the very Case) one Rethurus, Abbot of Abbington, went afterwards to Rome, to obtain confirmation of the Privileges of his Monastery from the See Apostolick.

Ans. What of this? This post-fact of Rethurus argues no Invalidity in Kenulphus his former Grant, but rather shews the over-Officiousnesse of a pragmatikall Abbot, who, to ingratiate himself with the Pope, craved of him what he had before. Yea, such cunning Compliance of the Clergy with his Holinesse, by degrees fixed in him a supposed Ecclesiasticall Power paramount, which really he never had, nor rightly ever ought to have.

See here the King's Power in Church-matters, in conferring Ecclesiasticall Privileges; and this single Thread we will twit with another Instance, so strong, that the Jesuites Art shall be unable to break it in sunder.

758 27. By the Constitution of Augustine, first Arch-bishop of Canterbury, confirmed by the authority of Gregory the Great, Bishop of Rome, it was decreed, that no Corpse, either of Prince or Prelate, should be buried within the Walls of a City, but only in the Suburbs thereof; and that alone in the Porch of the Church, and not in the Body. Now Cuthbert, Arch-bishop of Canterbury, having built Christ Church therein, was desirous to adorn it with the Corples of great Persons, therein afterwards to be interred. In pursuance of this his Design, he durst not adventure on this Innovation by his own Power, nor did he make his applications to the Pope of Rome (as most proper to repeal that Act, which the See Apostolick had decreed) but only addressed himself to Eadbert, King of Kent, and from him, partim precario, partim etiam pretio, partly praying, partly paying for it, faith my Author, obtained his Request. Behold here an ancient Church-Canon recalled at the Suit of an Arch-bishop, by the Authority of a King. This Cuthbert afterwards handled Christ Church with his own Corpse; whose Predecessours were all buried in St. Augustines, without the Walls of Canterbury. Thus began Corples to be buried in the Churches, which by degrees brought in much Superstition, especially after degrees of inherent Sanctity were erroneously fixed in the several parts thereof: the Porch saying to the Church-yard, the Church to the Porch, the Chancel to the Church, the East-end to all, stand farther off, for I am holier then you. And, as if the Steps to the High Altar, were the Stars to Heaven, their Souls were conceived in a nearer degree to Happinesse, whose Bodies were mounted there to be interred.

28. About this time the Bill of fare of Monks was bettered generally in England, and more liberty indulged in their Diet. It was first occasioned some twenty yeares since, when Ceolwolphus, formerly King of Northumberland, but then a Monk in the Convent of Lindisferne, or Holy Island, gave leave to that Convent to drink Ale and Wine, anciently confined by Aidan, their first Founder, to Milk and Water. Let others dispute, whether Ceolwolphus thus dispensed with them by his new Abbaticall, or old Regal Power, which he so resigned, that in some cases he might resume it, especially to be King in his own Convent. And indeed, the cold, raw, and bleak Situation of that place, with many bitter Blasts from the Sea, and no Shelter on the Land, speaks it self to each Inhabitant there. Drink no longer Water, but use a little Wine for thy Stomacks sake, and thine often Infirmities. However, this local Privilege, first justly indulged to the Monks of Lindisferne, was about this time extended to all the Monasteries of England; whose primitive over-Austerity in Abstinence was turned now into a Self-sufficiency, that soon improved into Plenty, that quickly depraved into Riot, and that at last occasioned their Ruine.

760 29. This Year the English have cause to write with Sable letters in their Almanack, on this sad Occasion, that therein the Danes first invaded England with

759

O 2

a Harpsfield  
Hist. Ang.  
seculo primo  
c. 9. ex Marti-  
no Scoto.

b Bodies first  
brought  
to be buried  
in Churches.

b Tho. Spot  
in his Hist. of  
Canterbury.  
Alia Archiep.  
Cannaries,  
cited by Aug.  
Brit. in  
Cuthbert.

The occasion  
of Monks  
their first  
drinking  
of wine in  
England,  
is Roger,  
a Monk.  
part. priori.

d 1 Tim. 5. 23

Doner their  
first arrival  
in England.

with a considerable Army. Several Reasons are assigned for their coming hither, to revenge themselves for some pretended Injuries; though the true Reason was, because *England* was richer and roomthyer then their own *Country*.

30. It is admirable to consider what *Sholes of people* were formerly vented out of *Cimbria Chersonesus*, take it in the largest extent for *Denmark, Norway and Swedeland*, who by the terrible Names of *Goths, Ostro-Goths, Visi-Goths, Huns, Vandals, Danes, Nortmanns*, overranne the fairest and fruitfulest parts of the *Christendome*; whereas now, though for these last three hundred years (the *Swedish Warres in Germany* excepted) that *Country* hath sent forth no visible Numbers of People, and yet is very thinly inhabited, so that one may travell some hundreds of Miles therein through mere Deserts, every man whom he meeteth having a *Phoenix* in his right hand. Yea, so few the *Natives*, that some of their *Garrisons* are manned with *Forreigners*, and their *Kings* faine to entertain mercenary *Dutch and Scotch* to manage their *Warres*.

31. Strange, that this *Country*, formerly all on the giving, should now be onely on the taking hand. Some<sup>b</sup> impute their modern comparative Barrennesse to their excessive Drinking (a Vice belike which lately hath infected that *Nation*) drinking themselves past *Goats* into *Stocks*, out of *Wantonnesse* into *Stupidity*, which by a contracted Habit debilitateth their former Fruitfulness. Others, more truly, ascribe their former Fruitfulness to their promiscuous Copulations with Women during their *Paganisme*, which are not so numerous since *Christianity* hath confined them to the Marriage of one *Wife*.

32. If I might speak according to my own Profession of a *Divine* (boaring over Second Causes in Nature) I should ascribe their ancient Populoufnesse to *Divine Operation*. As the Widow her Oyle multiplied till her Debts were satisfied, and that effected for which the *Miracle* was intended, which done, the Increase thereof instantly ceased: So these *Northern Parts* flowed with Crouds of People, till their Inundations had payed the Scores of *sinfull Christians*, and then (the *Birch* growing no more, when the wanton Children were sufficiently whipped) the *Procreativenesse* of those Nations presently stunted and abated.

33. The Landing of these *Danes* in *England* was ushered with many sad *Prognosticks*:<sup>d</sup> *Starres* were seen strangely falling from Heaven, and sundry terrible Flames appeared in the *Skies*. From the firing of such extraordinary *Bea-Beacons*, all concluded some new Enemy was approaching the *Nation*. *Serpents* were seen in *Suffex*, and Bloud reigned in some parts of the Land. *Lindef-fern* or *Holy Island* was the first that felt the Fury of these *Pagans*, but soon after no place was safe and secure from their Cruelty; wherof more hereafter.

34. At this time the *Arch-bishoprick of Canterbury* was in part removed to *Lichfield*, five essentiall things concurring to that great Alteration.

1. The Puissance and Ambition of *Offa*, King of *Mercia*, commanding in Chief over *England*. He would have the brightest *Mitre* to attend the biggest *Crown*.
2. The complying nature of *Pope Adrian*: except any will call it his *Thankfulness*, to gratifie *King Offa*, for the large Gifts received from him.
3. The easy and unactive Disposition of *Lambert* (or *Lambert*) *Arch-bishop of Canterbury*: unless any will term it his Policy, that finding himself unable to resist (a *Pope* and a *Prince* over-march for a *Prelate*) he would not strive to keep what must be taken away from him.
4. The commodious Situation of *Lichfield*, almost in the Navell of the Land: and where should the highest Candlestick stand (the *Metropolitan Cathedral*) but in the middelt of the Table; whereas *Kent* it self was but a Corner (whence it taketh it's Name) and *Canterbury* seated in the Corner of that Corner, a remote Nook thereof.

5. The

Denmark formerly fruitfull, is now become barren of men.  
a Otherwise strictly, it contains onely part of Denmark, Germany.

Two reasons thereof.  
b Basklay in town immiserium.

c G. Tayl. in his Chronicle of Normandy

The reason of scasons.

Bad prefiges of the Danes approach.  
d Sim. Daniel. Raulphus Cellensis, &c. dii.

The Arch-episcopal Pall removed to Lichfield.

Anno Dom. 799

Anno Dom. 799

5. The Antiquity of *Lichfield* in *Christianity*, where the *British Church* suffered a *Maffacre* from the *Pagans* three hundred yeares before *St. Augustine's* coming to *Canterbury*; witnesseth the name of the place, being another *Helkath-bazzurim*,<sup>b</sup> or *Field of strong men*, where so many *VFor-thies* died for the Testimony of the Truth.

On these and other considerations, *Aldulph* was made the first (and last) *Arch-bishop of Lichfield* (though others make *Humbers* and *Higbert* his Successors in that Dignity) and six *Suffraganes* (viz. *VForrester, Hereford, Leicester, Sida-ceffer, Helmham, and Dunwich*), subjected to his Jurisdiction. Yet was not the *Archiepiscopall See* removed (as some seem to conceive) but communicated to *Lichfield*: *Canterbury* still retaining it's former Dignity, and part of it's Province; the *Bishops of London, Rochester, VVinchester, and Sarisbury* continuing still subject unto him.

35. *King Offa* having settled an *Arch-bishoprick* at *Lichfield*, his next Design was to confirme the Corps of *St. Alban*: five hundred and seven yeares had passed since his Death and plain Buriall. For as *John Baptiff*, the last *Martyr* before *Christ*, and *St. Steven*, the first *Martyr* after him, were fairly interred by their Friends and Followers, without any more ado: so the Corps of *St. Alban* were quietly committed to the Earth, and there some Centuries of yeares peaceably reposed. But now *Offa*, they say, was admonished in a *Vision*, to bestow more publick Sepulture upon him. As *Starres*, we know, directed to the place of *Christ's Birth*, whereas a bright<sup>c</sup> Beam (say the Monks) discovered the place of *St. Alban's* Buriall. A Beam suspected by some/shot by him, who can turn himself into an *Angell of Light*, because gaining so much by their *Superstition*. Then was *Alban's* Body in pompous manner taken up, enshained, and adored by the Beholders. No wonder then if the *Danes* now invaded the Dominions of the *English*, seeing the *English* invaded the *Prerogative* of God, diverting the Worship due to him alone, to the rotten Relicks of Dead men: And henceforth the old *Romans City of Verulam*, lost it's Name under the new *Saxon Town* of *St. Albans*.

36. *King Offa* went to *Rome*, and there confirmed and enlarged to *Pope Adrian* the Gift of *Peter-pence*, what *Ina* King of the *VVest-Saxons* had formerly bestowed. For this Favour the *Pope* granted him, that no *Englishman* for *Penance* imposed should be banished out of his own *Country*.

37 But bold Beggars are the Bane of the best Bounty, when grown so impudent, that what at first was given them for *Almes*, in proceesse of time they challenge for *Rent*. Some call this a *Tribute* (Badge of Subjection) of *England* to the See of *Rome*, among whom is *Polydore Virgil*, once *Collettour* of those *Peter-pence* in *England*. But blame him not for magnifying his own Office; who, had he owned this Money (as indeed it was) given in *Frank Almonage*, had then appeared no better then a gentle Beggar, whereas now he hopes to advance his Employment to a nobler *Notion*.

38. *Offa* having done all his work at *Rome*, namely procured the *Canonization* of *St. Alban*, the Absolution of his own Sins and many Murders, and visited and endowed the *English Colledge* there; returned home, fell to found the *Monastery* of *St. Albans*, bestowing great Lands and Liberties upon it; as freeing it from the Payment of *Peter-pence*, *Episcopall Jurisdiction*, and the like. This is alleaged and urged by our *Regians*, to prove the *Kings Paramount Power* in *Eccllesiasticks*; seeing none can give, save what they are formally or eminently possessed of. And whereas *Papists* plead that *Offa* had fore-requested the granting of these *Priviledges* from the *Pope*, no mention at all thereof appears in the *Charter* of his *Foundation* (here too large to insert) but that all was done by his own absolute Authority. Next year *Offa* ended his Life, buried at *Bedford*, on that Token that the *River Ouse* swelling on a sudden swept his Corps clean away.

39. *Offa* being dead, down fell the best *Pillar* of *Lichfield Church*, to support the

a Vide supra, cent. 4. par. 8.  
b 2 Sam. 2. 16.

St. Alban's body enshained.  
c Via Office  
found, according to the new Edition of M. Paris, p. 28.

d Ibid. p. 26.

Peter-pence re-confirmed to Rome.

Gift no debt.

The Royall foundation of St. Alban's Abbey.

c Amongst St. Tho. Cotton his Manuscripts, and is exemplified in Weaver his Fun. Mon. p. 99.  
Contrary recovereth it's former dignity.



Diocese	Bishops	Abbots	Presbyters	Deacons	Anno Regis Egberti	Anno Dom. 803
Canterbury	<i>Ethelard</i> , Arch.	<i>Ethilbeah</i> <i>Feolgeld</i>	<i>Wulfheard</i> <i>Wernoth</i> <i>Beornmod</i> <i>Lulla</i> <i>Winn</i> <i>Wigfeth</i> <i>Eadhere</i> <i>Cuthbert</i>	<i>Vulfrad</i> , Arch.	803	3
Lichfield	<i>Aldulf</i>	<i>Highberth</i>		oooooooo		
Leicester	<i>Werenberth</i>	<i>Falmund</i> , Pr. <i>Beomia</i> , Pr. <i>Forthrod</i> , Pr. <i>Wigmund</i> , Pr.	<i>Eadberth</i>	oooooooo		
Sydnacester	<i>Eadulf</i>	<i>Eadred</i> , Pr. <i>Daghelm</i> , Pr.	<i>Plegberth</i> <i>Eadulf</i> <i>Hereberth</i>	oooooooo		
Worcester	<i>Daneberth</i>	<i>Highberth</i> <i>Thineferth</i> <i>Pega</i> <i>Frotho-</i> <i>mund</i> , Pr.	<i>Coenferth</i>	oooooooo		
Hereford	<i>Vulfheard</i>	<i>Cuthrad</i>	<i>Srygol</i> <i>Dygoga</i> <i>Alonn</i> .	<i>Heathobald</i>		
Shireburn	<i>Wigberth</i>	<i>Muda</i> <i>Eadberth</i> <i>Beornmund</i>	oooooo	oooooooo		
Winchester	<i>Almund</i>	<i>Cuthberth</i> <i>Mark</i> <i>Cumba</i> <i>Lulla</i>	<i>Northard</i> <i>Fingthe</i>	oooooooo		
Helmham	<i>Ealheard</i>	oooooooooo	<i>Folcberth</i> <i>Fritoberth</i> <i>Eadberth</i> <i>Vulflab</i>	<i>Hunfride</i>		
Dunwich	<i>Fidfrith</i>	<i>Vulfheard</i> <i>Cynulfe</i> <i>Lulla</i>	<i>Ceolhelm</i> <i>Tyberth</i>	<i>Eadberth</i>		
London	<i>Osmond</i>	<i>Heabstan</i> <i>Plegberth</i>	<i>Wigheard</i> <i>Tidhun</i> <i>Fritborad</i> <i>Ethelhelme</i> <i>Lullingo</i> <i>Tuda</i>	oooooooo		
Rocheſter	<i>Wermund</i>	oooooooo	<i>Beagnoth</i> <i>Heaboberth</i> <i>Wigheard</i>	ooooooooq		
Seley	<i>Wicotun</i>	<i>Ceolmund</i>	<i>Dudd</i> <i>Eadberth</i> <i>Beorcol</i> <i>Heabfrida</i> <i>Cynebald</i>	oooooooo		
Arch-Bishop 1 Bishops 12 Abbots 26					Presbyters 19 Archdeacon 2 Deacons 3	12 in all.

a Doubtfull  
whether priests  
or deacons.

3. Now, to make a short, but necessary Digression, in this Synod we may observe, That *Bishops* appeared personally, and the rest of the *Clergy* were represented, *Monks* in their *Abbots*, and the *Seculars* in the *Priests* and *Deacons* of their *Diocese* respectively. Such *Abbots* as in this Catalogue have the addition of *Pr.* were also *Priests*, and so present in a double Capacity; though perchance they made once only of their *Abbotship*. No *Deans* appear here, as a Dignity of farre later Institution. The *Bishops*, in the order of their Subscriptions, seem to observe Seniority of their Consecrations, and not Dignity of their Bishopricks; seeing London lags one of the last, to which our Church<sup>a</sup> *Heralds* did afterwards assign the highest place, next the *Arch-bishops*; only *Lichfield* may seem to have had the Precedency, by the *Crosse* of the *Synod*, that the lost Dignity thereof might be buried in Honour, being so lately the *Seat* of an *Arch-bishop*. Lastly, this was but a Provinciall Council for *Canterbury* alone, *York* with his two *Suffragans* (*Lindisferne* and *Hexham*) not mentioned in the meeting. Thus, as the *Anatomy* of a little Child, representing all Parts thereof, is accounted a greater Rarity, then the *Skeleton* of a man of full Stature: so I conceive it more acceptable to the studious in Antiquity, to behold the Form of these Synods, with the distinct Members thereof, in the Infancy of the *Saxon* Church, then to see a compleat Council in after-Ages, when grown to full Perfection.

16 816

4. Pass we by some *Petty Synods* celebrated in the *Reign* and *Countrie* of King *Kennulph* of *Mercia*. Eminent was the Council at *Celechyth* under *Wolfsford* (who succeeded *Ethelard*) *Arch-bishop* of *Canterbury*. Wherein, amongst other things slight or superstitious, was decreed,

1. That the *Catholic Faith* should be kept, and *ancient Canons* observed.
2. That new Churches should be consecrated with *Holy-water* by their *Bishops*, and the *Saint* somewhere painted therein to whom the same is dedicated.
3. That all in *Christian Charity* mutually love one another.
4. That *Abbots* and *Abbeſſes* be blamelesse persons, chosen by the *Bishop* with the consent of the *Convent*.
5. That no *Scotch-man* baptize, or administer the *Eucharist* in *England*; it being uncertain, whether, or by whom they are ordained. [We may discover herein some remaining *Dreggs* of the long-lasting Difference about the celebration of *Easter*, which made the suspicious *English* still to harbour a causelesse prejudice against the *Scotch Priesthood*.]
6. That the *judiciall Sentences* of *Bishops* in former *Synods* remain ratified; as also all their *Acts* solemnly signed with the *Crosse*.
7. That no *Abbey-lands* be leased out longer then, in *dies, & spatium unius hominis*, that is (as I take it) for the single life of one man; except in some case of Extremity, to help against *Famine*, *Invasion* of *Foes*, or for obtaining of *Freedom*.
8. That things dedicated to God remain so for ever.
9. That the *Acts* of all *Synods* be fairly written out, with the *Date* thereof, and name of the *Arch-bishop President*, and *Bishops* present thereat.
10. That *Bishops* at their death give the full *Tithe* of their Goods to the *Poor*, and set free every *English-man* which in their life-time was a *Slave* unto them.
11. That *Bishops* invade not the *Diocese*, *parishes* the *Parish*, neither the *Office* of another, save only when desired to baptize, or visit the *Sick*. The *Refusers* whereof in any place are to be suspended their *Ministry*, till reconciled to the *Bishop*.
12. That they pour not water upon the Heads of *Infants*, but immerge them in the *Fount*, in imitation of *Christ*, who (say they) was *thrice* so washed in *Jordan*.

Some observations on the method and manner of their meeting.

a Harpsfield Hist. Ang. pag. 743.

The Acts of the Council at Celchyth.

b See S. Hen. Spelman in his Councils, pag. 328.

c See S. Hen. Spelman, pag. 334.

Diocese	Bishops	Abbots	Presbyters	Deacons	Anno Dom.	Anno Regis Egberti
Canterbury	Ethelard, Arch.	Ethilheab Feolgelad	Wulfheard Wernoth Beornmod Lulla Atton	Vulfrad, Arch.	803	3
Lichfield	Adulf	Higberth	Wigfrith Eadhre Cuthberth	0000000		
Leicester	Werenberth	Ealmond, Pr. Beornia, Pr. Forthrod, Pr. Wigmund, Pr.	Eadberth	0000000		
Synnaceter	Eadulf	Eadred, Pr. Daghelm, Pr.	Plegberth Eadulf Hereberth	0000000		
Worcester	Daneberth	Higberth Thineferth Pega Froctbo- mund, Pr.	Coenferth	0000000		
Hereford	Wulfheard	Cuthrad	Srygol Dygoga Atton.	Hearthobald		
Shireburn	Wigberth	Muda Eadberth Beornthmund	000000	0000000		
Winchester	Almund	Cuthberth Mark Cumba Lulla	Northeast Fngthe	0000000		
Helmham	Ealheard	00000000	Folcberth Fritoberth Eadberth Vulflab	Hunfride		
Dunwich	Fidfrith	Vulfheard Lulla	Coolhelm Cynulfe Tyalberth	Eadberth		
London	Osmond	Heabstan Plegberth	VVigheard Tialhun Fritborad Ethelhelme Lullingo Tuda	0000000		
Rocheſter	VVermund	00000000	Beagnoth Heathoberth VVigheard	0000000		
Selfey	VVeothun	Coolmund	Dudd Eadberth Beorcal Heathfride Cynobald	0000000		

a Doubtfull  
whether priests  
or deacons.

Arch-Bishop 1  
Bishops 12  
Abbotts 26

Presbyters  
Archdeacon  
Deacons

19  
2  
3  
22 in all.

3. Now, to make a short, but necessary Digression, in this Synod we may obſerve, That *Bishops* appeared personally, and the rest of the *Clergy* were represented, *Monks* in their *Abbots*, and the *Seculars* in the *Priests* and *Deacons* of their *Diocese* respectively. Such *Abbots* as in this Catalogue have the addition of *Pr.* were also *Priests*, and so present in a double Capacity; though perchance they made only use of their *Abbotship*. No *Deans* appear here, as a Dignity of farre later Institution. The *Bishops*, in the order of their Subscriptions, seem to obſerve Seniority of their Consecrations, and not Dignity of their Bishopricks; seeing London lags one of the last, to which our Church-*Heralds* did afterwards assign the highest place, next the *Arch-bishops*; only *Lichfield* may seem to have had the Precedency, by the *Courtesie* of the Synod, that the lost Dignity thereof might be buried in Honour, being so lately the *Seat* of an *Arch-bishop*. Lastly, this was but a Provincially Council for *Canterbury* alone, *Tork* with his two *Suffragans* (*Lindisfern* and *Hexham*) not mentioned in the meeting. Thus, as the *Anatomic* of a little Child, representing all Parts thereof, is accounted a greater Rarity, then the *Skeleton* of a man of full Stature: so I conceive it more acceptable to the studious in Antiquity, to behold the Form of these Synods, with the distinct Members thereof, in the Infancy of the *Saxon* Church, then to see a compleat Council in after-Ages, when grown to full Perfection.
4. Pass we by some *Petty Synods* celebrated in the *Reign* and *Countrie* of King *Kenulph* of *Mercia*. Eminent was the Council at *Celchyth* under *VVolfred* (who succeeded *Ethelard*) *Arch-bishop* of *Canterbury*. Wherein, amongst other things slight or superstitious, was decreed,
1. That the *Catholic Faith* should be kept, and ancient *Canons* observed.
  2. That new Churches should be consecrated with *Holy-water* by their *Bishops*, and the *Saint* somewhere painted therein to whom the same is dedicated.
  3. That all in *Christian Charity* mutually love one another.
  4. That *Abbots* and *Abbeses* be blameless persons, chosen by the *Bishop* with the consent of the *Convent*.
  5. That no *Scotch-man* baptize, or administer the *Eucharist* in *England*; it being uncertain, whether, or by whom they are ordained. [We may discover herein some remaining *Dreggs* of the long-lasting Difference about the celebration of *Easter*, which made the suspicious *English* still to harbour a causeless prejudice against the *Scotch Priesthood*.]
  6. That the *judiciall Sentences* of *Bishops* in former Synods remain ratified; as also all their *Acts* solemnly signed with the *Crosse*.
  7. That no *Abbey-Lands* be leased out longer then, in *dies, & spatium unius hominis*, that is (as I take it) for the single life of one man; except in some case of Extremity, to help against Famine, Invasion of Foes, or for obtaining of Freedom.
  8. That things dedicated to God remain so for ever.
  9. That the *Acts* of all Synods be fairly written out, with the Date thereof, and name of the *Arch-bishop President*, and *Bishops* present thereat.
  10. That *Bishops* at their death give the full *Tithe* of their Goods to the *Poor*, and set free every *English-man* which in their life-time was a *Slave* unto them.
  11. That *Bishops* invade not the *Diocese*, *rights* the *Parish*, neither the Office of another, save only when desired to baptize, or visit the *Sick*. The *Refusers* whereof in any place are to be suspended their *Ministry*, till reconciled to the *Bishop*.
  12. That they pour not water upon the Heads of *Infants*, but immerge them in the *Fount*, in imitation of *Christ*, who (say they) was *thrice* so washed in *Jordan*.

Some obſervables on the  
method and  
manner of  
their meet-  
ing.

a Harpsfield  
Hist. Ang.  
pag. 743.

The Acts of  
the Council  
at Celchyth.

b See S. Hen.  
Spelman in  
his Councils,  
pag. 328.

c See S. Hen.  
Spelman,  
pag. 331.

P

Bur



a Math. 1.  
16, 17.

Egbert pro-  
claimed Mo-  
narch of En-  
gland.

Seven King-  
doms swal-  
lowed up in  
Engeland.

b verfeegan of  
deceyful in-  
telligence.

Danerdif-  
turb King  
Egbert.

Æthelwulfus  
his univerfal  
grant of  
Tithes to  
the Church.

c Ex Ingulph.  
& Malmesb.  
Gest. Reg.  
lib. 2. cap. 2.

But where is this in Scripture? The manifestation indeed of the Trinity plainly appears in the *Text*, *Father in the Voice*, *Son* personally present, *Holy Spirit* in the Dove; but as for *thrice* washing him, *altum silentium*. However, see how our modern *Setharies* meet *Papery* in shunning it, requiring the person to be plunged; though *Criticks* have cleared it, that *Baptize* doth import as well *Dipping*, as *Drenching* in water.

5. And now we take our farewell of King *Kenulph*, who, for all his great Bustling in Church-matters for the first twenty years in this Century, was (as *genus subalternum* amongst the *Logitians*) a King over his *Subiects*, yet but a *Subject* to King *Egbert*, who now at *Winchester* was solemnly crowned *Monarch* of the *Southern* and greater Moieties of this *Island*, enjoying all the people therein to term it *Engelond*, (since *England*) that so the petty Names of seven former distinct Kingdoms might be honourably buried in that general Appellation.

6. Some will wonder, seeing this *Ægion* was compounded of *Saxons*, *Jutes*, and *Angles*, why it should not rather be denominated of the first, as in Number greatest, and highest in Reputation. Such consider not that a *Grand Continent* in *Germany* was already named *Saxony*; and it was not handsome for this Land to wear a Name at second hand belonging to another. Besides, *England* is a name of Credit, importing in *Dutch* the same with the *Land of Angels*. And now the Name stamped with the *Kings Command* soon became *current*, and extinguished all the rest. For *Kent*, *Essex*, *Suffex*, *Northumberland* (though remaining in common Discourse) shrunk from former Kingdoms into modern *Counties*: *Wiltshire*, *Mercia*, and *East-Angles* were in effect finally forgotten. It will not be amiss to wish that seeing so great a *Track* of Ground meets in one Name, the People thereof may agree in *Christian Unity* and *Affections*.

7. King *Egbert* was now in the Exaltation of his Greatness. But never will humane Happiness hold out full Measure to mans Desire. Freed from homebred Hostility, he was ready to repose himself in the Bed of Ease and Honour; when the *Danes* not only jogged his Elbows, but pinched his Sides, to the disturbance of his future Quiet. They beat the *English* in a *Navall Fight* at *Carbmouth* in *Dorsetshire*, which proved fatal to our Nation. For an *Island* is never an *Island* indeed, until mastered at Sea, cut off from Commerce with the Continent. Henceforward these *Pagans* settled themselves in some part of the Land, though claiming it by no other Title, than their own *Pride* and *Covetousness*, and keeping it in no other *Tenure*, than that of *Violence* and *Cruelty*.

8. *Æthelwulfus* his Son succeeded King *Egbert* in the Throne: a Prince not less commended for his *Valour*, then *Devotion*, and generally fortunate in his Undertakings; though much molested all his life-time by the *Danes*. But nothing makes him so remarkable to Posterity, as the granting of this *Charter*, or rather the solemn passing of this *Act* ensuing.

Regnante Domino nostro Iesu Christo, in perpetuum. Dum in nostris temporibus bellorum incendia, & direptiones opum nostrarum, nec non & vastantium crudelissimas depredationes hostium barbarorum, paganismusque gentium multiplices tribulationes ad affligendum usque ad internecionem, cernimus tempora incumbere pericula:

Quamobrem ego Æthelwulfus Rex Occidentalium Saxonum, cum consilio Episcoporum ac Principum meorum, consilium salubre, atque utile re medium affirmavi: Vt aliquam portionem terrarum hereditariam antea possidentibus omnibus gradibus, sive canonicis & canonicis Dei, Deo presentibus, sive laicis, semper decimam mansionem ubi minimum sit, tamen pacem decimam in libertatem perpetuam perdonari majoribus & minoribus secularibus servitutibus, nec non regalibus tributis majoribus & minoribus sive taxationibus, quod nos dicimus Witeceden: sitque libera omnium rerum pro remissione animarum nostrarum ad servitendum Deo soli sine Exactione, & pontis infruptione, & arcis munitione, ut eo diligentius pro nobis Deum preces sine cessatione fundant, quo eorum servitutem in aliqua parte levigamus.

Anno Dom.  
816  
Anno Regis  
Egberti  
16

820 20

831 31

837  
Æthelwulfus  
1

Æthelwulfus  
1  
Anno Dom.  
837  
alias  
848  
855

Placuit etiam Episcopis Alhstano Schireburnensis Ecclesie, & Swithuno Wintoniensis Ecclesie, cum suis Abbatibus, & servis Dei, consilium inire, ut omnes fratres, & sorores nostre, ad unamquamque Ecclesiam omni hebdomada die Mercurii, hoc est, Wodensday, cantent quinquaginta psalmos, & unusquisque Presbyter duas Missas, unam pro Rege Æthelwulpho, & aliam pro duobus ejus hinc domo consentientibus, pro mercede & refrigerio delictorum suorum: & pro Rege vivente dicant, Oremus. Deus qui iustificas, pro duobus etiam viventibus, Præterea Domine: pro postquam autem defuncti fuerint, pro Rege defuncto singulariter, & pro principibus defunctis communitur. Et hoc sit tam firmiter constitutum omnibus Christianis diebus, sicut libertas illa constituta est, quamdiu fides crevit in gentem Anglorum.

This *Æthelwulfus* was designed by his Father to be Bishop of *Winchester*, bred in a Monastery, after taken out, and absolved of his Vows by the Pope: and having had Church-education in his Youth, retained to his Old-age the indeleble Character of his affections thereunto. In expression whereof, in a solemn Council kept at *Winchester*, he subjected the whole Kingdom of *England* to the Payment of Tithes, as by the foregoing Instrument doth appear. He was the first born Monarch of *England*. Indeed, before his time there were Monarchs of the *Saxon Heptarchie*; but not successive and fixed in a Family, but fluctuating from one Kingdom to another. *Egbert*, father to this *Æthelwulfus*, was the first that achieved this Monarchie, and left it to this his Son, not *Monarcha factus*, but *natus*, and so in unquestionable Power to make the foregoing *Act obligatory* over all the Land.

9. Indeed, before his time many Acts for Tithes are produced, which when pressed will prove of no great Validity. Such are the Imperial Edicts in Civil Law, never possessed of full power in *England*; as also the Canons of former Councils & Popes, never admitted into plenary Obedience by consent of Prince and People. Adde to these, first, such Laws as were made by King *Ina*, and *Offa*, Monarchs indeed of *England* in their turns, as I may say, but not deriving the same to the Issue of their Bodies: So that their Acts as personal may by some forward Spirits be cavilled at, as determining with their own Lives. Joyn to these (if producible) any Provincial Constitutions of an *English Archbishop* (perchance *Egbertus* of *York*): those might obey them, who would obey, being otherwise not subject to any civil Penalty. But now this Act of *Æthelwulfus* appears entire in all the Proportions of a Law, made in his great Council, equivalent to after-Parliaments; not only cum consilio Episcoporum, with the Advice of his Bishops, (which easily may be presumed willingly to concur in such a matter of Church-advancement) but also Principum meorum, of my Princes (saith he.) the Consent of Inferiour persons not being required in that Age.

10. However, nothing can be so strong burst may meet with Cavills, though not to destroy, to disturb the Validity thereof, as this Act hath: and we will severally examine the Defects charged upon it.

1. Obj. Some object that *Æthelwulfus* was but King of the *West-Saxons*, as appears by his Title, *Rex occidentalium Saxonum*, and not universal Monarch of *England*, whose Act only is obligatory to his own Subjects. Let those of *Cornwall*, *Devon*, *Somerset*, *Dorset*, *Hants*, *Wilt*, and *Berks* pay Tithes by virtue of this Command; other Parts of the Land are freed from the same, because nihil dat quod non habet, none can derive that to others which they enjoy not themselves; being King but of a Part, he could not lay this Law upon all the Land.

Ans. He is teamed eminently, not exclusively, King of the *West-Saxons*: being fondeth of that Title, as his Fathers first Inheritance, before he acquired the Monarchy of the whole Land. There were indeed at this time two other Royalties, as onely Kings by his leave, (viz.) Boorred King of *Mercia*, and *Edmond* King of *East-Angles*, who, as it plainly appears by *Ingulphus*, were present at his Council, and consented to the Acts thereof.

P 2

2. Obj.

Former Acts for Tithes infirm.

Objections against this Act answered

a Exemplified in St. Henry Spelman's Councils, pag. 148.



2. Obj. The Consideration was superstitious, to say so many Masses for the Souls of this King and his Captains when deceased.

Ans. A double Consideration is mentioned in this Grant. The first, general; to pious in it's self, no Exception can be taken thereat, viz. to divert the imminent Judgements of God from the Land, hourly fearing the Invasion of fierce forraign Pagans: to the better to secure the Nine parts thereof to himself and his Subjects, by setting apart, resigning, and surrendering a Tenth to God (the supreme Land-lord of all) in such as attended his daily Service. The second Consideration is more restrictive and particular, and refers indeed of the Ignorance of that Age; but yet is proportionable to the best Devotion those dayes produced: and easily may an accidentall Abuse be purged, by the pious Use intended, and designed generally to Gods Glory.

3. Obj. The King onely granted Tithes of his own Crown-land, non in Dominio, sed in Dominico suo, not in all his Dominions, but onely in his Demesnes.

Ans. There needed no such solemn Consent of the Council of the Land, for the passing away of his Private Bounty. And that the Grant extended to the Kingdome in General, appears by 4 other Authours on the same. Adelpwolphus decimono anno regni sui, qui totam terram suam adopus Ecclesiarum decimavit propter Amorem Dei, &c. More plainly another Authour: In eodem anno decimavit Athulf. rex de omni possessione sua in partem Domini, & in universo regimine sui Principatus sic constituit.

11. Here we insist not on the many Arguments out of Old and New Testament, to prove Tithes to be *jure Divino*; which in due time may be produced, when all Tempels of Tumultuous Spirits are allayed, and when (what the Town-Clerk of Ephesus promised to the Citizens thereof) the Question may be determined by *τῆ ἐν ἡμῶν ἐκκλησίᾳ*, in a lawfull and ordinary Assembly, without fear of Force, and suspicion of Violence. For two Strings to a Bow do not amisse; being no Hindrance to the Archer for the better hitting of the Mark, who may wind up one, and use that for the present which he sees not most for his own Convenience. Mean time most true it is, that men are not so conscientious to obey the *Laws of God*, as fearfull to resist the *Edicts of Men*: and therefore (though farr be it from the Clergy to quit their Title to Tithes by *Divine Right*) they conceive it the surest way sometimes to make use of *Humane Injunctions*, as having the most potent Influence on mens Affections; especially in this Age, when the *love of many* (both to God and Goodness) beginneth to wax cold.

12. A Reverend Doctour in Cambridge, and afterwards Bishop of Sarisburi, was troubled at his small living at Hogginton, with a peremptory Anabaptist, who plainly told him, *it goes against my Conscience to pay you Tithes, except you can shew me a place of Scripture whereby they are due unto you.* The Doctour returned, *Why should it not go as much against my Conscience, that you should enjoy your Nine parts, for which you can shew no place of Scripture? To whom the other rejoyned, But I heave for my Land, Deeds and Evidences from my Fathers, who purchased, and were peaceably possessed thereof by the Laws of the Land. The same is my Title, faith the Doctour, Tithes being confirmed unto me by many statutes of the Land time out of mind.* Thus he drove that Nail, not which was of the strongest Metall on sharpest Point, but which would go best for the present. It was *Argumentum ad hominem*, fittest for the person he was to meddle with; who afterwards peaceably payed his Tithes unto him. Had the Doctour ingaged in Scripture-Argument, though never so pregnant & pertinent, it had been easie to dispute with him, who made Clamour the end of this Dispute, whose Obstinacy and Ignorance made him incapable of solid Reason; and therefore the worse Argument, the better for his Apprehension.

13. Most

Allen. Hun-  
ting. Hist.  
l. 5. pag. 343.

Store no force

b. Alls 19. 39.

A pleasant  
passage.

13. Most solid and ingenious was the Answer of a most eminent Sergeant at Law of this Age, to the importent Clamours of such against the payment of Tithes, because (as they say) due onely by *Humane Right*. *My Cloak is my Cloak by the Law of Man: But he is a Thief by the Law of God that taketh it away from me.*

14. True it is that this Law did not presently find an universall Obedience in all the Land. And the Wonder is not great, if at the first making thereof it met with many Recusants; since corroborated by eight hundred years *Prescription*, and many *Confirmations*, it findes Obstacles and Oppositions at this day: for in succeeding Ages severall Kings confirmed the same, though Papall Exemptions of severall Orders, and *modus Decimandi* according to custome, have almost since *titheed the Tithes* in some places.

15. King *Athelwolphus* the next year took his (call it Progress or) Pilgrimage to Rome. Where the report of his Piety prevented his Arrivall, & provided both Welcome and Wonder for his Entertainment. Here he confirmed unto the Pope his Predecessours Grant of *Peter-pence*, and as a Surplusage, bestowed upon him the yearly Revenue of three hundred Marks, thus to be expended.

1. To maintain Candles for St. Peter, one hundred
2. To maintain Candles for St. Paul, one hundred
3. For a free Largesse to the Pope, one hundred

16. If any be curious to know how these 300 Marks were in after-Ages divided and collected, let them peruse the following Account: if the Particulars be truly cast up, and (attested to me out of Sir Tho. Cotton's Librarie, and, as they say, out of the Vatican it self) be authenticall.

	l. s. d.		l. s. d.		l. s. d.
Canterbury	8 8 0	Ely	5 0 0	Exeter	9 5 0
London	16 10 0	Lincoln	42 0 0	Worcester	10 5 0
Rochester	5 12 0	Chichester	8 0 0	Hereford	6 0 0
Norwich	21 10 0	Winchester	17 6 8	Bath & Wells	12 5 0
Sarisburi	17 0 0	Covent & Lichfield	41 5 8	York	11 10 0

These Summes were demanded by Pope Gregory the thirteenth in the 46. of *Edward* the third. (on that Token, that their payment was much opposed by *John of Gaunt*.) I dare not difcede from my Copy a tittle, coming, as they say, from the Register at Rome: nor will I demand a Reason, why *Durham* and *Carlisle* are here omitted; much less examine the Equity of their Proportions, as applied to their respective Dioceses; but implicitly believe all done very justly. The reason why the *Welsh* Bishopricks were exempted is, because at the grant hereof by King *Athelwolph*, *Wales* was not then under his Dominion. This 300 Marks was but a *discreet* payment by it self, and not the whole Body of *Peter-pence* (amounting to a greater Summe,) whereof, God willing, hereafter.

17. After the Death of King *Athelwolphus*, and his two Sons *Ethelbald* and *Ethelbert* succeeding him, this Land was in a sad Condition, though nothing so bad as under the Reign of *Ethelred* his third Son, and Successor: for then indeed most miserable was the state of the *English*, harassed by the *Danes*, who, like the running-Gout, shifted from Joynt to Joynt, from place to place; often repelled from the severall Shires, never expelled out of England. The *Saxon* Folly hit them more, then the *Danish* Fury, refusing effectually to unite, to make a joynt-Resistance against a generall Enemy. For some sixty years since, the *West-Saxons* had subdued the other fix Kings of this Nation; yet so, that they still continued Kings, but Homagers to the *West-Saxon* Monarchy. The *Northmen* of their Sceptres stuck in their Stomacks, especially of the *Mer-  
can* and *Northumbrian* Kings, the most puissant of all the rest. Whereupon, beholding *Ethelred*, the *West-Saxon* King (the Staffe and Stay of the whole Nation) embroiled with the Invasion of the *Danes*, they not only lazily looked on, but secretly smiled at this Sight, as the only way to Conquer the Conquerour.

Yca.

Anno  
Regis  
Ethel-  
wolph  
18

19 856

Ethel-  
red  
1 867

A solid An-  
swer of  
a learned  
Sergeant,

This law not  
presently  
found, and  
perfectly  
obeyed.

King Ethel-  
wolph's jour-  
ney to Rome,  
and bounty  
to the Pope.  
A William  
Malmesbury,  
at print.

How this  
Summe was  
divided, and  
collected out  
of severall  
Dioceses.

The Saxons  
willfully ac-  
cessory to their  
own ruine by the  
Danes.

Yea, such their Envy, that rather then one (once their equal) should be above them in Felicity, they all would be equal with him in Misery. They would more contentedly be *Slaves* to a Forrain Foe, to whom they all stood unrelated, then *Homagers* to him, who had (as they thought) usurped Dominion over them. Never considering, that the *Danes* were Pagans; (Self-interest is deaf to the Checks of Conscience,) and Revenge (which is wilde at the best) was so mad in them, that they would procure it with the Hazzard, if not Loss, of their God, his Church, and true Religion. Thus the *Heights* of the *Saxon* Pride and Envy, caused the *Breadth* of the *Danish* Power and Cruelty. Indeed the foresaid *Saxon* Kings, perceiving their Error, endeavoured at last to help the *West-Saxon* (or rather to help themselves in him) against the *Danes*. But alas, it was too late. For, the *Danish* Garisons lay so indented in the Heart of the Land, that the *Saxon* Troups were blasted, before they could grow into Regiments; and their Strength (disperfed in the gathering) was routed, before regulated into an Army.

Fight between  
Christians  
and Danes.

a Ingulph  
Hist. p. 865.

b Vicdomin.

c Crowland  
Monks mal-  
facted.

e Ingulphus,  
pag. 866.

d In Laine  
Collium.  
Peterborough  
Monks lib.

18. This year the *Danes* made an Invasion into *Lincolnshire*, where they met with stout Resistance: and let us take a *List* of the chief *Officers* on both sides.

#### Christian Saxons.

\* Count *Algar*, General, with the Youth of *Holland*.  
*Harding de Rehele* with *Stanford* men, all very young and valiant.

*Tolie* a Monk, with a Band of two hundred *Crowlanders*.  
*Morcar* Lord of *Burn*, with those of his numerous Family.

*Orgot*, \* Sheriff of *Lincolnshire*, with five hundred under him.

*VVibert*, living at *VViberton*,  
nigh *Boston* in *Holland*. } Places named from  
*Leofrick*, living at *Leverton*, } their Owners.  
anciently *Lefrinkton*.

#### Danish Pagans.

King *Gordroum*.

King *Rafeg*.

King *Oskerill*.

King *Halfeden*.

King *Hammond*.

Count *Frena*.

Count *Pnguar*.

Count *Hubba*.

Count *Sidroke*

the Elder.

Count *Sidroke* the Younger.

The *Christians* had the better the first day, wherein the *Danes* lost three of their *Kings*, buried in a place thence called *Trekingham*: so had they the second, till at night, breaking their Ranks to pursue the *Danes* in their dissembled Flight, they were utterly overthrown.

19. *Theodore* Abbot of *Crowland*, hearing of the *Danes* Approach, shipped away most of his *Monks*, with the choicest *Relicks* and Treasures of his *Convent*, and cast his most precious Vessels into a *VVell* in the *Cloister*. The rest remaining were at their *Morning-prayers*, when the *Danes* entering, flew

*Theodore* the Abbot on the High Altar,  
*Asber* the Prior in the Vestuary,  
*Lebwin* the Sub-Prior in the Rectory,

*Pauline* in the Quire,  
*Herbert* in the Quire,  
*VVolride* the Torch-  
Bearer in the same place,  
*Grimketule* and  
*Agamund*, each  
of them an hundred  
years old,  
in the Cloisters.

These, faith my \* *Authour*, were first *examinati*, tortured to betray their Treasures, and then *examinati*, put to death for their Refusal. The same *VVriter* seems to wonder, that being killed in one place, their Bodies were afterwards found in another. Surely the *Corpses* removed not themselves, but no doubt the *Danes* dragged them from place to place when dead. There was one *Child* *Atank* therein, but ten yeares old, (*Turgar* by name) of most lovely Looks and Person. Count *Sidroke* the younger pitying his tender yeares (all Devils are not cruell alike) cast a *Danish* Coat upon him, and so saved him, who only survived, to make the sad Relation of the *Massacre*.

20. Hence the *Danes* marched to *Medeshamsted* (since called *Peterborough*;) where

870 4

Anno  
Regis  
ethel-  
redi  
4

Anno  
Dom.  
870

where finding the *Abbey-gates* locked against them, they resolved to force their Entrance; in effecting whereof, *Tulba*, Brother to Count *Hubba*, was dangerously wounded, almost to Death, with a Stone cast at him. *Hubba* enraged hereat, like another *Doeg*, killed *Abbot Hedda*, and all the *Monks*, being four-score and four, with his own hand. Count *Sidroke* gave an Item to young Monk *Turgar* (who hitherto attended him) in no wise to meet Count *Hubba*, for fear that his *Danish* *Livery* should not be found of proof against his Fury. Then was the *Abbey* set on Fire, which burned fifteen dayes together, wherein an excellent *Library* was consumed. Having pillaged the *Abbey*, and broke open the *Tombes* and *Coffins* of many *Saints* there interred, these *Pagans* marched forwards into *Cambridge-shire*, and passing the *River Nene*, two of their *VVagons* fell into the Water, wherein the *Cattel* which drew them were drowned, much of their rich Plunder lost, and more impaired.

21. Some dayes after, the *Monks* of *Medeshamsted* were buried altogether in a great Grave, and their *Abbot* in the midst of them, a *Crosse* being erected over the same; where one may have four yards square of *Martyrs* Dust, which no place else in *England* doth afford. *Godric*, Succour to *Theodore*, Abbot of *Crowland*, used annually to repair hither, and to say *Masses* two dayes together for the *Souls* of such as were entombed. One would think that by *Papish* Principles these were rather to be prayed to, then prayed for, many maintaining that *Martyrs* go the nearest way to Heaven, *sine ambage Purgatorii*: so that surely *Godric* did it not to better their Condition, but to expresse his own Affection, out of the Redundancy of his devotion, which others will call the Superfluity of his Superstition.

22. The *Danes* spared no Age, Sex, Condition of people, such was the Cruelty of this Pagan impartial Sword. With a violent Inundation they brake into the Kingdom of the *East-Angles*; wasted *Cambridge*, and the Country thereabouts; burnt (the then City of) *Thesford*; forced *Edmond*, King of that Country, into his Castle of *Framlingham*; who perceiving himself unable to resist their Power, came forth, and at the Village of *Hoxon* in *Suffolk* tendered his Person unto them, hoping thereby to save the Effusion of his Subjects Bloods. Where, after many *Indignities* offered unto him, they bound him to a Tree; and because he would not renounce his Christianity, shott him with Arrow after Arrow; their Cruelty taking Deliberation, that he might the better digest one Pain, before another succeeded, so distinctly to protract his Torture (though Confusion be better then Method in matters of Cruelty) till not Mercie, but want of a Mark made them desist, according to the Poets Expression,

*Iam loca Vulneribus desunt, nec dum furiosus  
Tela, sed hyberna grandine plura volant.*

Room wants for Wounds, but Arrows do not fail  
From Foes, which thicker fly then winter Hail.

After-Ages, desiring to make amends to his Memory, so over-acted their part in *shrieking*, *fainting*, and *adoring* his Relicks, at *Bury St. Edmonds*; that, if those in Heaven be sensible of the Transactions on Earth, this good Kings Body did not feel more Pain from the Fury of the Pagan-Danes, then his Soul is filled with holy Indignation, at the Superstition of the Christian-Saxons.

23. However, the *West-Saxon* King *Ethelbert* behaved himself bravely, fighting with various Successes, nine Battels against the *Danes*: though ninety *Wine* had not been sufficient against so numerous an Enemy. But we leave these things to the Historians of the State, to relate. We read of an Heap of *Stones*, made between *Jacob* and *Laban*, with a mutual Contract, that neither should passe the same for Harm. Thus would I have Ecclesiasticall and civil Historians indent about the Bounds, and Limits of their Subjects, that neither injuriously inroach on the Right of the other. And, if I chance to make an

Ex

A heap of  
Martyrs.

The cruel  
Martyrdom  
of King  
Edmond.

a Camden's  
Britann. in  
the  
description  
of  
Suffolk.

King Ethelbert his prayer-victory.  
b William Malmesbury De Gestis Regum Anglorum, lib. 2. pag. 47.  
c Gm. 11. 52.



King's Hall  
founded by  
King Alfred,  
a Reg. Pisto-  
nium pag. 211.

The Birth-  
place of  
St. Scotus.

b Jac. War.  
de Strip. Hib.  
pag. 41.  
c Mercat.  
Atlas pag. 47.  
d Rectif. Hist.  
Sci. lib. 1.  
num. 64. o.  
lib. 9. num. 104.

Wales it's  
right to Sco-  
tus his birth-  
place. de  
Strip. Brit.  
cent. secund.  
pag. 124.

Scotus (Gaith  
Cajus) stu-  
died at Cam-  
bridge.  
f Cajus de  
Ant. Cam.  
lib. 1. p. 137.  
g Tithonus  
e ejus se-  
quaces.  
h. i. f. wake  
in Reg. Pisto-  
nium pag. 211.  
i Balcan Cent.  
seculi. uppiat.  
Misereably  
murdered by  
his Scholars.

though oft-times abated; the Universities feeling the Impressions of the Com-  
mon-wealth.

31. At the same time wherein King Alfred built *Univerſity College* in Ox-  
ford, he also founded another House called *Kings great-Hall* (intimating a lesser  
hall) now included within the compass<sup>e</sup> of *Brazen-nose College*. And  
hence it is that at this very day it payeth some chief Rent to *Univerſity Col-  
lege*, as the ancient Owner thereof. Here he placed *Iohannes Scotus* (highly  
endeared in this Kings Affections) Reader therein. On the clearing of whose  
Extraction and Opinions a long Story doth depend.

32. This *Scotus* is called *Iohannes Scotus Erigena*, (with addition sometimes  
of *Sophista*) so that all may amount to a kind of Definition of him as to his In-  
dividual Person. Conceive we *Scotus* for his Genus, which because homonymous  
in<sup>b</sup> that Age (as signifying both *Scotland* and *Ireland*) *Erigena* is added for his  
Difference, that is, born (as some will have it) in *Ireland*, called<sup>c</sup> *Erin* in their  
own Country Language. But *Dempster*, a *Scotch*<sup>d</sup> Writer, who will leave  
nothing that can be gotten above ground (y<sup>e</sup>a, will *drive* and *digge* into the *Wa-  
ter* and *land* of others) to the credit of this Country, claimeth *Scotus* as born in  
*Scotland*, spelling him *Airigena*, from *Aire*, a small place therein. But be-  
sides unanswerable Arguments to the contrary, *gena* is a termination seldom  
added to so restrictive a word, but (as *Francigena*, *Angligena*) denoteth general-  
ly the Nation, not petty place of a mans Extraction. As for *Dempster*, his Credit  
runneth low with me, ever since he made *Pope Innocent* the first a *Scotch*-  
man, because calling himself *Albanus*, (and *Scotland*, forsooth, is *Albania*) it be-  
ing notoriously known that the said *Innocent* was born at *Long Alba* nigh  
*Rome*. Y<sup>e</sup>a *Bellarmine* himself said, reading the three books of *Dempster*,  
wherein he hooketh in so many for his Countrymen, that he thought that if he  
should add a fourth, he would make *JESUS CHRIST* himself to be a  
*Scotch*-man.

33. All this while *Wales* stands modestly silent, with intention to put in  
her Claim the last to *Scotus* his Nativity, whom many Writers make born at  
*Saint Davids*. Whilst some will have the Epithet of *Erigena* affixed<sup>e</sup> unto  
him *quasi natus* *in* *Wales*,<sup>g</sup> early born, because of the timely rising of his Parts (as  
a *Morning starre*) in those dark dayes: which I can better applaud for an inge-  
nious Allusion, then approve for a true and serious Assertion. But be *Scotus* born  
where he please, most sure it is, by King Alfred he was made a Professor of  
Learning in Oxford.

34. I confess<sup>e</sup> *Cajus* maketh this *John Scotus* Scholar to *Bede* (as many  
good Authours also do) and brought up at *Cambridge*: to which the Sons of  
our *Ance* are loth to consent, that one who was taught in *Cambridge*, should  
teach in *Oxford*, and their *eloquent Orator* falls very foul, save that it is some  
safe to be railled on in good *Latine* on him for the same. Now because we  
*Cambridge*-men are loth to take a Limbe of *John Scotus* (or any other Learned  
man) more then what will come of it self, with the Consent of Chronologie;  
and because I find<sup>h</sup> *Bede* dislikes the same, chiefly on the account of his impro-  
bable Vivacity of an hundred and seventy years; I can be content to resign my  
particular Title unto him, provided it be without Prejudice to others of our  
*Univerſity*, who hereafter may challenge him with better Arguments.

35. I much wonder that this *Scotus* should be so degraded in his Old-age  
from Oxford to *Malmesbury*, from a Professor in a *Univerſity*, to a School-  
master in a Country-town; where pouring Learning into his Lads (rather  
in proportion to the Plenty of the Fountain, then to the Receipt of the Vessels) he  
was severe to such Scholars as were dull in their Apprehensions. This fo  
irritated their Anger against him, that by an *univerſal Conspiracy* they dispatched  
him in the School with their Pen-knives. I find not what Punishment was in-  
flicted upon them: *Whipping* being too little, if *Sturdy Youths*; and *Hanging*  
too much, if but little Boyes. Onely I observe one *Cassianus*, a Schoolmaster in  
Primi-

Anno  
Dom. 882  
Anno  
Regis  
Alfredi  
ſeu A  
luredi  
11

Anno  
Regis  
Alfredi  
ſeu A  
luredi  
11

Primitive times, sent the same way on the same Occasion; his Death being elo-  
gantly described by *Prudentius*.

36. All the Amends which is made to the Memory of *Scotus*, is, that he was  
made a Martyr after his Death, and his Anniversary is remembered in the *Ma-  
lendar* on the fourth of the Ides of November, in the *Roman Martyrologie*, set forth  
at *Antwerp* 1586. by the command of *Gregory* the thirteenth. But since *Baro-  
nius* hath *unmartyred* him; and that on good reason, ſaith<sup>b</sup> *Henry Fitz-Simon*,  
attesting that an *Apologie* is provided, confirmed with approbation of many  
*Popes*, *Cardinals*, and many learned Doctours, justifying *Baronius* therein, which  
we, as yet, have not beheld. Indeed *Scotus* detested some Superstitions of the  
times, especially about the Presence in the Lords Supper; and I have<sup>c</sup> read that  
his Book de *Eucharistia* was condemned in the *Vercellian Synod*, for some Pas-  
sages therein, by *Pope Leo*. This makes it suspicious, that some Hands of more  
age and Heads of more Malice, then School-boyes, might guide the Pen-  
knives which murdered *Scotus*, because of his known Opposition against some  
Practices and Opinions of that ignorant Age.

37. It is much that this *Scotus*, though carrying in his Name a Comment on  
himself, that all should not suffice fo distinctly to expound him to some Appre-  
hensions, but that still they confound him with others of his Name; sometimes  
with *Iohannes Scotus*<sup>d</sup> *Mailroſſius*, sometimes with *John Dunce Scotus*; though  
indeed there be Difference enough of Time, Place, and other distinguishing  
Characters, betwixt them. Our present *Scotus* being most probably an *Irish-  
man*, a great Linguist in the learned Tongues, a *Vaſt Traveller* into the *Eastern  
parts*, a Monk by profession, killed and buried at *Malmesbury*. The other  
*Scotus* born in *Northumberland*, skilled onely (and that but meanly) in *Latine*,  
never travelling farther then *France*, and the higher part of *Germany*, a *Franci-  
ſcan* by his Order, dying of an *Apoplexy*, and buried at *Colen*, of whom (God  
willing) largely hereafter.

38. To return to King Alfred. As for the Maintenance of the Scholars, it  
issued forth annually from Alfred's Exchequer, who made a fourfold<sup>e</sup> division  
of his Wealth, understand it of the Surplusage thereof, more then what his  
Court and Camp expended: One part to the Poor, of all kinds, that came  
and craved of him; a second to the Monasteries of his own Erection; a third  
to the School, understand Oxford, which he himself had founded; the fourth,  
and last, to the neighbouring Monasteries round about. However, we may easily  
believe that after his Death, the Students of Oxford were often at a loſſe of  
Livelihood. For, seeing the Coſſers of the greatest Kings (especially in the time  
of War) are subject to a Drought of Coin, there must needs be a Dearth in  
those Colleges, which are watered thence for their Maintenance. Scholars  
may in time of Peace, but Souldiers must be paid in time of War. Wherefore,  
the most certain Subſiſtence for Scholars (so far forth as inconstant things, as  
all Sublunary, can be made constant) is, what ariseth from solid Lands, where-  
with they are endowed. For, though even such Revenues are subject to Ca-  
ſualties, yet some Water will ever be running, though the Tide thereof may  
ebb, or flow, according to the fall, or riſe of Commodities.

14 885

39. But it is hard to compose two Swarms of Bees in one Hive, but that  
they will fall out, and fight. The College of Logic, it seems, from the Founda-  
tion thereof, studied Divisions, as well as Distinctions; there happening a  
dangerous Difference betwixt the *Aborigines* and the *Advena*, the old Stock of  
Students, and the new Store brought in by *S. Grimbald*: the former, standing on  
their Seniority, expected more Respect unto themselves, deriving their Privi-  
ledges from their learned Ancestors, time out of mind; which the *Grimbal-  
dists* would not consent unto. Both sides appealed to Alfred, as their Patron. He  
coming to Oxford, carried himself with much moderation, as accounting that  
Agreement most durable, into which the parties were persuaded, nor com-  
manded *Grimball*, expecting King Alfred's zealous ingaging on his side, accord-

a Prudentius  
in his book  
perſeſophum.  
Unmartyred  
by Baronius.

b In 2. edit.  
Catal. SS. Hib.

c T.oh. Pari-  
ſienſis Hiſt.  
in anno 877.

Scotus con-  
founded with  
other of his  
namesakes.  
d John Bale  
in prius.

The Scholars  
maintenance  
out of the  
Kings Ex-  
chequer.  
e Aſſerius  
Martyrologi-  
ſt in Alfred.

Diffenſion  
between the  
Students at  
Oxford.

ding to the conceived merits of his Cause, was not a little offended, that the King did not appear more resolute in his behalf. Inasmuch that he forsook *Oxford*, wherein he had formerly built the Church of *St. Peter* from the very Foundation, with Stone most curiously wrought and polished, and translated both himself, and his intended Tombe thence to *Winchester*.

The Armes of *Oxford*.  
a Briton Twine in *Anglo. Antiq.* Oxon.

b Aquinas Summus. *quest. Art. 10.*

One, once a swineheard, made Bishop of *Winchester*.

c Godwin in his Bishop of *Winchester*. *pag. 251.*  
d Malmesb. lib. 2. de *Epist. Pontif.*  
e See Mr. I. Jackson's *Chronology in Caus. of Bishops*.

The preface to the Canons made by King *Alfred*.  
f Mr. Henry Spelman's *Cont. p. 154.*

40. An Antiquary tells us, that the ancient Armes were assigned to *Oxford* about this time, namely, in a Field Azure, a Bible with seven Seales appendant thereunto, opened (at the beginning of *St. Johns Gospel*). In the beginning was the word, &c.) betwixt three Crowns Or: which three Crowns (saith he) signifie the three Senses of the Scripture: in the which, I confesse, I do not understand him. For, either we must admit but one Sense of the Scripture, as principally intended therein (which is the general Opinion of the Protestants;) or, if with the Papists, we will allow moe Senses then one, we must conclude four, namely, the littell, allegoricall, morall, and anagogicall. What if the three Crowns import the three Professions which *Alfred* here founded, and all necessary to the understanding of the Book betwixt them? Grammar, to understand the Letter; Philosophy, the Reason; and Divinity, the Mystery of the Scripture.

41. One of the first Scholars of Note, whom I find bred in *Oxford*, was one *Dunwolphus*, once a Swineheard in *Athelney*, when *Alfred* lurked therein, being the Kings Host, who enurtained him, or rather his Master, whom the King served. *Alfred* perceiving in him pregnancy of Parts (though stifled with the Narrowness, and crippled with the Lowliness of his Vocation) sent him to *Oxford*, where he became, after some yeares study, Doctor in Divinity, and was by the King, in Gratitude, preferred to be Bishop of *Winchester*. But the Monks of *Winchester* are so proud and fullen, they disdain to accept this man for their Bishop, affirming, that their See stood void at this time, moe willing to confesse a Vacancy, then admit a Swineheard into their Episcopall Chaire. Whereas surely *Alfred*, so great a Scholar, and good a man, would not have advanced him *per saltum*, from a Swineheard to a Bishop, had he not been qualified by intermediate Degrees of Education. For mine own part, I see no reason why *Winchester* should be ashamed of him; and for ought I know, *Dunwolph* might be as good a Bishop as *Dunstan*, of whom the Monks of *Winchester* so boast, both without cause, and measure.

42. Councils (except Councils of *Varro*) were very rare in this Age. The first I find a solemn one, celebrated by King *Alfred*; the place not expressed, but the Canons therein fairly transmitted to Posterity. The Preface of these Canons is very remarkable, consisting of three parts.

1. The ten Commandments translated into *Saxon*, as being the Basis and Foundation of all Humane Laws.
2. Several pieces of Chapters in *Exodus*, being the Breviate of the Judicial Law of the Jews; which though in the Latitude thereof calculated only for the Jewish Common-wealth, yet the Morall Equity therein obligeth all Christians.
3. The fifteenth Chapter of the *Acts*, containing the Council of *Jerusalem*, as being a Divine Precedent, or Warrant for Christians to convene together, and conclude Orders for regulating mens Conversations.

Is remarkable, that in the aforesaid ten Commandments, as exemplified in this Council of *Alfred*, the second Commandment is wholly expunged; Image-worship beginning then to grow common in the world, and the Clergy, who gained thereby (having the second Commandment, on the same

Anno Dom. 865.

14.

887 16

Anno Dom. 887.

16

18 889

as *Alfred* did *Mitchell*, because it ever prophesied evil unto them) dashed it out of the Decalogue. The worst is, when this was wanting, the Decalogue was but an *Enealogue*; and therefore to preserve the number of ten, the Papists generally cleave the last Commandment into two: but in *Alfred's* Preface, this is made the tenth and last Commandment. *Thou shalt not worship Gods of Gold and Silver*. Which, as it comes in out of its proper place, (and why should not Gods Order be observed, as well as his Number, in the Commandments?) so is it defectively rendered, nothing so full against graven-Images, as God propounded it. The Canons made in this Council fall under a three-fold Consideration. Some relate only to the Common-wealth, and by us may properly be forboren. Others concern onely Monks and Friars, (as the sixth Finger, and no necessary Member of the Church;) and, as *Actio moritur cum persona*, so with the Extirpation of those Convents, those Canons may seem to expire.

43. *Plegmund* an Ermitte in the Isle of *Chester* (now called *Plegmundham*) Tutour to King *Alfred*, was by him preferred to be Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, then a miserable place, as hardly recovered from the late Sacking of the *Danes*. By the Kings command, he called the Clergy of *England* together, and made a Collection of Almes, to be sent to *Rome* and *Jerusalem*: and *Athelm*, Arch-bishop of *York*, was employed in the Journey, going personally to the aforesaid Places, to see the Contribution there faithfully delivered, and equally distributed.

44. About the end of this Century died worthy King *Alfred*, remarkable to Posterity on many Accounts, whereof this not the least, That he turned *David's Psalms* into *English*, so that a *Royall Text* met with a *Royall Translation*. He left his Crown to *Edward* his Sonne (commonly called the Elder) farre inferior to his Father in Skill in, but not so much in his Love to good Literature. Indeed he had an excellent Tutour, *Asserius Monensis*, Arch-bishop of *St. David*, the faithful Writer of his Fathers Actions, supposed by some Bishop of *Sherburn*, which is denied by others, (though one of the same name was some yeares before) as inconsistent with Chronologie.

45. As for the principall Clergy-men extant at this time, we take special notice of two: the one, *Berthulf*, Bishop of *Winchester*, made one of the *Guardians* of the Realm against the Incurision of the *Danes*; the other, *Halard*, Bishop of *Dorchester*, advanced also into the same Employment. But alas, what weak *Guardians* were these to defend the Land, which could not secure their own *Sees*! And in what Capacity (save in *Prayers* and *Tears*) were they able to make any Resistance? for now the *Danes* not onely assailed the Skirts and Out-sides of the Land, but also made Inroads many miles into the Continent thereof. Inasmuch that *Winchester* lay void six, and *Sherburn* seven yeares; such the Pagan Fury, that none durst offer to undertake those Places.

46. True it is, the *English* oftentimes in Battell got the Advantage of them, when the *Pagan Danes* being conquered had but one way to shift for themselves, namely, to counterfeit themselves Christians, and embrace Baptisme: but no sooner had they got Power again into their hands, but that they turning Apostates were ten times more cruel then ever before. This successively was the Land affected with *Sickness*, *Recovery*, and *Relapses*; the peoples Condition being so much the more disconsolate, because promising a Continuance of Happinesse to themselves upon their Victories, they were on their Overthrows remanded to the same, if not a worse Condition.

47. It is strange to observe the Alternations of Success between the *English* and *Danes*, how exactly they took their Turns; God using them to hold upon one another, whilest he justly beat both. Mean time commendable the

Temper

A general Contribution to *Rome* and *Jerusalem*.

Death of King *Alfred*.

f James Usher de Brit. Eccl. primus. in *Solar Chronolog.* p. 1177. Weak *Guardians* God wote.

The wofull estate of the *English*.

The commendable temper of King *Alfred* and King *Edward*.

Temper of late King *Alfred*, and present King *Edward*; it being true of each of them,

*Si modo Victus erat, ad crastina bella parabat;  
Si modo Victor erat, ad crastina bellatimebat.*

If that it happ't that *Conquered* was he,  
Next day to fight he quickly did prepare;  
But if he chanc't the *Conquerour* to be,  
Next day to fight he wisely did beware.

But these things we leave to the Historians of the State to prosecute, and confine our selves onely to matters of Ecclesiasticall cognizance.



THE

# THE TENTH CENTURY.

*Iacobo Langham*, Armigero, amplissimi Senatoris  
Londinensis Primogenito.

**D**ecimam hanc Centuriam tibi dedicandam curavi, quod Numerus Denarius semper aliquid angustum sonet. Sic in Papicolarum Globulis, quibus preculas suas numerant, decimus (ut Decurio) aliis magnitudine prestat.

At dices; Centuria hæc inter Ecclesiasticos audit infelix, cum sua tantum Obscuritate sit illustris. Quid Tibi igitur, Felicissimo Viro, cui latum Ingenium, lauta Hereditas, cum infelici Seculo?

Verbo expediam. Volui Nomen Tuum Historiæ meæ hic prætendi, ut instar Phosphori, Lectores in hac tenebrosa Ætate oberrantes, splendoris sui Radiis dirigat.

Percurras, quæso, insequentes paginas; nihil Scientiæ, aliquid Voluptatis tibi allaturas. Quo cum nemo sit in ipsis Elegantiarum apicibus Latior, probe scio, Te perquam suaviter risurum, cum Diploma Edvardinum, nimia Barbariescatens, perlegeris.

Edvardi Senatoris  
3

904



T this time there was a great Dearth of Bishops in the Land, which lasted for seven yeares (as long as the *Famine* in *Egypt*) during which time, there was no Bishop in all the *West* parts of *England*. Pope *Formosus* was foully offended herat, and thereupon, cum magna Iracundia & Devotione, with much Passion and Fiery, by his Curse and Excommunication, interdicted King, Kingdome, and all the Subjects therein.

We cannot but gaze at the Novelty of this act, (as we conceive, a leading Case in this kind) whilest the skillfull in the *Canon Law* can give an account of the Equity of the Popes Proceedings, why all should suffer for some, the guiltless with the guilty, and have the Word and Sacraments taken from them, for the want of Bishops in other places: otherwise, the Punishment seemeth unjust in the rigid justice thereof, and (if not heavier) larger then the Offence, and beareth no Proportion with common Equity, Christian Charity, and Gods Proceedings, who saith, the soul that sinneth, shall dye.

2. Notwithstanding, this excommunicating of *K. Edward* by the Pope is highly urged:

England interdicted by the Pope for want of Bishops.

a. Archiv. Cent. in Reg. Off. Priorat. Eccles. Cant. fol. 3, b.

The Character of those





nec non ibi Aulas Studentium, & Doctorem Magistrorumque Cathedralis & Sedilia, ut dilectissimus Clerici nutritor, amator, & defensor, suis sumptibus erigi & fabricari precepit. Ab Oxonia namque Univeritate, quam Pater suus nobilis Rex creverat, Magistros Artium quas liberales vocamus, pariter in sacra Theologia Doctores, advocavit, ibique ad legendum formaliter, & docendum invitavit.

Cambridge represented in a three-fold estate.

a In his Catalogue of the Earles of Watwick.

The principall Lawes enacted in the Council at Greatta.

8. Have we here Cambridge presented in a three-fold Condition. First, what she had been long before King Edward's time; fairly flourishing with Learning. Secondly, in what case she found her; desolate, and decayed. Then the Cup of Cambridge was at the bottom, her Breasts dry, and her Sun in an Eclipse. She was, saith Koffe, suspended, not by the power of any Popes Keyes (as the word may import), but by the force of Pagan Swords, who here interrupted the exercise of Acts and publick Lectures; as in Spain, Germany, and other Foreign Parts, places appointed for Learning had shared in the like Calamity. Thirdly, in what condition Edward left her; under whom, as under the Father of the Art, Cambridge it self did then Commence and take a new Degree. Happy this Edward, who like a wealthy Landlord had two Nurseries of choice Fruit; so that if the one, by any sad accident, chanced to faile, he could supply it from the other, without being beholding to his Neighbours. This was the Love between the two Sisters; what either had, neither could want, and Oxford, which borrowt now, borrowed another time, as in due place shall appear. If the same Author elsewhere calleth this King Edward Founder of Cambridge, it is by an easie and obvious Error, because a totall Repairer doth amount to a partiall Founder. Nor doth Cambridge regret thereat; seeing Gratefull Expressions, which had rather transgresse in the Excesse, then the Defect, may in Courtely call their Mender, their Maker.

9. Athelstan his Son succeeded King Edward, being much devoted to St. John of Beverley; on whose Church he bestowed a Freed-Stool, with large Priviledges belonging thereunto. Many Councils were kept in this Kings Reign, at Excester, Feversham, Thunderfield, and London (all of them of uncertain Date.) But one held at Greatta is of greatest account for the Lawes therein enacted; the principall here ensuing.

1. That the Kings Officers should truly pay Tithes, out of his Demesnes, as well of his quick Catell, as dead Commodities.
  2. That Cyniceat (that is, First-fruits of Seeds) be duly payed to God in his Church.
  3. That the Kings Officers maintain one Poore-body in the Kings Villages; and in case none be found therein, fetch him from other places.
- [Christ saith, The poor you have always with you. The Church in generall is well stocked with them, though some particular Parish may want such as are in Want. If any would know the Bill of Fare allowed these poore people; it was monthly a Measure of Meale, and a Pennie, a Gammon of Bacon, A Ramm worth a Groat, four Cheetes & 30. Pence on Easter-Wednesday to buy them Cloaths.]
4. That Monyes wilfully corrupting the Coyn, and found guilty, have their Hands cut off, and nailed to the Mint-boafe.

[Every Burrough was allowed one Mint therein: but besides these,

Hastings	one	Exeter	two	Canterbury	seven
Cirencester	one	Hampton	two	(viz.) For the King	four
Shaftsbury	two	Lewes	two	For the Arch-bishop	two
Wareham	two	Rocheſter	three	For the Abbot	one
		Wincheſter	six	London	eight

(Moſt

as also, like a most loving Nourisher of the Clergie, he commanded that Halls for Students, Chairs and Seats of Doctors and Masters, should there be erected, & built on his own proper Charges: for he called from Oxford Univerſitie, which his noble Father the King had erected, Masters of those Arts which we call liberall, together with Doctors in holy Divinity, and invited them there formally to read and teach.

Anno Dom. 915  
Regis Edwardi Sen. 14.

Anno Dom. 928  
Regis Athelstani 5

Most of these places were anciently in the West-Saxon Kingdome to whom the English Monarchs were most favourable, in doubling their Priviledge of Coynage, but single in other places of greater Capacity.]

5. That such who were tried by Ordall, should ceremoniously be prepared thereunto with the solemn manner of managing that Tryall.
6. That no Buying or Selling be on the Lords-Day.
7. That one convicted of Perjurie, shall be trusted no more on his Oath, nor be buried in Holy earth, except restored by the Bishop on his Penance.
8. That Witches, confessing themselves to have killed any, be put to death.

[Such as were suspected, and denied the Fact, might be tried by Ordall: which was done either by Fire, whereof hereafter; or by Water. Of the later, Mergator una silva & dimidia in fume: which I thus understand; Let the Party be tied to a Rope, and drencht an Ell and half above his own Height. And this is the first footstep we find of Swimming of Witches; for which no Law, save Customs, at this day; and that whether just in it self, and satisfactory (as a means proportionable for the discovery of the Truth) is not my work to determine.

Whoever desires to have more exact Information of this Council, may repair to Sir Henry Spelman, where he may receive plentiful Satisfaction.

10. Only I must not omit one Passage in this Council, acquainting us with the Hierarchy of that Age, and the Distances and Degrees of Persons, collected from their Vveers or Vveer-Gilds, that is Taxes, and Valuations; it being truly to be said in that Age,

Quantum quisque sua Nummorum servat in Arca,  
Tantum habet et Fidei.

Every ones Testimony in Law-cases in Courts was credited according to his Wealth.

1. Ceorles (whence our Northern word Carles, and common word Churles) being Countrey Clowns, whose Vveer-gild was 200. shillings, or 10. pounds; the same with Villanes, who held land in Villanage of others. These, if by Blessing on their Industry they rose so high as to have five Hides of Land of their own, with a place in the Kings Court, and some other Priviledges, now hardly to be understood, were advanced to be Thanes.
2. The Vveer-gild, or Value of a Thane, was six times as much as a Churle, or a Villane, namely twelve times a hundred shillings, therefore termed a twelve-hind-man: whose Oath in Law was equivalent to fix Oaths of Churles, or Villanes; as a Shilling passing in Payment countervailed six two-pences. Note, that if a Masseer, or Merchant, pass the great Sea thrice (understand the Mediterranean, not the Narrow Seas between Saxa and France) and not in the Notion of a Servant, but on his own account; he then was dignified with the reputation of a Thane. These Thanes were of two sorts: Meſet Thanes, Priests qualified to say Masse; and Vvorould-Thanes, that is, secular, or temporal Thanes.
3. Of the first, if a Scholar made such proficiency in his Studies, that he took holy Orders, he was reverently respected, and (though not valued as a Vvorould-Thane in Rates and Taxes) Amends were to be made for any Wrongs done unto him, equal to a Thane; and in case he should be kill'd, the Penalty thereof was the higher, the more Orders the person had taken. Observe by the way (so far as we can understand the Saxon Laws) that Man-slaughter was not then punished with Death, but might be redeemed by the proportionable Payment of a Summe of Mony, according to the Quality of the Person slain; part thereof payable to the King, part to his Kindred, part to the Countrey thereabouts.

But the further prosecution hereof, (where the Footsteps are almost out-worn

a Camden's Brit. in Sulfes.

b In his Councils, pag. 396. & sequenti. Dignities and degrees amongst the Saxons.

924 Athelstani 1

928 5



Dunstan his  
first com-  
ing into fa-  
vor at the  
Court.

Banished  
thence on  
suspicion  
of Magick.

a 1 Sam. 16. 23  
b Psal. 137. 5.

He retires  
unto his  
Cell-prison  
at *Glassenbury*.

Takes a devil  
by the nose.

This false  
miracle can-  
vassed.

with Time) we leave to more expert Antiquaries; who will tell you, that *Alderman* in that Age was equal to our modern *Earle*, who with Bishops were of the same Valuation: also that *Comes* in that Age, founded as much as *Duke* in ours, Arch-bishops going along with them in all considerable Equipage.

11. Now began *S. Dunstan* to appear in Court, born at *Glassenbury*, of Noble Parentage (as almost what Saint in this Age was not honourably extracted?) Nephew both to *Elphegus* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Athelm* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, yea *Kinlfman* remote to King *Aethelstane* himself: and being thus highly related, he could not miss of Preferment. His Eminencies were Painting and Graving (two Qualities disposing him to be very usefull for Saint-worshipping, either for Pictures or Images) an excellent Musician (Preaching in those dayes could not be heard for Singing in Churches) & an admirable Worker in Brass and Iron. These Accomplishments commended him at Court to be acceptable to Company; and for some time he continued with the King in great Reputation.

12. But it is given to that Bowle which lyes next to the Mark, to have most take aime to remove it. Eminency occasions Envy, which made *Dunstan's* Enemies endeavour to deprecate him. He is accused to the King for a Magician, and upon that account banished the Court. It was brought as Evidence against him, that he made his Harp not only to have Motion, but make musick of it self, which no *White Art* could perform.

*St. Dunstan's Harp fast by the Wall  
Upon a Pin did hang-a:  
The Harp it self, with Ly and all,  
Untoucht by hand did twang-a.*

For our part, let *Dunstan's* Harp hang there still, on a double Suspicion twisted together; first, whether this Story thereof were true or false: secondly, if a true, whether done by Magick or Miracle. Sure I am, as good a Harper, and a better Saint then *Dunstan* was, hath no such Miracle reported of him, even *David* himself: who with his Harp praised God, pleased men, <sup>a</sup> frighted Devils, yet took pains with his own right <sup>b</sup> Hand to play, not lazily commanding Musick by Miracle to be made on his Instrument.

13. Banish'd from Court, *Dunstan* returns to *Glassenbury*, and there falls a puffing and blowing in his Forge. Here he made himself a Cell (or rather a *Little-cave*) being but four foot long, two and a half broad (enough to cripple his Joyns with the Cramp, who could not lye along therein) whilst the height thereof was according to the stature of a man. Wisely and virtuously he would not confine himself upwards, that the Scantness of the earthly Dimensions in his Cell (Breadth and Length) might be enlarged in the Height thereof, and liberty left for the ascending of his Meditations. But it matters not how little the Prison be, if a man, with *Dunstan*, be his own Gaoler, to go in and out at pleasure. Leave we him at the Furnace in Smithery-work (excelling *Alexander the Copper-smith* therein) whilst we find such Monks as wrote his Life, at another Forge, whence they coined many impudent Miracles, pretended done by *Dunstan*, and this among the rest.

14. *Dunstan* was in his Vocation making some iron Trinkets, when a *Proteus*-Devil appeared unto him, changing into Shapes, but fixing himself at last into the form of a Fair Woman. Strange, that *Satan* (so subtil in making his Temptations most taking) should preferre this form; belike shrewdly guessing at *Dunstan's* Temper, that a Fair Woman might work upon him, and *Vulcan* might love a *Venus*. *Dunstan* perceiving it, pluckt his Tongue glowing hot out of the Fire, and with them he kiss't him (or her shall I say?) there along time by the Nose roaring and bellowing, till at last he brake loose, by what accident it is not told unto us.

15. I have better employment then to spend precious time in confuting such

Follies;

Anno Dom.

928

Anno Regis Athelstani

933

10

935

12

937

14

938

15

Anno Dom.

938

Anno Regis Athelstani

15

939

16

940

17

946

1

Edmund

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

Follies, but give me leave to admire at their new Armes against *Saran*. Take the shield of Faith (saith the Apostle) *wherewith ye may quench all the fiery Darts of the Wicked*. *Dunstan* found a new way by himself, with fiery Tongues to do the deed. Burlet us a little examine this Miracle. The Devil himself we know is a spirit, and so impatient of material Fire. Now if it were a real Body he assumed, the Snake could slip off his skin at pleasure, and not be tied to it, much less tormented with it. Besides, did *Dunstan* willingly or unwillingly let the Devil go? If willingly; Mercy to so malicious an Enemy (incapable of being amended) was Cruelty to himself: if unwillingly, was it *Dunstan's* Fire or his Faith that fail'd him, that he could hold out against him no longer? But away with all Suspicions and Queries: none need to doubt of the truth thereof, finding it in a Sign painted in Fleet-street near Temple-barre.

16. During *Dunstan's* abode in his Cell, he had to his great Comfort and Contentment the company of a good Lady, *Aelfgine* by name, living fast by. No Preacher but *Dunstan* would please her, being so ravish't with his Society, that she would needs build a little Cell for her self hard by him. In process of time this Lady died, and by her last Will left Christ to be the Heir, and *Dunstan* the Executor of her Estate. Enabled with the accession thereof, joynd to his paternal Possessions, which were very great, and now fallen into his hands, *Dunstan* erected the Abbey of *Glassenbury*, and became himself first Abbot thereof; a Title till his time unknown in England: he built also and endowed many other Monasteries, filling them with *Benedictine* Monks, who began now to swarm in England, more then Magots in a hot May, so incredible was their Increase.

17. After the death of King *Aethelstane*, *Dunstan* was recalled to Court in the reign of King *Edmund*, *Aethelstane's* Brother, and flourished for a time in great Favour. But who would build on the brittle Bottom of Princes Love! Soon after he falls into the Kings Disfavour; the old Crime, of being a Magician (and a Wanton with Women to boot) being laid to his charge. Surely *Dunstan* by looking on his own Furnace, might learn thence, there was no smothering Fire: either he was dishonest, or undirect, which gave the Ground-work to their generall Suspicion. Hereupon he is re-banish't the Court, and returned to his desired Cell at *Glassenbury*; but within three dayes was solemnly brought back again to Court, if the ensuing Story may be believed.

18. King *Edmund* was in an eager pursuit of a Buck, on the top of a steep Rock, whence no Delcent but Destruction. Down falls the Deer, and Dogs after him, and are dashed to pieces. The King follows in full speed on an unruly Horse, whom he could not rein, & is on the Brink of the Brink of the Precipice: yet his Prayers prove swifter then his Horse, he but ran, whilst they did fly to Heaven. He is sensible of his Sin in banishing *Dunstan*, confesseth it with Sorrow, vows Amendment, promiseth to restore & preferre him. Instantly the Horse stops in his full Career, and his Rider is wonderfully preferred.

19. Thus farre a strong Faith may believe of the Story: but it must be a wild one which gives credit to the remainder. *Cervus & Canes reviviscunt*, saith the impudent Monk, *The Deer & Dogs revive again*. I remember not in Scripture that God ever revived a brute Beast; partly, because such mean subjects are beneath the Majesty of a Miracle; and partly, because (as the Apostle saith) brute Beasts are made to be taken & destroyed. Well then might the Monk have knockt off when he had done well, in saving the Man and Horse, and might have left the Dogs & Deer to have remained dead on the place; the Deer especially, were it but to make Venison Pasties, to feast the Courtiers at the solemnizing of their Lord and Masters so miraculous Deliverance.

20. *Dunstan* returning to Court was in higher Favour then ever before. Nor was his Interest any whit abated by the untimely Death of King *Edmund* (slain by one *Leoffa* a Thief) seeing his Brother *Edred*, succceding to the Crown, continued and increased his Kindness to him. Under him *Dunstan* was the Doe-all at Court,

\* Eph. 6. 16.

*Aelfgine*  
*Dunstan's*  
bountifull  
friend.

Recalled to  
Court, and  
re-banished  
thence.

King *Edmund*  
his miracu-  
lous delive-  
rance.

Fy for shame  
lying Monk.  
a Roff. Bisthor.  
Matt. West.  
Job. Coppers.  
Oleum.  
b 2 Pet. 2. 12.

King *Edred*  
a high Patron  
of *Dunstan*.

Court, being the Kings Treasurer, Chancelour, Counsellour, Confessor, all things. Bishops were bountifully proffered him, pick and chuse where he please; but none were honoured with his Acceptance. Whether because he accounted himself too high for the place, and would not stoop to the Employment; or because he esteemed the place too high for him, unable conscientiously to discharge it in the midst of so many Avocations. Mean time Monasteries were every where erected (King *Edred* devoutly resigning all his Treasure to *Dunstan's* Disposal) Secular Priests being thrust out of their Convents, and Monks substituted in their rooms.

21. But after *Edred's* Death, the Case was altered with *Dunstan* falling into Disgrace with King *Edwin's* Successor. This King on his Coronation-day was said to be incestuously embracing both Mother & Daughter, when *Dunstan* boldly coming into his Bed-chamber, after bitter Reproofs, stoutly fetcht him thence, and brought him forth into the company of his Noblemen. An heroic act, if true, done with a *John Baptist's* Spirit: and no wonder if *Herod* and *Herodias*, I mean this incestuous King and his Concubines, were highly offended with *Dunstan* for the same.

22. But good men, and grave Authors give no belief herein, conceiving King *Edwin* (how bad soever character'd by the Monks his malicious Enemies) to have been a worthy Prince. In witness whereof they produce the words of *Henry Huntington*, a learned man, but no Monk, thus describing him;

*Edwin non illaudabiliter regnissulam tennit.*

Et rursus:

*Edwin rex, anno regni sui quinto, cum in principio regnum ejus decentissime floreret, prospera & latibunda exordia mors immatura perripuit.*

This Testimony considered, makes many men think better of King *Edwin*, and worse of *Dunstan*, as guilty of some uncivil Intrusion into the Kings Chamber, for which he justly incurred his royal Displeasure.

23. Hereupon *Dunstan* is banished by King *Edwin*, not as before from *England* to *England*, from the Court to his Cell at *Glassenbury*; but is utterly expelled the Kingdom, and flieeth into *Flanders*. Where his Friends say that his Fame prepared his Welcome, & the Governour of *Gaunt* most solemnly entertained him. Mean time, all the Monks in *England* of *Dunstan's* Plantation were rooted up, and Secular Priests set in their places. But soon after happened many Commotions in *England*, especially in *Mercia* and *Northumberland*. The Monks which write the Story of these Rebellions, conceive it unfit to impart to Posterity the Cause thereof, which makes wife men to suspect, that *Dunstan* (who could blow Coals elsewhere as well as in his Furnace) though at distance, virtually (or rather viciously) present, had a Finger, yea, a Hand therein. Heart-broken with these Rebellions, King *Edwin* died in the Flower of his Age.

24. *Edgar* succeeds him, and recalls *Dunstan* home, receiving him with all possible Affection. Yea now *Dunstan's* Stomack was come down, and he could digest a Bishoprick, which his Abstemiousness formerly refused. And one Bishoprick drew down another, *Worcester* and *London*, not successively, but both at a breath went down his Conscience. Yea, never Age afforded more Plurality, both a breath went down his Conscience. Yea, never Age afforded more Plurality, both a breath went down his Conscience. Yea, never Age afforded more Plurality, both a breath went down his Conscience. Yea, never Age afforded more Plurality, both a breath went down his Conscience.

But King *Edwin* his profest Enemy.

Who, though wronged by the Monks, was a worthy Prince. A Hist. lib. 5. pag. 557.

He banished *Dunstan*, and dieth heart-broken with grief.

*Dunstan* recalled by King *Edgar*, and takes a double Bishoprick.

b. Vid. Antiq. Britan. p. 83.

Anno Dom. 946  
Anno Regis *Edredi* 1

954  
9  
*Edwini* 1

956  
3

958  
5  
*Edgari* 1

959  
2

is commendable in another. *Odo Severus*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, being ceremoniously to consecrate *Dunstan* Bishop of *Worcester*, used all the Formalities fashioable at the Consecration of an Arch-bishop: And being reproved for the same, he answered for himself, That he foresaw that *Dunstan*, instantly after his death, would be Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*. And therefore (as a compendious way to spare Paines) he only by a provident Prolepsis ante-dared his Consecration. Surely, whosoever had seen the decrepitate age of *Odo*, the affection of King *Edgar* to *Dunstan*, the affection of *Dunstan* to Dignity, needed no extraordinary prophetic Spirit to preface that (on the supposition of *Dunstan's* surviving him) he should succeed him in the Arch-bishoprick of *Canterbury*.

25. Yea King *Edgar* was so wholly *Dunstanized*, that he gave over his Soul, Body, and Estate to be ordered by him and two more (then the *Triumvirate* who ruled *England*) namely *Ethelwald* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Oswald* Bishop of *Worcester*. This *Oswald* was the man who procured by the Kings Authority the Ejection of all Secular Priests out of *Worcester*, and the placing of Monks in their Room: which Act was called *Oswald's Law* in that Age. They might, if it pleased them, have stiled it *Edgar's Law*; the Legislative Power being then more in the King, than in the Bishop. This *Oswald's Law* afterwards enlarged it self over all *England*, Secular Priests being thrown out, and Monks every where fixed in their rooms; till King *Henry* the eighth his Law outed *Oswald's Law*, and ejected those Drones out of their Habitations.

26. King *Edgar* violated the Chastity of a Nun at *Wilton*. *Dunstan* getting notice thereof, refused at the Kings Request to give him his Hand, because he had defiled a Daughter of God, as he termed her. *Edgar* hereby made sensible of his Sin, with Sorrow confessed it, and *Dunstan* (now Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*) enjoyed him seven years Penance for the same. Monks endeavour to enforce a mock-Parallel betwixt *David* and *Edgar*, *Nathan* and *Dunstan*, herein. Sure I am, on *David's* profession of his Repentance, *Nathan* presently pronounced Pardon; *the Lord also hath put away thy Sin, thou shalt not die*; consigning him to be punished by God the Principall (using an Undutifull Son, Treacherous Servants, and Rebellious Subjects to be the Instruments thereof); but imposing no voluntary Penance, that *David* should by *Will-worship* undertake on himself. All that I will add, is this; If *Dunstan* did septennary Penance, to expiate every mortal Sin (to use their own Terms) he committed, he must have been a *Metuselah*, extremely aged, before the day of his Death.

27. More commendable was *Dunstan's* Carriage towards an English Count, who lived incestuously with his own Kinwoman. *Dunstan* admonished him once, twice, thrice, nothing prevailed: whereupon he proceeded to Excommunicate him. The Count slighted his Excommunication, conceiving his Head too high for Church-Censures to reach it. King *Edgar* (sally informed) desires *Dunstan* to absolve him, and is denied. Yea the Pope sends to him to the same Purpose, and *Dunstan* persists in his Refusal. At last the Count, conquered with *Dunstan's* Constancy, and the sense of his own Sin, came into a National Council at *Canterbury*, where *Dunstan* late President (active therein to substitute Monks in the places of Secular Priests) on his bare Feet, with a Bundle of Rods, tendering himself to *Dunstan's* Chastisement. This wrought on *Dunstan's* mild Nature, scarce refraining from Tears, who presently absolved him.

28. Three things herein are remarkable. First, that Bribes in the Court of *Rome* may purchase a Malefactor to be innocent. Secondly, that the Pope himself is not so infallible, but that his Key may misse the Lock, and he be mistaken in matter of Absolution. Thirdly, that men ought not to go with blind Obedience to obey his pretended Holiness, but that if (with *Dunstan* here) they see just Cause to the contrary, it is no Mortal Sin to disobey his Commands.

29. The Apprentiship of *Edgar's* Penance long since expired, he flourished in all Monarchical Lustre: sole Founder of many, Co-founder of more, Bene-

a. Antiq. Britan. ibidem.

*Oswald's Law* to eject Secular Priests.

*Dunstan's* disciplining of King *Edgar*.

b. 2 Sam. 12. 13

And carriage towards an incestuous Count.

c. Osborn. in vita *Dunstani*

Observations thereon.

*Edgar's* Canons why by us here related.

Benefactor to most Abbies in England. And as he gave new Cafes to most Monasteries (repairing their outward Buildings) so he gave new Linings to all, substituting Monks in stead of the Secular Priests, whom he expelled. Many Ecclesiastical Canons were by him ordained, which at large are presented in St. Henry Spelman, and which I have neither List nor Leisure to recount in this my History. Our Women have a Proverb, *It is a sad Burden to carry a dead mans Child*: and surely an Historian hath no heart to take much Pains (which herein are Pains indeed) to exemplify dead Canons, (dead and buried long since, as most relating to Monks) this Age, wherein we live, being little fond of Antiquity, to know those things which were antiquated so many years since.

30. Now though the Devotion of King Edgar may be condemned to be affected to Superstition, yet because the Sincerity of his Heart fought to advance Gods Honour, according to the Light in those dark dayes, he appears one of the most puissant Princes that ever England enjoyed, both in Church and Commonwealth. I have read in a most fair and authentick guilded \* Manuscript, wherein he stileth himself *Gods Vicar in England*, for the ordering Ecclesiastical matters: a Title which at this day the Pope will hardly vouchsafe to any Christian Princes. His Reign was blest with Peace and Prosperity, both by Land and Sea; inasmuch that in a royall Frolick, eight petty Kings rowed him over the river *Dee* near to *Cheffers*, namely five Princes of *Wales* (whereof *Hoel-Dha* was the principall) *Kened* King of *Scotland*, *Malcolm* King of *Cumberland*, and *Mac-husca* a great Sea-Robber, who may passe for the Prince of *Pirats*.

31. This *Hoel-Dha*, contemporary with King Edgar, was he that held a Nationall Council for all *Wales* (at a place called *Ty-gum*, or the *White-house* (because built of white Hurdles, to make it more beautiful) regulated after this manner. Out of every Hundred in *Wales* he chose six Lay-men, with whom he joyined all the eminent Ecclesiastical Persons (accounted an hundred & forty) in his Dominions. Out of those he chose eleven Lay-men and one Clergy-man, (but such a one as who alone by himself might passe virtually for eleven) *Blaw-goridus* by name, to enact what Laws they pleased, which after the impression of Royall Assent upon them, should be observed by that Nation. One might suspect this Council, thus over-powered with Laicks therein, which pinch on the Priests side, whereas we find the Canons therein wholly made in favour of the Clergy: enacting this among the rest, *That the presence of a Priest and a Judge constitute a legall Court*, as the two Persons only in the *Quorum* thereof.

32. But methinks the Lawes therein enacted (which a learned Antiquary presents us at large) fall far short of the Gravity of a Council: except any will excuse it from the Age thereof; what we count light and triviall, might be esteemed serious and solid in those dayes. Besides, the Laws discover in them a conceited affectation of the Number of Three. In three Cafes a Wife may legally leave her Husband: first, if he hath a Leprosy; secondly, if he hath a stinking Breath; thirdly, & if he be unable to give her due Benevolence. In three Cafes it was lawfull for a man to kill his Neighbours Wife: first, at a Banquet; secondly, at the *Welsh* Play called *Guare-rassau*; and thirdly, when he comes from a far Journey, by way of Salutation. If a Man and his Wife were to part asunder, they were to divide their Goods betwixt them so, that she was to have the Sheep, he the Hogs: she the Milk and milk-Vessels, with all the Dishes save one; he all the Beer and Barrels, with the Axe, Saw, &c.

33. But how silly soever these Canons seem to our modern Criticks, they were then conceived of such Weight and Worth, that King *Hoel-Dha* with his Arch-bishop of *St. Davids*, the Bishops of *Bangor*, *Landaffe* & *St. Asaph*, are said to have taken a Journey to *Rome*, and procured the Popes Confirmation of them. Nor find I ought else of this Synod, save that the Close thereof presents us with a list of seven Episcopall Seats then in *Wales*: 1. *St. Davids*, 2. *Ismael*; 3. *Degenian*, 4. *Wysyll*, 5. *Teylaw*, 6. *Tewledauc*, 7. *Keneu*. I am not *Welsh* man enough to point at these places, and to shew you where they be at this day, which

Edgar a most triumphant King.

a Extant in the precious Library of St. Tho. Cotton.

A National Council in Wales.

The merry Lawes made therein, by St. Henry Spelman in PG. 411.

Confirmed by the Pope.

cogener whether Bangor, Landaffe, and St. Asaph be not comprised under these.

Anno Dom. 969  
Anno Regni Edgari 12

970 13

971 14

Anno Dom. 971  
Anno Regni Edgari 14

17 Regis Edgari 974  
18 Regis Edgari 975

which we leave to some skillfull Antiquary of their own Nation. Onely we find that whereas the Churches were burdened with some Payments out of them, two of the Bishops Seats (*Wysyll* and *Keneu*) were freed from the same. And this satisfactory Reason is rendered of their Exemption, *quia terris carent*, because they had no Lands belonging unto them.

34. King Edgar was peaceably gathered to his Fathers, leaving his Crown to Edward his Son, and his Son (because under age) to the Tuition of *Dunstan*. In this Kings Reign three Councils were successively called, to determine the Differences between Monks and Secular Priests. The first was at *Winchester*, where the Priests being outed of their Convents, earnestly pressed for Restitution, and fought by Arguments to clear their Innocence, and prove their Title to their ancient Possessions. The Council seemed somewhat inclinable to favour unto them; when presently a Voice, as coming from a Crucifix behind *Dunstan*, is reported to be heard, saying,

*Abstine hoc ut fiat, abstine hoc ut fiat, iudicabit bene, nunc saretis non bene.*

God forbid it should be done, God forbid it should be done; Ye have judged it well, and should change it ill.

Whether these words were spoken in *Latine* or *Englisht*, Authors leave us unresolved. Monks equall this (for the truth thereof) to the *still small Voice* to *Elijah*, whilst others suspect some Forgery; the rather, because it is reported to come as from a Crucifix: they fear some secret Falshood in the *Foundation*, because visible Superstition was the *Cistern* thereof. However, this Voice proved for the present the *casting Voice* to the Secular Priests, who thereby were overborn in their Cause, and so was the Council dissolved.

35. Yet still the Secular Priests did struggle, refusing to be finally concluded with this transient airy Oracle. To the Law, and to the Testimony: if they speak not according to this word, &c. They had no warrant to rely on such a vocal Decision, from which they appealed to the Scripture itself. A second Council is called at *Kirtlington* (now *Katlage* in *Cambridge-shire*, the Barony of the right Honourable the Lord *Norfolk*) but nothing to purpose effected therein. *Dunstan* (say the Monks) still answered his Name, that is, *Dun*, a rocky Mountain, and *Stain*, a Stone (but, whether a precious Stone, or a Rock of Offence, let others decide) persisting unmoveable in his Resolution; nor was any thing performed in this Council, but that by the Authority thereof, people were sent on Pilgrimage to *St. Mary* at *Abbingdon*.

36. The same year a third Council was called, at *Caln* in *Wiltshire*. Hither repaired Priests, and Monks, with their full Forces, to trie the last Conclusion in the Controversie betwixt them. The former, next the Equity of the Cause, relied most on the Ability of their Champion, one *Bearnelm*, a *Scottish* Bishop; who with no lesse Eloquence then Strength, with Scripture and Reason defended their Cause. When behold, on a sudden, the Beams brake in the Room where they were assembled, and most of the Secular Priests were slain, and buried under the Ruines thereof. All were affrighted, many maimed; onely the place whereon *Dunstan* sat, either (as some say) remained firm, or fell in such sort, that the Timber (the Sword to kill others) protected the Shield to preserve him from Danger.

37. Some behold this Story as a notable Untruth: others suspect the Devil therein, not for a Lye, but a Murderer, and this Massacre procured by Compact with him: a third sort conceived that *Dunstan*, who had so much of a Smith, had here something of a Carpenter in him, and some Device used by him about pinning and propping of the Room. It renders it the more suspicious, because he dissuaded King *Edward* from being present there, pretending his want of Age; though he was present in the last Council, and surely he was never the younger for living some Months since the same Assembly. If truly performed, *Dunstan* appears happier herein then *Samson* himself, who could

S

not

A Council at Winchester with a miraculous voice in it.

a Kings 19. 12.

Secular Priests strive still. b Isa. 8. 20.

Apostentous Council at Caln.

Several censures on this sad accident.

Seculars our-  
red, and  
Monks ad-  
vanced.

Priests hard-  
ly dealt with.

The prodigi-  
ous prodig-  
ality in build-  
ing, and  
endowing of  
Abbeys.

not to sever his Foes, but both must die together. Sure I am, no ingenuous Pa-  
pist now-a-days, will make any uncharitable Inference from such an accident:  
especially since the Fall of *Black Friars* 1623. enough to make all good men  
turn the Censuring of others into an humble Silence, and pious Adoring of  
Divine Providence.

38. But the Monks made great Advantage of this Accident, conceiving  
that Heaven had confirmed their Cause (as lately by *Vvordat* at *Vvinchester*, so)  
now by *Vvork* in this Council at *Calu*. Hereupon Secular Priests are every where  
ousted, and Monks substituted in their Room. Indeed these later in civil re-  
spect, were beheld as more beneficial to their Convents; because Secular  
Priests did marry, and at their deaths did *condere Testaments, make their Vvills*,  
and bequeathed their Goods to their Wives and Children; whilst Monks,  
having no Issue (which they durst own) made their Monastery Heir of all they  
had. It was also objected against the Priests, that, by their Loosness, and La-  
zinelle, left at large in their Lives, they had caused the generall declination of  
Piety at this time: whilst it was presumed of the Monks, that, by the strict  
Rules of Obedience, to which they were tied, they would repair the Ruines  
of Religion in all places.

39. It appears not, what Provision was made for these Priests when e-  
jected; and they seem to have had hard Measure, to be dispossest of their civil  
Right. Except any will say, it was no Injury to them, to loose their places so  
soon, but a great Favour, that they enjoyed them so long, living hitherto on the  
free Bounty of their Founders, and now at the full Dispose of the Church and  
State. Little can be said in excuse of the Priests, and less in commendation of  
the Monks; who though they swept clean at the first, as new Besomes, yet af-  
terwards left more Dust behind them of their own bringing in, than their Pre-  
decessours had done. Thus the *Hive* of the Church was no whit bettered, by  
putting out *Drones*, and placing *Wasps* in their room. Yea, whereas former-  
ly Corruptions came into the Church at the *Wicket*, now the *broad-Gates* were  
opened for their Entrance; Monks making the way for Ignorance and Super-  
stition, to overspread the whole World.

40. Another Humour of the former Age (to make one Digression for all)  
still continued, and encreased, venting it self in the fair Foundations, and  
stately Structures of so many Monasteries. So that one beholding their Great-  
ness (being Corrivalls with some Towns in receipt, and extent) would admire  
that they could be so neat; and considering their Neanness, must wonder they  
could be so great; and lastly, accounting their Number, will make all three the  
object of his Amazement. Especially, seeing many of these were founded in the  
*Saxon* Heptarchy, when seven Kings put together did spell but one in effect.  
So that it may seem a Miracle, what invisible *Indies* those petty Princes were  
Masters of, building such Structures which impoverish Posterity to repair  
them. For although some of these Monasteries were the fruit of many Ages,  
long in ripening, at several times, by sundry persons, all whose Parcels and  
Additions met at last in some tolerable Uniformity; yet most of them were be-  
gun and finished, absolute, and entire, by one Founder alone. And although  
we allow, that in those days Artificers were procured, and Materials purchased  
at easie Rates; yet there being then (as canels of Coin) as a little Money would  
then buy much Ware, so much Ware must first in exchange be given to provide  
that little Money) all things being audited proportionably, the Wonder still re-  
mains as great as before. But here we see with what eagerness those Designs  
are undertaken and pursued, which proceed from blind Zeal: every Finger be-  
ing more then an Hand to build, when they thought Merit was annexed to their  
Performances. Oh, with what might and main did they mount their Walls,  
both day and night; erroneously conceiving, that their Souls were advan-  
ced to Heaven, when taking the Rile from the top of a *Steeple* of their own  
erection.

41. But

Anno  
Dom.  
977  
Anno  
Regis  
Edwar-  
di Mar-  
tyris  
4

Anno  
Regis  
Edwar-  
di Mar-  
tyris  
4

6

979

Ethel-  
red, cog-  
nom, the Un-  
ready.  
1

8

987

41. But it will not be amiss, to mind our forgetfull Age, that, seeing De-  
votion (now better informed) long since hath desisted to expresse it self in  
such pompous Buildings, the must find some other means, and manner, to evi-  
dence and declare her Sincerity. Except any will say, that there is less Heat re-  
quired, where more Light is granted; and that our Practice of Piety should be  
diminished, because our Knowledge thereof is increased. God, no doubt,  
doth justly expect that Religion should rectifie her Thankfulness to him, by  
some eminent way, and Works: and where the Fountain of Piety is full, it  
will find it self a Vent to flow in, though not through the former Channels of  
Superstition.

42. King *Edward* went to give his Mother-in-law at *Corfe-Castle* a respect-  
full Visit, when by her Contrivance he was barbarously murdered, so to pave  
the way for her Son *Ethelred* his Succession to the Crown. But King *Edward*,  
by losing his Life, got the title of a Martyr, so constantly called in our Chro-  
nicles. Take the term in a large acceptation, otherwise restrictively it signifies  
such an one, as suffers for the Testimony of the Truth. But, seeing this *Edward*  
was cruelly murdered, and is said after death to work Miracles; let him, by  
the *Courtesie of the Church*, pass for a Martyr, not knowing any Act or Order  
to the contrary, to deny such a Title unto him.

43. *Ethelred*, *Edward's* half-Brother, succeeded him in the Throne. One  
with whom *Dunstan* had a Quarrel from his Cradle, because, when an Infant,  
he left more Water in the Font than he found there, at his Baptizing. Happy  
*Dunstan* himself, if guilty of no greater Fault, which could be no Sin (nor pro-  
perly a Slovenness) in an Infant, if he did as an Infant! Yet from such his ad-  
dition, *Dunstan* prognosticated an Inundation of Danes would ensue in this  
Island: which accordingly came to pass. But *Ethelred* is more to be con-  
demned, for the Blood he shed when a man; it being vehemently suspected,  
that he was accessory with his Mother to the murdering of his Brother *Ed-  
ward*.

44. But *Dunstan* survived not to see his Prediction take effect, for he was  
happily prevented by Death, and buried on the South-side of the High Al-  
tar in the Church of *Canterbury*: where his Tomb was famous for some  
time, till *Thomas Becket* eclipsed the fame; seeing Saints, like new Besomes,  
sweep clean at the first, and afterwards are *clean swept out*, by newer Saints  
which succeed them. Yea, *Dunstan's* Grave grew so obscure at *Canterbury*,  
that the Monks of *Glasfembury* taking heart thereat (and advantaged by *Iohn  
Capgrave's* report, that Anno 1012. *Dunstan's* Corpse were translated thither)  
pretended his Buriall, and built him a Shrine in their Convent. Men and Mony  
met at *Glasfembury* on this Mistake, and their Convent got more by this eight  
foot length of Ground (the supposed Tomb of *Dunstan*) then eight hundred  
Acres of the best Land they possessed elsewhere. Whereupon *Vvilliam W are-  
ham*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, to trie the truth, and to prevent farther Fraud  
herein, caused a solemn search to be made in the Cathedral of *Canterbury*, af-  
ter *Dunstan's* Corpse, in the place Tradition reported him to be interred.

45. Four of the Friars, fittest for the work (to wit, off stronger Bodies then  
Brains) undertook to make this Scrutiny Anno 1508. the 22. of April. Great  
Caution was used, that all should be done *semetis Laicis*, no Lay-men being  
*present*, whether because their Eies were too profane to behold so holy an Ob-  
ject, or too prying to discover the Default, if the Search succeeded not. In the  
Night they so plyed their Work, that ere Morning they discovered *Dunstan's*  
Coffin, and rested the day following from more Digging, as well they might,  
having taken so much Pains, and gained so much Profit by their endeavours.

46. Next Night they on afresh; and, with main Force, plucked up the  
ponderous Coffin upon the Pavement. A Coffin built (as one may say) three  
Stories high: the outermost of Wood (but almost made Iron with the multi-  
tude of Nails therein;) within that another of plain Lead; within that a third

Caution to  
our Age.

King *Edward*  
murdered,  
alias, marry-  
red.

King *Ethelred*  
prognostica-  
ted unsuccess-  
full.

*Dunstan's*  
corpse  
wrongfully  
claimed by the  
Convent of  
*Glasfembury*.

A night-fac-  
e-and-Cry  
made after  
his corpse.

Discovered,  
with the  
manner of  
the inter-  
ment there-  
of.

a *Archidiaconus*  
Eccles. Cant.  
exemplified by  
my good friend  
Mr. Will.  
Sumner in  
his Description  
of Cant. in Ap-  
pendice  
Script. 12.

of wrought Lead, wherein the bones of *Dunstan* lay in his Pontifical Vests, with this Inscription in a Plate. *Hic requiescit Sanctus Dunstanus Archiepiscopus*. Some lumps of Fleth were found, which were said to smell very sweet (the Reliques perchance of some Spices which embalmed him) and all done in the presence of many worthy Witnesses: amongst whom, *Cuthbert Tunstall* was one, then the Arch-bishops Chancellour, afterward Bishop of *Durham*. Hereupon the Arch-bishop sent his Mandate to the Abbot and Convent of *Glassenbury*, henceforward to desist from any jactitation of *Dunstan's* Corpse, and abusing people with such Pretences. A Fault most frequent in that Convent, challenging almost the Monopolie of all *English* Saints, witnesseth that impudent Lie of the rhythming Monk, writing thus of *Glassenbury*;

*Hic Tumulus sanctus, hic Scala Poli celebratur;  
Vix luit Inferni Penas hic qui tumulatur.*

b 1 *Dei. 4. 18*

But, who is rather to be believed? *S<sup>r</sup>. Peter*, that faith, *The righteous shall scarcely be saved*; or this Monk, affirming that, *Who so is buried at Glassenbury, shall scarcely be damned?*

Priests and  
Monks alter-  
nately call  
out.

c *Isid. 49. 20.*

d *Will. Thort  
and by Ann.  
Brit. p. 50.*

47. After the death of *Dunstan*, their Patrone, the Monks (not much befriended by King *Ethelred*) were cast out of the Convent of *Canterbury*, or rather cast out themselves by their Misdemeanours. *Man in honour hath no understanding*, &c. They wax'd so wanton with possessing the places of Secular Priests, that a Monk himself of *Canterbury* confesseth, *Monachi propter eorum Insolentiam sedibus pulsi, & Clerici introducti. Monks for their Insolence were driven out of their Seats, and secular Clerks brought into their room*. Thus was it often, *In Dock*, out *Nettle*, as they could strengthen their Parties. For *Siricius*, the next Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, endeavour'd the re-expulsion of the Priests, which by *Alfricus* his Succellour was effected.

The *Danes*  
re-invade  
England.

48. But soon after, the *Danes* revenged the Quarrel of the Secular Priests; and by a firm Ejection cuted the Monks, before they were well warm in their Nests. Their Fury fell more on *Convents*, then *Castles*: whether, because the former were in that Age more numerous (Castles afterwards were encreased by *William* the Conquerour,) or because their Prey and Plunder was presumed the richest, and easiest to be gotten; or because the *Danes*, then generally Pagans, principally spited places of Religion. A Relapse is far more dangerous than a simple Dislike, as here it proved in the *Danes*. England for these last sixty years had been cured of, and cleared from their Cruelty, which now returned more terrible then ever before.

The unready-  
ness of King  
*Ethelred* ad-  
vanageth  
the *Danes*.

49. These *Danes* were also advantaged by the Unadiveness of King *Ethelred*, therefore surnamed the *Unready* in our Chronicles. The Clock of his Consultations and Executions was always set some Hours too late, vainly striving with much Industry to redress, what a little Providence might seasonably have prevented. Now, when this *Unready* King met with the *Danes* his over-ready Enemies, no wonder, if lamentable was the Event thereof. The best thing I find recorded of this King *Ethelred*, is, that in his dayes began the trial of Causes by a Jury of *twelve men* to be choien out of the *Freemen*, of like quality, as near as may be suited, to the persons concerned therein. Hereby men have most fair play for their Lives: and let it be the desire of all honest hearts, that whilest we pluck off the *Badges* of all *Norman Slavery*, we part not with the *Livery* of our old *Saxon Liberty*.

A dear peace  
bought of  
the *Danes*.

e *Isid. 34. 14.*

f 2 Kings 18.  
14.

50. In this sad condition King *Ethelred* hearkened to the persuasions of *Siricius*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and with ten thousand Pounds purchased a present Peace with the *Danes*. Indeed it was conformable to the calling of a Church-man to procure Peace, having not only Scripture precepts therein, *Seek peace and pursue it*; but also Precedents for the same, when gracious *Hezekiah* with a Present pacified *Sennacherib* to desist from invading him. However, this Arch-bishop generally suffered in his Reputation, condemned of

Anno  
Dom. 987

Anno  
Regis  
Ethel-  
redi 8

988 9

989 10

990 11

991 12

Anno  
Dom. 991

Anno  
Regis  
Ethel-  
redi 12

of all, for counselling of what was, First, *dishonourable*; that an entire Nation, being at home in their own Land, should purchase a Peace from Forrainers, fewer in Number, and fetching their Recruits, and warlike Provisions from a Far Country: let them be paid in due Coin; not *Silver*, but *Steel*. Secondly, *unprofitable*: If once the *Danes* got but the Trick, to make the *English* bleed Money to buy Peace, they would never leave them, till they had sucked out their Heart-bloud, and exhausted the whole Treasure of the Land.

51. Indeed one may safely affirm, that the multitude of Monasteries invited the Invasion, and facilitated the Conquest of the *Danes* over *England*; and that in a double respect: First, because not only the *Fruit* of the Kings Exchequer (I mean ready Money) was spent by this King his Predecessours on founding of Monasteries; but also the *Root* thereof, his *Demesne lands*, plucked up, & parted with, to endow the same: whereby the Sinews of War were wanting, to make effectual Opposition against Forreign Enemies. Secondly, because *England* had at this time more Fleth, or Far, then Bones (wherein the Strength of a Body consists) more Monks, then Military men. For instance, *Holy-Island* near *Northumberland* is sufficiently known, for the Position thereof, an advantageous Landing-place, especially in relation to *Denmark*. This place was presently forsaken of the fearful Monks, frighted with the *Danes* their Approach; and *Althunus*, the Bishop thereof, removed his Cathedral and Convent to *Durham*, an Inland place of more Safety. Now, had there been a Castle in the place of this Monastery, to secure the same with *Fighters* instead of *Feeders*, men of *Armes* instead of men of *Bellies* therein, probably they might have stopp'd the *Danish* Invasion at the first Inlet thereof. *England* then as much wanting martial men, as since it hath surfeited with too many of them.

15 994

16 995

52. The *Danes*, having received and spent their Money, invaded *England* afresh, according to all wise mens expectation. It is as easie for armed Might to pick a Quarrel, as it is hard for naked Innocence to make Resistance. The Deluge of their Cruelty over-ran the Realm; whose Sword made no more difference betwixt the Ages, Sexes, and Conditions of people, then the Fire (which they cast on Houses) made distinction in the Timber thereof, whether it was Elme, Oake, or Ash; the Fierceness of the one killing, the Fury of the other consuming all it met with. Indeed in some small Skirmishes the *English* got the better, but all to no purpose. There is a place in *Hartfordshire* called *Danes-end*, where the Inhabitants by Tradition report (uncertain of the exact Date thereof) that a fatal blow in a Battel was given to the *Danes* thereabouts. But alas! this *Danes-end* was but *Danes-beginning*; they quickly recovered themselves as many, and mighty in the Field, and it seemed an *endlesse end*, to endeavour their utter Extirpation. Thus this Century sets with little Mirth, and the next is likely to arise with more Mourning.

Multitudes  
of Monaste-  
ries caused  
the *Danish*  
invasion.

a 177, in the  
part between  
York and  
Lancaster.  
The cruelty  
of these  
ravenous  
*Danes*.



# THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

BALDWINO HAMEY, *Medicine Doctori*  
*literatissimo, Mecœnati suo dignissimo.*

CONQUERUNTUR nostrates novissimo hoc Decennio,  
novam rerum faciem indui; nec mutata solum,  
fed & inversa esse omnia. Hujus indicia pluri-  
ma proferunt, tristitia sane ac dolenda; Dominos ni-  
mirum Servis postpositos, dum alii è Servis Do-  
mini repente prodierint.

At, ad *Metamorphosin* hanc probandam,  
argumentum suppetit mihi ipsi *latum* & me-  
moratu *jucundum*. Solent enim *ægroti*, si quan-  
do *Medicum* adeant, manus afferre *plenas*,  
referre *vacuas*. At ipse è contra *Te* sæpe accessi  
& *æger* & *inops*; decessi *integer* & *bene nummatus*.  
Quoties enim opus hoc nostrum radicitus  
exaruisse, si non imbre munificentia tua fuisse  
ferrigatum?

Murder of  
the Danes in  
a Church.



This Century began (as Children generally are born) with cry-  
ing; partly for a *Massacre* made by the English on the  
Danes, but chiefly for the *Cruelty* committed by the Danes  
on the English. Concerning the former, certain Danes fled  
into a Church at Oxford, hoping the Sanctity thereof  
(according to the *devout Principles* of that Age) would  
secure them: and probably such Pity might have in-  
clined them to *Christianity*. Whereas by command from K. Ethelred, they  
were

Anno  
Dom.  
Ethel-  
redi

Anno  
Regis  
Ethel-  
redi

were all burned in the place; whose Blood remained not long unrevenged.  
The Danish Fury fell (if not first) fiercest on the City of Canterbury, with Fire  
and Sword, destroying eight thousand people therein: and such Authors  
who quadruple that number, surely take in not only the *Vicinage*, but all Kent  
to make up their account. Ealphegus the Archbishop of Canterbury, common-  
ly called *Alpheg*, was then slain, and since *Sainted*; a Church nigh *Crecple-gate*  
in London being consecrated to his Memory.

2. A Monk of Canterbury reports, that the Abbey of St. Augustine was saved  
on this occasion; A Danish Soldier stealing the Pall from the Tomb of St. Au-  
gustine, it stuck so close under his *Arme-pits*, that it could not be parted from  
his Skin, until he had publicly made confession of his Fault: *Plinio Raptorem*  
*capit*, saith the Author. And hereupon the Danes of Invaders, turned Defenders  
of that Monastery. But others conceive, if it found extraordinary favour, their  
Money (not this Miracle) procured it. Sure I am, when Aethan stole the Babylonish  
Garment, he was left at large to discovery by a Lot, and no Miracle detected him.  
Next year a namelesse Bishop of London was sacrificed to their Fury, used worse  
then the *Task-Masters* of Israel, (on whose Back the number of Bricks wanting,  
were only scored in Blows) being killed out-right, for want of present pay of  
the Tribute promised unto them.

3. Cambridge and Oxford both of them deeply tasted of this bitter Cup at the  
same time. True it is, some two years since, when the rest of the *East Angles*  
cowardly fled away, *homines Comitatus Cantabrigie viriliter obstrictum*,  
unde Anglis regnantibus laus Cantabrigienfis Provincie splendide florebat. Hence it  
is that I have read (though unable at the instant to produce my Author)  
that Cambridgeshire-men claim an *ancient* (now antiquated) Priviledge, to  
lead the Van in all Bartels. But Valour at last little befriended them,  
the Danes burning Cambridge to Ashes, and harassing the Country round about.

4. Here let State-Historians inform the Reader of intestine Wars betwixt  
Edmund Ironside (so called for his hardy enduring all Troubles) King of Eng-  
land, Defendour, and Canutus the Dane, Invader of this Land; till at last,  
(after a personall Duel fought) the Land was equally divided betwixt them.  
A division wherewith both seemed, neither were well pleased; seeing the least  
whole head cannot be fitted with the biggest half crown; all or none was their de-  
sire. Canutus at last with his Silver Hand, was too hard for the other his Iron Side;  
who by his promised Bribes prevailed with one Edrick to kill this his Corrivall,  
which being performed he was fairly advanced with a Halber. It would spoil the  
Trade of all Traytors, if such Coyn only were current in paying their Rewards.

5. Canutus or Knot the Dane (from whom a Bird in Lincolnshire is so  
called, wherewith his Palate was much pleased) bathed himself in English  
Blood, whom at this distance of time, we may safely term a Tyrant, for  
many Murders and Massacres were by him committed. For his Reli-  
gion, as yet he was a Mungrel betwixt a Pagan and a Christian;  
though at last, the later prevailed, especially after his Pilgrimage to Rome.  
In his passage thither, he went through France; where understanding that the  
people paid deep Taxes, he disbursed so much of his own money in their behalf;  
that he brought their Taxes to be abated to one half: An Act of Pity in  
a Prince without Precedent done to Forrainers. It is vain for the English to  
with the like Curtesy from the King of France; partly because England lies  
not in their way to Rome, partly because they are fuller of Compliments then  
Cretsefe.

6. Coming to Rome, Canutus turned convert, changing his Condition  
with the Climate, shewing there many expressions of Devotion. Much he gave to  
the Pope, and something he gained from him; namely, an Immunity for  
Archbishops, from their excessive Charges about their Pall, and some other Fa-  
vours he obtained for his Subjects. After his return into his own Country, he  
laid out all the remainder of his dayes in Acts of Charitie, in founding, or  
enriching

Edmu.  
reg.  
Iron-  
side

1016

Canu-  
ti

1017

14

1031

16

1033

A Hra. Mart.  
March. West.  
Canterbury  
lacked:  
Alpheg Kil-  
led by the  
Dane.

Believe what  
you list.  
b Thora in his  
description of  
Canterb.  
c See Will.  
Somner in  
his Antiqu.  
of Canterb.  
pg. 56.  
d Joshua 7. 18  
More cruelly

c Enoch. 5. 14.  
f Hra. Mart.  
Kog. Hoved.  
The valour  
of Cambridge-  
shire-men.  
g Chrenicon  
10. Bromton  
pg. 227.

Two English  
Kings at  
once.

Edm. Ironside  
teachetiously  
flain.  
h Oloeri say  
he was be-  
headed.  
Canutus his  
cruelty.  
i Draconis  
Poly-obion  
pg. 112.

Converted  
into charity.

k Rodolph.  
de Diceto.  
colam. 468.  
l Iohannes  
Bromton, in  
leg. Canuti  
colam. 912.  
He goeth to  
Rome.

Returneth  
improved in  
devotion.

1002 25

enriching of religious Houses, and two especially, *Saint Bennets* in the Holm in *Norfolk*, and *Hyde Abbey* near *Winchester*.

7. To this latter he gave a *Crosse* so costly for the Metall, and curious for the Making, that *one yeares* <sup>a</sup> *Revenues* of his *Crown* was expended on the same. But the *Crosse* of this *Crosse* was, that about the *Reign* of King *Henry* the *sixth*, it was <sup>b</sup> burnt down with the whole *Monastery*, in a Fire which was very suspicious to have been kindled by intentional Malice. This *Canutus* towards the latter end of his *Reign*, never wore a *Crown*, resigning up the same to the *Image* of our *Saviour*: he was also famous for a particular act of *Humility* done by him on this occasion.

8. A *Parasite* (and sooner will an *hot May* want *Flies*, then a *Kings Court* such *Flatterers*) fought to puff up King *Canutus*, with an opinion of his *Puissance*; as if, because *England* and *Norway*, therefore *Neptune* and *Neptune* must obey him. In confuting of whose falsehood, *Canutus* commanded his *Chair of State* to be set on the *Seashore*, nigh *South-Hampton*, and settled himself thereon. Then he imperiously commanded the *Waves* (as a Fence which walled that *Land*, belonging unto him) to observe their due Distance, not presuming to approach him. The *stirly Waves* were so far from obeying, they heard him not; who listened only to the *Proclamation* of a higher *Monarch*, <sup>d</sup> *Hither shalt thou come, and no further*; and made bold to give the *Kings Feet* so coarse a *Kisse*, as wetted him up to the *Knees*.

9. On this accident King *Canutus* made an excellent *Sermon*: First, adoring the infinite Power of God, sole Commander of the *Winds* and *Waves*: Secondly, confessing the frailty of all *Flesh*, unable to stop the least Drop of the *Sea*: Thirdly, confuting the *Profaneness* of *Flatterers*, fixing an infinite Power in a finite Creature. As for the *Laws* made by King *Canutus*, we have purposely omitted them: not so much because many, large, and ordinarily extant; but chiefly because, most, of Civil Concernment.

10. Two of his Sons succeeded him, more known by their handsome *Sur-names*, then any other Descent. First his *bare Son*, (taking advantage of his Brothers absence) called from his *Swiftnesse*, *Harold Harefoot* belike; another <sup>e</sup> *Asahel* in *Nimbleness*, but *Hares-heart* had better befit his *Nature*, so cowardly his disposition. Then his legitimate Sonne, called *Hardy Canute*, more truly *bloudy Canute*, eminent for his *Cruelty*. With him expired the *Danish Royall Line* in *England*, leaving no Issue behind him, and opening an Opportunity for the banished *Sonne* of King *Ethelred* to recover the *Crown*, whose ensuing *Reign* is richly worth our description. Mean time it is worth our observing, in how few yeares the *Danish Greatness* thrunk to nothing; and from formidable, became inconsiderable, yea contemptible. Indeed *Canutus* was one of extraordinary *Worth*, and the *Wheel* once moved will for a time turn of it self. Had *Harold* his *Son* (by what way it skilled not) been one of a tolerable disposition, he might have traded in *Reputation*, on the *Stock* of his *Fathers Memory*. But being so very mean, (considerable only in *Cruelty*) his *Fathers Worth* did him the Disadvantage, to render his *Unworthynesse* the more conspicuous. Besides, when *Hardy Canute* his Brother succeeded him, and though *better born*, shewed himself no *better bred* in his inhumanity, it caused not only a *Naufcation* in the people of *England* of *Danish Kings*, but also an *appetite*, yea a *longing* after their true and due *Sovereign*.

11. Edward

Anno  
Dom.  
1035 18The paramount  
croffe of  
England  
for richesse,  
a Camdens  
Britan.  
in Handbrie.  
b Iam  
videm  
King Canutus  
his Humi-  
lity.Commands  
the Sea.e Hen. Hun-  
tington in  
vita Canuti.  
But in vain.

d Job 38.11.

His Sermon  
thereon.His Laws  
why omitted.Harold Hare-  
foot, succeed-  
ed him.e See 2. 18  
Then Hardy  
Canutus.Harold  
Hare-  
foot.

1036 1

Hardy  
Canuti

1040 1

Anno  
Dom.  
1042  
1

11. *Edward the Confessor*, youngest Son of King *Ethelred*, (his elder *Brethren* being slain, and their Children fled away) came to be King of *England*. I understand not the *Ceremony* which I read was used to this *Edward*, whilst as yet (saith a *Monkish* <sup>a</sup> *Author*, properly enough in his own Language) he was contained in the *weak Cloisters* of his *Mothers Womb*; at which time the *Peers* of the *Land* swore *Allegiance* unto him or her (the Sex as yet being unknown) before he was born. Indeed I find that *Varanes* his Child was crowned King whilst yet in his *Mothers Body*, <sup>b</sup> *applicata ad Verum Corona*. But what *Solemnity* forever was done to this *Hans-en-Kelder*, it did not afterwards embolden him to the Anticipation of the *Crown*, attending till it descended upon him.

12. A worthy King, no less pious to God, then just to Man: For, whereas formerly there were manifold *Laws* in the *Land*, made, some by the *Britans*, others by the *Danes*, others by the *English*, swelling to an unmeasurable Number, to the great Mischief of his Subjects; he caused some few of the best to be selected, and the rest, as capricious and unnecessary, to be rejected. Hence, say some, they were called the *Common Laws*, as calculated for the common Good, and no private persons Advantage.

13. It is admirable, how the *Danes* in this *Kings* *Reign* were vanished away. They who formerly could scarce be numbered in *England*, they were so many, could now scarce be numbered they were so few, and those living quietly with their *English* Neighbours. As for *forrain* invading *Danes* in this *Kings* *Reign*, as I cannot see them, so I will not seek them, glad of their Room and Riddance. Indeed once I meet with an *Assay* of them in a *Navy* bound to infect *England*: but their King being casually drowned as he entered his own *Fleet*, put an end to their Hopes, and our Fears for that Designe.

14. *Emma*, King *Edward*'s Mother, being suspected too familiar with *Alwin* Bishop of *Winchester*, under the colour of Devotion, put herself to be tried by *Ordeal*; whereof this the manner. Nine *Plow-shares* glowing hot were laid on the Ground, one foot distant from another; the party suspected was to be brought blind-folded, and bare-footed to pass over them: if he chanced to step in the Intervals, or on the hot Iron unhurt, he was pronounced Innocent, otherwise condemned for an offender. An unjust Law, wherein the Tryers had no Precept, the Tried no Promise. Must Innocence be ruin'd as often as Malice would wrong it, if Miracle would not rescue it? This was not a way to try man, but tempt God: As just a Trying by Fire, as that of our modern *Witches* by Water. This Tryall Queen *Emma* admirably underwent, not sensible of the *Plow-shares* till past them, saying to such as led her, *Oh, when shall I come to the place of my Purgation?*

15. By what Power this was performed, I will not dispute, finding amongst the *Heathens* a City *Feronia*, twenty miles from *Rome*, under mount *Soracte*, where the Inhabitants, possessed with a spirit of a Deity therein worshipped, usually walked upon burning Coales, without any Harm. Only I wonder, that Bishop *Alwin* (equally suspected, and equally innocent with *Emma*) should not profer himself to the like Trial. But, perchance, the prudent Prelate remembered, that such barbarous Customes, though kept up amongst the Common People, were forbidden by the ancient Canons, as also by the Letter of Pope *Stephen* the fifth, which about the year eight hundred eighty and seven he wrote to *Humbert*, Bishop of *Mentz*: And now *Emma*, who went willingly on this sad Errand, did the Business for them both, and cleared their Credits. The Church of *Winchester* got well hereby, viz. nine Mannours, which Queen *Emma* bestowed thereon, in Commemoration of her Deliverance.

16. King *Edward* the *Confessor* was married to the devout Lady *Eadith*, his Wife in *Minde*, but not in *Body*, in Consent, not Act; being only (as my *Author* saith) an *Abisag* to the King. Strange! that two Persons, sflowing each other in the prime of their yeares, should light on to happy a Temper, as mutually to warm, not to heat one another; which the Wife-men in our Age will

Edward the  
Confessor  
becomes  
King of En-  
gland.a Father Hic-  
come flower  
in the flowers  
of the lives of  
the Saints  
pag. 2.  
b Agathias  
lib. 4.The original  
of our Com-  
mon Laws.No hostile  
Danes appear  
in England.The manner  
of Ordeal by  
Fire.Queen Emma  
her miracu-  
lous purga-  
tion.  
c Strab. Geog.  
lib. 7. c. 6.  
Plin. lib. 7.  
cap. 2.A Wife no  
Wife.



will account difficult, and the Wanton impossible. Such will say, if this was true, that King *Edward* pass'd as great a Trial, as Queen *Emma* his Mother; and that his *Ordeal* was as hard, as hers was painfull.

17. Was it not pity, but the World should have moe of the Breed of them, who were so godly a Couple? Let *Balensse* be barren, and Cruelty childless; Pious persons deserve a double Portion in that Charter of Fruitfulness, *"Multi- plicy and increase"*. Yea, the *English* Crown now wanting an Heir, and, for De- fault thereof, likely to fall to Forceners, might (I will not say have tempted, but) have moved King *Edward* to the Knowledge of his Wife. But whilst Papists crie up this incredible Continency: others easily unwonder the fame, by im- puting it partly to his Impotence, afflicted with an Infirmity; partly to the Dis- trust of his Wife, whom he married onely for Conveniency; and to the Distrust of her Chastity, on suspicion whereof, he confined her to the Monastierie of *Whorewell* (as I take it) in *Hampshire*.

18. But grant Queen *Edith* a chaste Woman, as she is generally believed; Daughter she was to a wicked Father, Earle *Godwin* by name, whence the Proverb,

*Sicut spinarofam, genuit Godwinus Editham.*  
From prickly stock as springs a Rose;  
So *Edith* from Earle *Godwin* grows.

little ill being written of the Daughter, and no good of the Father. Indeed King *Edward* was *Father-in-law-riden*, who feared Earle *Godwin* rather than trusted him, as who with a long train of his Power could sweep many Dependents after him. This *Godwin* (like those Sands near *Kent* which bear his name) never spared what he could spoile, but swallowed all which came within his compass to devour. Two Instances whereof, because both belonging to Church-matters, we will relate.

19. He cast a covetous Eye on the fair Nunnery of *Berkley* in *Gloestershire*, and thus contrived it for himself. He left there an handsome young man, really, or seemingly, sick, for their Charity to recover; who quickly grows well, and wanton. He is toying, tempting, taking, such Fire and Flax quickly make a Flame. The Sisters loole their Chastity, and, without taking Wife in the way, are ready to make Mothers. The young man (if sick) returns to Earle *Godwin* in Health, leaving the healthfull Nuns sick behind him. The fame hereof fills the Country, flies to Court, is complained of by Earle *Godwin* to the King; Officers are sent to enquire, they return it to be true, the Nuns are turned out, their House and Lands forfeited, both bestowed on Earle *Godwin*; *surprized Weaknesse* being put out, and *defigning Weaknesse* placed in the room there- of. Surely King *Edward* knew nothing of *Godwin*'s Deceit herein; otherwise it was unjust, that the Whores should be punished, and the principall Pander re- warded.

20. At another time he had a mind to the rich Mannour of *Bosham* in *Sus- sex*, and complemented it out of Robert Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, in this manner. Coming to the Arch-bishop, he saith, *Da mihi Bafum*, that is, Give me a Buſs, or a Kisse, an usuall Favour from such a Prelate. The Arch-bishop re- turns, *Dotibi Bafum*, kissing him therewith. An holy Kisse (perchance) as given, but a crassy one as taken: for *Godwin* presently posits to *Bosham*, and takes pos- session thereof. And though here was neither real Intention in him who passed it away, nor valuable Consideration to him; but a mere Circumvention; yet such was *Godwin*'s Power, and the Arch-bishops poornesse of spirit, that he quietly enjoyed it. Nor have I ought else to observe either of *Berkley* or *Bos- ham*, but that both these rich and ancient Mannours, Earle *Godwin* his brace of Cheats, and distant an hundred miles each from other, are now both met in the Right Honourable *George Berkley* (as Heir apparent thereof) the paramount *Mecenas* of my Studies: whose Ancestors as they were long since justly possessed of them; so I doubt not but their Posterity will long comfortably enjoy them.

21. The

Yet, was there not a cause?  
a Gen. 1. 28.

The good daughter of a bad father.

*Godwin* de- vices to get *Berkley* Nunnetrie.

Another trick to gain the mannour of *Bosham*.

Anno Dom. 1046.  
Edw. di Con- fessors  
4

21. The Monks that wrote this King *Edward*'s life, had too heavy a hand in over-spicing it with Miracles, which hath made the Relation too hot for the Mouth of any moderate Belief. A poor Cripple chanced to come to him, one who might have stocked a whole Hospital with his own Maladies. It was ques- tionable, whether the Difficulty of his Crawling caused more Pain, or the Deformity thereof more Shame unto him. The fight of him made all tender Beholders *Cripples* by *Sympathie*, commiserating his sad Condition. But it seems, this weak Wretch had a strong Fancy, and bold Face, who durst desire the King himself to carry him on his Back into the Church, on assurance (as he said) that thereby he should be recovered. The good King grants his Desire, and this Royal Porter beares him into the Church, where so strange an Altera- tion is said to happen; *Qui venit quadrupes, decessit bipes*, He that came on all four, departed straight, and upright.

19 1061 22. The Church into which the King carried the Cripple, was St. *Peter*'s in *Westminster*, built by him on this Occasion. King *Edward* had made a Vow to visit the Reliques of St. *Peter* in *Rome*, and, because his Subjects could not safely spare him out of his own Country, the Pope dispensed with him for the Per- formance thereof. Now, although he went not to St. *Peter*, St. *Peter* came to him, and in severall Apparitions advised him to build him a Church in the place now called *Westminster*, then *Thornie*, because desolate, and overgrown with Thorns and Briars. Nor is it any news, that populous Cities at this present, were anciently Woods and Bushie plots. What else was *Jerusalem* it self in the days of *Abraham*, but a *Thornie*, when in the midst thereof on Mount *Mori- ah*, a Ram was caught by the \* Horns in a Thicket? This Church many years before had been dedicated to, and (as the Monks say) consecrated by St. *Peter*, till destroyed by the *Danes*, King *Edward* raised it from the Ruines, endowing it with large Privileges, and rich Possessions.

23. Next to St. *Peter*, our *Edward*'s Darling, he is said to be most in Favour with St. *John* the Apostle, who is reported to have appeared unto him in the shape of a Begging Pilgrim; the King, not having at the present Money to sup- ply his Wants, pluckt off his Ring from his Finger, and bestowed it upon him. This very Ring, some years after, St. *John* sent him back again by two Pil- grims out of *Palestine*; but withall telling him, that he should die within six months after: a Message more welcome then the Ring to such a mortified man. If any doubt of the truth thereof, it is but riding to *Haivering* in *Essex*, so called (as they say) from this Ring, where (no doubt) the Inhabitants will give any sufficient Satisfaction therein.

24. Amongst the many Visions in this Kings Reign, one I will not omit, because seeming to have somewhat more then mere Monk therein. One be- lying inquisitive, what should become of *England* after King *Edward*'s Death, received this Answer, *The Kingdom of England belongeth to God himself, who will provide it a King at his pleasure*. Indeed *England*'s Gods on severall Titles. First, as a Country; the Earth is his, and the Fulnesse thereof. Secondly, as an Island, which are Gods *Demefnes*, which he keeps in his own hand of his daily Providence: Thirdly, as a Kingdom on which he hath bestowed miraculous Deliverances. Seeing then *England* is his own, we know who said, *Is it not lawfull to doe what I will with mine own?* May he dispose of his own to his own Glory, and the good of his own Servants.

25. Amongst the many resplendent Vertues in King *Edward*, Contempt of Wealth was not the least, whereof some bring in this for an Instance. The King lay on a Pallet surrounded with Curtains; by him stood a Cheft of Silver, which *Hugolin*, his Treasurer (called away on some sudden Occasion) had left open. In comes a thievish Courtier, takes away as much Money as he could carry, and disposeth thereof. Then cometh he the second time for a new Bur- den, little suspecting that the unseen King saw him all the while, and having laden himself, departed. Some adde, he returned the third time. Be content

T 2

(quoth

A miracle reported done by King *Ed- ward*.

*Westminster* Church re- built by him.

a Gen. 22. 13.

A Ring said to be sent from St. *John* to King *Ed- ward*.

b Camden's Britan. in Essex.

A vision obse- ving.

c Mat. 20. 15.

King *Ed- ward*'s con- tempt of wealth.



(quothe the King) with what you have, lest, if Hugolin come in and catch you, he take it all from you. Soon after the Treasurer returning, and fretting for loss of the Money, Let him have it quietly (said the King) he needeth it more when we do. Words which spake him a better man then King, as accessory to his own Robbing, who, if pleased to have made this pilfering Fellow to have tasted of the Whip for his pains, had marred a pretty Jest, but made a better Earnest therein.

26. Posterity conceived so great an opinion of King Edward's Piety, that his Cloath: were deposited amongst the Regalia, and solemnly worn by our English Kings on their Coronation; never counting themselves so fine, as when invested with his Robes; the Sanctity of Edward the first Wearer excusing, yea adorning the modern Antiquescence of his Apparell. Amongst these is the Rod or Sceptre, with a Dove on the Top thereof, (the Emblem of Peace) because in his Reign England enjoyed Halcyon dayes, free from Danish Invasions: as also his Crown, Chair, Staffe, Tunicke, close Pali, Tuisui hosen, Sandalls, Spurres, Gloves, &c. Expect not from me a Comment on these several Cloaths, or reason for the wearing of them. In general, it was to mind our Kings, when habited with his Cloaths, to be clothed with the habit of his virtuous Endowments; as when putting on the Gloves of this Confessor, their Hands ought to be like his, in moderate taking of Taxes from their Subjects. Indeed, Impositions once raised are seldom remitted, pretended Necessities being alwayes found out for their Continuance. But our Edward released to his Subjects the grievous burden of Dane-geld, payed to his Predecessours, conceiving it fit, the Danes were departed, that the Geld or Tax should go after them. But now Edward's Staffe is broken, Chair overturned, Cloaths rent, and Crown melted; our present Age esteeming them the Reliques of Superstition.

a See Mills his Catalogue of honours, p. 59.

No Confessor in the strictness of the word.

signify the vicious Arch-bishop of Canterbury

King Edward's Ecclesiastical Constitutions.

27. And yet all things being cast up, I confess I understand not how the name Confessor is proper to King Edward, in the strict acceptance thereof. For a Confessor is one actually persecuted for the testimony of the Truth, and prepared to lose his Life for the same. He is a Martyr in Bullion, wanting only the Stamp of a Violent Death to be impressed upon him. Now a great part of our Edward's Life, was led by him in Peace and Plenty; nothing bounding his Abundance but his own Moderation, & for twenty years together having no visible Foe to offend him. And although in his youth he lived in Normandy, in a middle Condition, betwixt an Exile and a Traveller, flying thither for fear of the Danes; yet such his Sufferings were of Civil Concernment, not directly relating to Conscience, though at distance reducible thereunto. But seeing in the Titles of great Persons, it is better to give too much than too little; a Confessor we found him, and a Confessor we leave him.

28. Our Eyes have been so intent in beholding the Vertues of this King, we have been little at Leisure to take notice of the Arch-bishops of Canterbury, during his Reign. Know then that about ten years since, Robert Arch-bishop of Canterbury, who succeeded Eadwin therein, fearing some hard measure from Earle Godwin (notwithstanding he had been contentedly kissed out of the Mannour of Bosham) conveyed himself away beyond the Seas, to his Monastery in Normandy, whence he came first into England. After whose departure, Sigard Bishop of Winchester intruded himself into that See, eminent only for Vice, and sordid Covetousness.

29. As for the Ecclesiastical Laws made by this King in his Reign, it will be enough to affix their Principal Titles.

1. That every Clerk and Scholar should quietly enjoy their Goods and Possessions.
2. What solemn Festivals people may come and go of, without any Law-suits to disturb them.
3. That in all Courts where the Bishops Proctor doth appear, his Case is first to be heard and determined.

4. That

4. That Guilty folk flying to the Church should there have Protection, not to be reprehended by any, but by the Bishop and his Ministers.
5. That Tithes be paid to the Church, of Sheep, Pigs, Bees, and the like.
6. How the Ordal was to be ordered for the Trial of Guilty persons by Fire and Water.

7. That Peter-pence, or Rome-feat, be faithfully payed to the Pope.

But I looke time, and referre the Reader to read these Constitutions at large, being three and twenty in number, in the worthy Work of that noble Learned Religious Knight Sir Henry Spelman.

30. And now the full time was come, wherein good King Edward exchanged this life for a better. Who, as he was famous for many personal Miracles, so he is reported to have entailed (by Heavens Confort) an hereditary Verue on his Successours the Kings of England, (only with this Condition, that they continue constant in Christianity) to cure the Kings Evil. This Disease, known to the Greeks by the name of *χρυσάσι*, termed by Latines *Struma*, and *Serophula*, hath it's Cause from Phlegm, it's chief and common outward Residence, in or near the Neck & Throat, where it expresth itself in Knobs and Kernells, pregnant oftentimes with corrupted Blood, & other putrified matter, which on the breaking of those Bunches, floweth forth, equally offensive to Sight, Smell and Touch. And yet this noisome Disease is happily healed by the Hands of the Kings of England stroaking the Soar: & if any doubt of the Truth thereof, they may be remitted to their own Eyes for farther Confirmation. But there is a sort of men, who to avoid the Censure of over-easie Credulity, and purchase the Repute of prudent Austerity, justly incur the Censure of affected Forwardness. It being neither Manners nor Discretion in them, in matters notoriously known, to give daily Experience the Lye, by the backwardness of their Belief.

31. But whence this Cure proceeds, is much controverted amongst the Learned. Some recount it in the Number of those *divina Sacra*, whose Reason cannot be demonstrated. For as in vicious Common-wealths Bastards are frequent, who being reputed *Filii Populi*, have no particular Father: so mans Ignorance increaseth the number of *Occult Qualities*, (which I might call Chances in Nature,) where the Effect is beheld, but cannot be certainly referred to any immediate and proper Cause thereof. Others impute it to the power of Fancie, and an exalted Imagination. For when the poor Patient (who perchance seldom heard of, and never saw a King before) shall behold his Royall Hand dabbling in a Puddle of Putrefaction, & with a charitable Confidence rubbing, smoothing, chafing those loathsome Kernells, (which I may call Clouds of Corruption, dissolved oftentimes into a feculent Shower,) I say, when the Sick-man shall see an Hand so humble of an Arme so high, such Condescension in a King, to stoak that Soar, at which meaner Persons would stop their Nostrills, shut their Eyes, or turn their Faces; this raiseth, erecteth, throtheth the Patients Fancie, summoning his spirits to assist Nature with their utmost Might, to encounter the Disease with greater Advantage. And who will look into the Legend of the Miracles of Imagination, shall find many strange, and almost incredible, things thereby really effected.

32. Other Learned men, and particularly *Gaspar Peucerus*, though acquiring this Cure from Diabolical Conjurat[i]on, yet tax it as guilty of Superstition. With him all such do fide, as quarrell at the Ceremonies and Circumstances used at the Healing of this Maladie. Either displaced at the Collect read, (consisting of the first nine verses of the Gospell of St. John) as wholly improper, and nothing relating to the Occasion; or unresolved of the Efficacy of the Gold pendent about the Patients Neck, (whether partly completing, or a bare Complement of the Cure;) or secretly unsatisfied, what manner and measure of Belief is required according to the Modell whereof Health is observed to come sooner or later; or openly offended with the *Sign of the Crosse*, which

a In his Court, cap. 619.

How the Kings of England come to cure the Kings Evil. b Primrosius de Valsat. Error. cap. ultimo.

Several opinions of the Causes thereof.

c Ferretus, lib. 1. method. cap. 11. de Hemeris, Curat.

Others count it Superstition. d Lib. de Incantamentis.

e Gu. Tucker in Charismat. cap. 7. pag. 56. was

Many make  
the Cure  
miraculous.

was used to be made by the Royall Hands on the Place infected. All which Exceptions fall to the ground, when it shall be avowed, that notwithstanding the Ommission of such Ceremonies (as requisite rather to the Solemnity, then Substantia of the Cure) the bare Hands of our Kings (without the Gloves, as I may term it, of the aforesaid Circumstances) have effected the healing of this Disease.

33. Hereupon some make it a clear Miracle, and immediately own Gods Finger in the Kings Hand. That when the Art of the Physician is pos'd, the Indultry of the Chirurgion tired out, the Experience of both at a Losse, when all humane Means cry craven; then that Wound made by the Hand of God, is cured by the hand of his Vice-gerent. Hath Heaven indued Vegetables (the worst and weakest of living Creatures) with cordiall Qualities? yea, hath it bestowed preious Properties on dull and inanimate Waters, Stones and Minerals, inasmuch that such are condemned for Silly or Sullen, for Stupid or Stubborn, as doubt thereof? And shall we be so narrow-hearted, as not to conceive it possible, that Christian men, the noblest of corporeall Creatures, Kings, the most eminent of all Christian men; Kings of Britain, the First-Fruits of all Christian Kings, should receive that peculiar Privilege, and fanative Power, whereof daily Instances are presented unto us? See here the vast Difference betwixt Papists and Protestants. How do the former count those Miracles, which fly from them; and often, in default of Real ones, are glad and greedy to hug and embrace empty Shadows of things falsely reported to be done, or fondly reputed to be Miracles? Whereas many Protestants, on the contrary, (as in the matter in hand) are scrupulous in accepting Miracles truly rendered unto them. But although our Religion, firmly founded on, and safely fenced with the Scriptures, needs no Miracles to confirm or countenance the truth thereof; yet when they are by the hand of Heaven cast into our Scales (not to make our Doctrine Weight, but) as *superpondium*, or an Over-plus freely bestowed; sure they may safely without Sin be received; not to say, can scarce be refused, without at least some suspicion of Neglect & Ingratitude to the Good-nell of God.

The inge-  
nuous con-  
fession of a  
Catholick.

a Gu-Tucket  
in Church  
cap. 6. p. 92.

Queen Eli-  
zabeth  
displeased  
with the  
people in  
Gloucestershire

34. Nor will it be amiss here to relate a Passage which happened about the middle of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, after Pope Pius did let fly his Excommunication against her. There was a stiffe Roman Catholick (as they delight to term themselves) otherwise a man well accomplished, and of an ingenious Disposition, who being cast into Prison, (I conceive for his Religion,) was there visited in an high degree, with the Kings Evil. And having with great Pain and Expence, but no Successe, long used the advice of Physicians, at last he humbly addrest himself unto the Queens Majestie; by whom, with Gods help, he was completely cured. And being demanded, *What news?* I perceive, said he, now at last by plain experience, that the Excommunication denounced by the Pope against her Majestie is in every deed of none effect, seeing God hath blessed her with so great and miraculous a Vertue.

35. This mention of Queen Elizabeth (there is a magnetick Vertue in Stories, for one to attract another) minds me of a Passage in the beginning of her Reign. Making her Progress into Gloucestershire, people affected with this Disease did in uncivil Crowds presse in upon her. Inasmuch that her Majestie, betwixt Anger, Grief, and Compassion, let fall words to this effect: *Alasse!* poor people, I cannot, I cannot cure you; it is God alone that can do it. Which words some interpreted, (contrary to her Intent and Practice, continuing such Cures till the day of her Death) an utter renouncing and disclaiming of such Instrumentall Efficacy in her self. Whereas she onely removed her Subjuncts Eyes from gazing on her, to look up to Heaven. For mens Minds naturally are so dull and heavy, that instead of traveling with their Thanks to God, raily are to dull and heavy, that instead of traveling with their Thanks to God, they lazily take up their Lodging more then half-way the Cause of all Cures, they lazily take up their Lodging more then half-way on this side, mistaking the Dealer for the Giver of their Recovery. It follows on this side, mistaking the Dealer for the Giver of their Recovery. It follows on not therefore, that the Queen refused to heal their Bodies, because careful in the

Anno  
Dom.  
1066  
Jan. 4.  
Anno  
Regis  
Edwar-  
di Con-  
fessoris  
24

the first place to cure their Souls of this dangerous Mistake. A Princesse, who as she was a most exact Demander of her Due, (observed seldom or never to forgive her greatest Favourites what they owed her) so did the most punctually pay her Engagements to others, as to all men, so most especially to God, so that he should lose any Honour due unto him, by her unjust Detaining thereof.

36. The Kings of France share also with those of England in this miraculous Cure. And *Laurentius* reports, that when Francis the first, King of France, was kept Prisoner in Spain, he, notwithstanding his Exile and Restraining, daily cured infinite Multitudes of people of that Disease; according to this Epigram:

*Hispanos inter sanat Rex Cherradas, esseque  
Captivos Superis gratus, ut ante fuit.*

The Captive King the Evil cures in Spain;  
Dear, as before, he doth to God remain.

So it seemeth his Medicinall Quality is affixed not to his Prosperity, but Person; so that during his Durance he was fully free to exercise the same.

37. Thus farre we patiently hear, and sufficiently credit this Authour; but can no longer afford him either Belief or Attention; when he presumeth to tell us, that the Kings of England never cured the Kings Evil, a Vertue appropriated onely to his Majestie of France. Onely he conceiteth, that long ago some of our English Kings of the Anjouan Race (descended from Isferry Plantagenet) did beat the Falling Sickness, with certain Consecrated Annules, a Custom long since disused. Thus he seeks to deprive our Princes of their Patrimoniall Vertue, and to make them Reparations (instead of their fanative Power, whereof they are peaceably possit to them and their Heires, holding it of God in chief) with assigning them an old Lease, where the Title at the best was litigious, and the Term long ago expired. But the Reader may be pleased to take notice, that this *Laurentius* was Physician in ordinary to King Henry the fourth of France, and so had his Judgement herein bowed awry with so weighty a Relation; Flattery being so catching a Disease, wherewith the best Doctors of Physick may sometimes be infected. To cry quits with him, Doctor Tucker, Chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, in a Treatise he wrote of this Subject, denyeth the Kings of France ever originally cured this Evil, but *per aliquam Propagationem*, by a Sprig of Right derived from the primitive Power of our English Kings, under whose Jurisdiction most of the French Provinces were once sub-  
jected.

38. Between these two Authours, violent in Opposition, haply we may find the Truth, whose constant Dwelling-place is pleasantly seated in a moderate Vale, betwixt two swelling Extremes. For it plainly appeareth by uncontrollable Arguments and Evidences, that both the Crowns, of England and France, have for many years been invested with this miraculous Gift; yet so, that our English Kings are the elder Brothers in the Possession thereof. For it is *Lewes*, King of France (who was contemporary with our King Henry the third) was the first of that Royall Race, which healed this Evil, his Cradle was more then 160. years after the Coffin of our Edward the Confessor, from whom, as is aforesaid, our Kings derive this sovereign Power by constant Succession. But methinks my Book in this Discourse, begins to bunch or swell out, and some will censure this Digression for a *Srruma*, or tedious Exuberancy, beyond the just Proportion of our History; wherefore no more hereof: onely I will conclude with two Prayers, extending the first to all Good people, That Divine Providence would be pleased to preserve them from this painfull and loathsome Disease. The second I shall confine to my self alone (not knowing how it will suit with the Consciences and Judgements of others,) yet so as not excluding any who are disposed to joyn with me in my Petition; namely, That

The Kings of  
France cure  
the Kings  
Evil.

*Laurentius*  
falsely denies  
the Kings of  
England  
power in curing  
the Kings Evil.  
A De mirabilis  
strumam  
curacione c. 2.

b In his cha-  
rismatic cap. 6.  
pag. 84.

The indif-  
ferent Op-  
inion.

c So misef-  
feth Andrew  
Chaline a  
French Au-  
thour, and  
others.

Anno  
Dom.  
1066  
Jan. 4.  
Anno  
Regis  
Edwar-  
di Con-  
fessoris  
24

*William re-  
batheth his  
conquering  
Sword with  
Composition.*

the last, and utter Confusion and Destruction of our Nation.

41. Thus King *William* came in by Conquest, though in the later part of his Reign, growing more mild and moderate, he twitted his Right of Victory with Composition: as such who have ravished a Woman against her will, endeavour afterwards to make her Reparation by Wooing and Wedding her, whom formerly they had wronged; so with Love to cover their Lust, by the most excusable way of Marriage. So King *William*, though he had forced this Land, yet afterwards, not so much out of Remorse as Policy, (to suppress frequent Tumults, and procure Security to himself and Successors) is said to have closed with the Commons in a fair way of Agreement, restoring many ancient Privileges unto them. Thus, though Conquest was more honourable for his Credit, Composition was comfortable for his Conscience, and accounted most safe for his posterity. Witnesse that judicial Sentence, which King *William* in open Court pronounced against himself, adjudging

1066	Harold
------	--------

a Camden's  
Britannia in  
Norfolk.

Abreviate of  
the Doctrine  
of *England* in  
these Ages  
before the  
*Norman*  
Conquest.

bBeda Eccles.  
Hist. lib. 3.  
cap. 54

c Caradoc.  
in Chron. of  
Cambridge.

d MS. in the Library of the Learned Bishop, William Bedel, and cited by the Arch-bishop of Armagh in the Religion of the ancient Irish, pag. 2.

cBede in vita  
Cuthberti  
cap. 34.

*Purgatory, though newly hatched, not yet fledged.*

For, although there are frequent Visions and Revelations in this Age pretended, thereon to build *Purgatory* (which had no Foundation in Scripture) yet the Architects of that fancy-full Fabrick had not so handsomely contrived it, as it stands at this day in the *Romish* Belief. For<sup>a</sup> *Bede*, out of the Vision of *Furſeus*, relateth certain great Fires above the Aire, appointed to examine every one according to the merits of his *Work*, differing from the *Papists Purgatory*; which *Bellarmine*, by the common Consent of the School-men, determineth to be within the Bowels of the Earth. Thus nothing can be invented, and perfected at once.

*Communion under both kinds.*

For<sup>b</sup> *Bede* relateth, that one *Hildmer*, an Officer of *Egfride* King of *Northumberland*, intreated our *Cuthbert* to send a Priest that might minister the Sacrament of the Lords Body and Bloud unto his Wife, that then lay a dying. And *Cuthbert* himself, immediately before his own Departure out of this Life, received the Communion of the Lords Body and Bloud. And, lest any should fondly hope to decline so pregnant an Instance, by the novel conceit of *Concomitancy* (a Distinction that could not speak, because it was not born in that Age) it is punctually noted, that he distinctly received the Cup.

*Pocula degustavit. Christique supinum*

*Sanguine munus iter*

His Voyage steep the easier to climb up,  
Christs Bloud he drank out of Lifes healthfull Cup.

So that the Eucharist was then administered entire, and not maimed (as it is by *Papists* at this day) serving it, as <sup>d</sup> *Hannu* the *Ammonite* did the Cloaths and Beards of *David's* Ambassadors, cutting it off at the Middle. And, though the word *Mas* was frequent in that Age (generally expressing all Divine Service;) yet was it not known to be offered as a propitiatory-Sacrifice for the quick and dead.

43. But if any desire farther Information herein, let him repair to the worthy Work, which *James*, the right learned and pious Arch-bishop of *Armagh*, hath written of the Religion professed by the ancient Irish and British. From whom I have borrowed many a Note (though not always thanking him in the Margin, by citing his Name) and therefore now must make one generall Acknowledgement of my Engagement. In Cities we see, that such as sell by Retaille (though of less Credit) are of great Use, especially to poor people, in parceling out Penny-worths of Commodities to them, whose Purſes cannot extend to buy by Whole-sale from the Merchant. Conceive I in like manner, my Pains will not be altogether unprofitable, who in this History have fetch'd my Wares from the Store-house of that Reverend Prelate (the *Cape-Merchant* of all Learning) and here in little Remnants, deliver them out to petty-county-Chapmen, who hitherto have not had the Hap, or Happineſſe to understand the original Treasures, whence they are taken. And clean through this Work in point of Chronologie, I have with implicate Faith followed his Computation, setting my Watch by his Dial, knowing his Dial to be set by the Sun, and Account most exactly calculated, according to the critical truth of Time. Long may he live for the Glory of God, and Good of his Church. For where, as many learned men, though they be deep *Abſſes of Knowledge*, yet (like the *Caspian* Sea, receiving all, and having no Out-let) are loth to impart ought to others; this bright Sun is as bountifull to deal abroad his Beams, as such dark Dales as my self, are glad, and delighted to receive them.

SEVE

a Zik. 12. c. 19<sup>a</sup>b De vita  
Cuthberti  
prosa, cap. 15.c Idem in vita  
Cuthberti  
canonicis,  
cap. 36.

d 2 Sam. 10. 4

The Authors  
engagement  
to the Archb.  
of Armagh,  
and conclu-  
sion of this  
second booke In his book,  
de Brit. Eccl.  
primord.

SEVERALL  
COPIES  
OF  
BATTEL-ABBEY  
ROLL.



To the right worshipfull *St. Simon Archer*, of  
Tanyworth in Warwicksheire.

Some report, that the Toad, before her death, sucks up (if not prevented with suddain surprisall) the precious Stone (as yet but a Jelly) in her Head, grudging Mankind the Good thereof. Such generally the Envy of Antiquaries, preferring that their Rarities should die with them, and be buried in their Graves, rather then others receive any Benefit thereby.

You cross the current of common Corruption; it being questionable whether you be more skilfull in knowing, carefull in keeping, or courteous in communicating your curious Collections in that kind.

Justly therefore have I dedicated these severall Copies of Battel-Abbey Roll unto you: first, because I have received one of the most authentick of them from your own Hand: secondly, because your ancient Name chargeth through and through most of these Catalogues. Yea, as the Archers came over with the Conquerour, so the Conquerour may be said to come over with the Archers, (therefore placed in a List by themselves,) because their Valour achieved the greatest part of his Victory.



Perusing the worthy Pains of grave and godly Mr. Fox, in his Book of Martyrs; I find him in the Reign of *William* the first, exemplifying a double Catalogue of such eminent Persons as came over at the Conquest. Now, seeing so Reverend a Writer accounted the inserting thereof no Deviation from his Church-History; we presume accordingly, by way of Recreation of the Reader, to present him with a larger List of those Names, with some brief Notes thereupon.

The Design  
propounded  
and asserted.

V 2

Here

Impofition of  
names de-  
notes domi-  
nion.  
a Gen. 4. 1.  
b Gen. 2. 23.

c Gen. 1. 26.  
d Exod. 3. 14.

Fixt Sur-  
names not  
long before  
the Con-  
queft.

Surnames  
late in (be-  
caufe not  
needfull to)  
Kings.

Many of the  
Normans  
moft noble  
by birth.

Yet fome  
not fo much  
as Genie-  
men.

Here will I premife nothing about the ancient Original of Names, which argued the undoubted Dominion of him who first gave them, over thofe on whom they were impofed. Thus Eve \* named Cain; to fhew the command, even of the Mother, over the eldeft (and therefore over all her) Children. Adam<sup>b</sup> named Eve, *She fhall be called Woman*; to fignifie the Husbands Sovereignty over his Wife. God nam'd<sup>c</sup> Adam, *Let us make Adam*, or *Man*; to denote his Power and Authority over Man. And God nam'd himfelf, *I am hath fent me unto you*; importing his abfolute and independent being in, and from himfelf. But, waving what may be faid of the beginning of Names, we fhall digeft what we conceive neceffary for our prefent Purpofe, into the following Propofitions.

The firft is; *Surnames were fix'd in Families in England, at, or about the Conqueft*. I fay, *fix'd*. Formerly, though men had Surnames, yet their Sons did not, as I may fay, *follow fuit* with their Fathers, the Name defcended not hereditarily on the Family. *At, or about*. Fourty years under or over will break no fquares. It began fooner; what fooner, in the Confeffours time, fetch'd out of France, but not univerfally fettled till fome hundred years after. When men therefore tell us, how their Surnames have been fettled on their Families, fome Centuries of years before the Conqueft, *we hear them fay fo*. His Chronology was no better then his Herauldy, who boasted that his Anceftours had given the *three Gun-boles* (which indeed were the *three Annulets*) for their Armes thefe thoufand yeares, when Guns themfelves have not been extant three hundred yeares in Europe. The fame Solocifme in effect is committed by fuch, who pretend to the Antiquity of Surnames, before the fame were fettled in *verum natura*.

The fecond; *Kings had fix'd Surnames later then Common people*. Our four firft Normau Kings had no Surnames, Henry the fecond being the firft of the *Plantagenifts*. Wonder not that a gentile Faftion fhould come later into the Court, then into the Country, and laft to the Crown it felf. For Names being made to diftinguifh men, they were more neceffary for common people, whofe *obfcurities* would be loft in a Multitude, were they not found out by the figne of their *Surnames*, having no other Eminency whereby they might be differenced. But Princes (being comparatively few in refpect of private perfons) are fufficiently difcovered by their own Luftre, and *Sovereignty may be faid to be a Surname to it felf*; and therefore Kings, not of Necessity, but mere Pleafure have accepted additions to their Chriftian-names.

The third; *Many who came over out of Normandy, were Noble in their native Country*. Efppecially fuch who are ftiled from their Places, as *le Sire de Soteville, le Sire de Margneville, le Sire de Tancarville*, &c. whereby we underftand them Lords and Owners of fuch Mannours, Towns, and Castles from whence they took their Denomination. However this particle *de* fuch a place (when without *le Sire* going before it) doth not always give *Livery and Seisin*, and prefently put the perfon fo nam'd into Poffeffion of the Place; fometimes barely importing that he was born there, and not Owner thereof.

The fourth; *All that came over with the Conquerour were not Gentlemen, untill they came over with the Conquerour*. For, instantly upon their Victory, their Flefh was refined, Blood clarified, Spirits elevated to a higher Purity and Perfection. Many a Peafant in Normandy commenced Monsieur by coming over into England, where they quickly got Goods to their Gentry, Lands to their Goods, and thofe of the moft honourable Tenure in Capite it felf. What Richard the third faid, no leffe fpitefully then falſely, of the *Woodvilles* (Brethren to the Wife of his Brother King Edward the fourth, by whom they were advanced) that *Many were made noble who formerly were not worth a Noble*, was moft true of fome of the Norman Souldiery, fuddenly

ftar-

ftarting up honourable from mean Originals. Thefe cruelly infulted over the Saxon ancient Gentry, whom they found in England. Thus on the new cafting of a Die, when *Acris* on the Top, *Sife* mufts needs be at the Bottom.

The fifth; *Befides native Normans, many of the neighbouring Countries engag'd in England's Invaſion. As Flemings, which Baldwin Earle of Flanders, and Father in law unto the Conquerour, ſent to aide him: VValloons, with many from Picardy, Brittain, Anjou, and the very Heart of France.* Thus when a *Fair of Honour and Profit* is proclaimed, *Chapmen* will flock from all parts unto it. Some will wonder, that any would be fuch wilfull Loſers, as to exchange France for England, a Garden for a Field. Was not this degrading of their Souls in point of Pleaſure, going backward from *VVine to Ale*, from *VVhear to Oates*, then the generall Bread-corn of England? Befides, coming Northward they left the Sun on their Backs; the *Sun*, who isa comfortable *VVher* to go before, but bad *Travis-bearer* to come behind one. But let fuch know, that England in it felf is an excellent Country (too good for the unthankfull people which live therein) and fuch Forreiners, who feemingly flight, ſecretly love, and like the Plenty and Profit thereof. But, grant England far ſhort of France in Goodneſſe, yet fuch Adventurers hoped to achieve to themſelves a better Condition in a worſe Country. Many a younger Brother came over hither, in hope here to find an elder Brother-ſhip, and accordingly procur'd an Inheritance to him, and his Pofterity. As for the great French Nobility, *Store was no ſore* unto them: fuch *Pluralities* retained ſtill their old Patrimonies in France, with the additions of their new Poſſeſſions in England.

The fixth; *Names coming over with the Conqueſt, beginning with VV. were not out of France, but the Vicinage thereof.* As the Britains diſclaim *X. the Latines Y.* (ſave when the badge of a Greek word Latiniz'd;) ſo the French diſown *VV.* When we find it therefore the initial letter of a Name (whereof many occur in the enſuing Catalogue) it argueth the ſame Walloon, or *Almain*. Yea, I am credibly inform'd, that ſome of the *Engliſh* here, wearied with *Harold's* Uſurpation, fled over into Normandy to fetch in the Conquerour; ſo that, when King William entred, they returned into England. And this particularly hath been avouch'd of the noble Family of the *Wakes*, who were here before the Conqueſt, yet found among the Norman Invaders.

The ſeventh; *Battel-Abbey Roll is the beſt extant Catalogue of Norman Gentry, if a true Copy thereof could be procur'd.*

1. *Battel-Abbey Roll*. Becauſe hung up in that Abbey, as fixt to the Freehold thereof, where the Names of ſuch as came over with the Conqueſt were recorded.
2. *Beſt extant*. Otherwiſe Induſtry, with Honesty, Leiſure, and Liberty to peruſe *Dooms-day-book*, might collect one more perfect, out of impartiall Records, which neither fear, nor flatter. Such a Catalogue were to be believed on it's Word, before *Battel Roll* on it's Oath.
3. Yet that *Abbey Roll* deſerv'd Credit, if a true Copy might be procur'd. Oncask'd, which was the beſt *ſt. Auguſtine*? To whom this Answer was given (generally true of all ancient Authours) *evenſ that Auguſtine which is leſt correct'd*. For Corrections commonly are corruptive, as following the Fancy and Humour of the Correctour.

*Battel-Abbey Roll* hath been practis'd upon with all the Figures of Diction, *Protheſis*, *Aphareſis*, &c. ſome names therein being augmented, ſubtracted, extended, contracted, lengthen'd, curtail'd. The ſame Scruple therefore which troubleth Sophiſters, *Whether Jaſon's weather-beaten Ship, ſo often clow'd and patched with new Boards, were the ſame numerically with the firſt*; may be

Many of the  
neighbour-  
ing Nations  
under the  
notion of  
Normans.

W-names  
Walloon.

The twiſt  
credit of  
Battel-Abbey  
Roll.

a Camden  
in his Re-  
main's p. 152.

Obj. Then it  
is of no  
credit.

Ans. How  
credit there-  
unto is to be  
cautioned.

be propounded of *Battel-Abbey Roll*, whether that extant with us, after so many Alterations, be individually the same with the Original? See what a deadly Gash our great Antiquary gives to the Credit thereof; *Whosoever considereth it well, shall find it to be forged, and those Names to be inserted, which the Time in every Age favoured, and were never mentioned in that Authentick Record.*

*Obj.* If such be the depraving of *Battel-Abbey Roll*, then no Credit at all is due unto it. Let it be pilloried for a mere Cheat, and be suffered no longer to go about, to deceive the honest Reader thereof: seeing we cannot hear the true Tone of Names therein, Monks have so set them to the Tune of their present Benefactors, and Minions of the Age they lived in.

*Ans.* Though there be much Adulteration therein, yet I conceive, the main Bulk and Body thereof uncorrupted. As they therefore overvalue this *Roll*, who make it the *Grammar of French-Gentry*, the *Heralds Institutes*, and of Canonick Credit amongst them: so such too much decry the same, who deny all trust thereunto. Yea, we may confidently rely on this *Roll*, where we find a Concurrence of ancient *English* Historians therewith: and this will appear in the generality of Names which that *Roll* presenteth unto us.

We find in our *English Chroniclers* two printed Copies (a Manuscript thereof worth mentioning, I have not met with) of *Battel-Abbey Roll*. Wherein such various Lessons, they agree neither in Number, Order, nor Spelling of the Names; which, though generally digested in an Alphabetical way, are neither of them exactly ordered according to the same. But behold both.

Holin-

Holinthead,  
pag. 3.

Aumarle  
Ainchart  
Audeley  
Angilliam  
Argencoun  
Arundell  
Abell  
Auerne  
Aunders  
Angiers  
Angewoun  
Archere  
Awoay  
Asperville  
Albeville  
Andeville  
Amoverduile  
Arcy  
Akeny  
Albeny  
Aybecare  
Amay  
Aspermond  
Amerenges.  
24.  
Bertram  
Butrecourt  
Brehus  
Byseg  
Bardolfe  
Basset  
Bigot  
Bobun  
Bailif  
Bondeville  
Brabason  
Baskerville  
Bures  
Bounilayne  
Bois  
Botelere  
Bourcher  
Brabaton  
Berners  
Braibuf  
Brande  
Bronce  
Burgb  
Busby  
Banet  
Blondell  
Breton

Stow,  
pag. 105.

Aumeic  
Audley  
Angilliam  
Argencoun  
Arundell  
Avenant  
Abell  
Angers  
Angenoun  
Archer  
Asperville  
Amoverduil  
Arcy  
Albeny  
Akeny  
Aspermond.  
16  
Bertram  
Butrecourt  
Brabus  
Byseg  
Bardolf  
Basset  
Bobun  
Bayliffe  
Bondeville  
Brabason  
Beer  
Bures  
Bonylayne  
Barbayon  
Berners  
Braybus  
Brand  
Bonville  
Burgb  
Busby  
Blondell  
Breton  
Belassie  
Bower  
Bayons  
Bulmere  
Browne

Holinthead,  
pag. 3.

Blues  
Baious  
Browne  
Beko  
Bickard  
Banastre  
Baloun  
Beauchamp  
Bray  
Bandy  
Bracy  
Boumdes  
Bascoun  
Broilem  
Brolevy  
Burnell  
Beller  
Baudewin  
Beaumont  
Burdon  
Berteuylay  
Barre  
Blunt  
Bacupere  
Bevill  
Bardvedor  
Brette  
Barrett  
Bonres  
Bainard  
Barnivale  
Bonett  
Barry  
Bryan  
Bodin  
Berrevile  
Berrin  
Bereneville  
Bellewe  
Beverly  
Busibell  
Boranville  
Browe  
Belevers  
Buffard  
Botelere  
Bouvetier  
Boteville  
Bellire  
Bastard  
Bainard

Stow,  
pag. 105.

Beke  
Bowlers  
Banastre  
Belomy  
Belknap  
Beachamp  
Bandy  
Broyleby  
Burnell  
Belot  
Beaufort  
Baudewine  
Burdon  
Berteuylay  
Barre  
Burnell  
Blunt  
Beawper  
Bret  
Barret  
Barnevale  
Barry  
Bodys  
Berteuile  
Bertine  
Belew  
Busbell  
Beleneers  
Buffard  
Boteler  
Botvile  
Brafard  
Belhelme  
Braunch  
Bolesfor  
Blundel  
Burdet  
Bagot  
Beaumont  
Bools  
Belesfoun  
Barchampe.  
69

Bra-

Holinshead, pag. 3.	Stow, pag. 105.	Holinshead, pag. 3.	Stow, pag. 105.
Brasard		Chawnes	Charles
Beelbelm		Chaumont	Chareberge
Braine		Caperoun	Chawnes
Brent		Cheine	Chaumont
Braunch		Curson	Cheyn
Belefuz		Coville	Curfen
Blundell		Chaiters	Conell
Burdet		Cheines	Chayters
Baget		Cateray	Cheynes
Beauvise		Cherecourt	Cateray
Belemis		Camille	Cherecourt
Bifin		Clerenay	Chauville
Bernon		Carly	Clerency
Boels		Cuily	Curley
Belefroun		clinels	Clifford
Brutz		Chaundos	49
Barchamp.		Courteney	
96		Clifford.	
Camois	Camos	52	
Camville	Carville	Deauville	Deauville
Chawent	Chawent	Dercy	Dercy
Chauncy	Chaney	Dive	Dine
Conderay	Couderay	Dispencere	Dispencer
Colville	Colville	Daubeny	Daniel
Chamberlaine	Chamberlain	Daniell	Densfe
Chamburnoun	Chambornonne	Denife & Druell	Druel
Comin	Cribet	Devaue	Devaue
Columber	Corbine	Davers	Davers
Cribet	Corbet	Dodingels	Doningsels
Crenquere	Coniers	Darell	Darel
Corbin	Chaundos	Delaber	De la bere
Corbett	Coucy	De la pole	De la pole
Chaundos	Chaworth	Delatine	De la lind
Chaworth	claremaus	Delabill	De la Hill
Cleremaus	clarel	Delaware	De la ware
Clarell	Camuine	Delavache	De la watch
Chopis	Chaunduyt	Dakeny	Dakeny
Chaunduit	Clareveys	Dauntre	Dakeny
Chantelow	Chantilowe	Desny	Desny
Chamberay	Colet	Dabernoun	Dabernoun
Cressy	cressy	Damy	Damy
Curtenay	Courtenay	Daveros	Daveros
Coneffable	conffable	Davonge	De la Vere
Cholmely	Chaucer	Duilby	De hiele
Champney	Cholmelay	Delavere	De la ward
Chawnes	corneville	Delahoid	De la place
Comiville	Champeney	Durange	Danway
Champaine	Carew	Delee	De Hewfe
Careville	Chawnos	De laund	De Herf
Carbonelle	Clarvaile	Delaward	Durant
Charles	Champaine	Delaplanch	Drury
Cherberge	carbonel	Damos	32

DAN

Holinshead, pag. 4.	Stow, pag. 105.	Holinshead, pag. 4.	Stow, pag. 106.
Danway		Fitz VVaren	
Dehenfe		Fitz Rainold	
Deville		Flamville	
Difard		Formay	
Dorville		Fitz Eustach	
Durant		Fitz Laurence	
Drury		Formibaud	
Dabitos		Frisound	
Dunferville		Finere and	
Dunhampe		Fitz Robert	
Dambelton		Furnivale	
44		Fitz Geoffrey	
Eitrange	Eitrange	Fitz Herbert	
Eftutevile	Eftutevile	Fitz Peres	
Engaine	Eftriels	Ficht	
Eftriels	Engain	Fitz Rewes	
Efturney	Evers	Fitz Fitz	
5	Efturney	Fitz John	
Ferrers	6	Flefchampe	
Folville	Folville	53	
Fitz Water	Fitz Water	Gurnay	Gargrave
Fitz Marmaduke	Fitz Marmaduke	Gressy	Granfon
Flevez	Fibert	Grawfon	Gracy
Filberd	Fitz-Roger	Gracy	Glaunvoile
Fitz Roger	Fitz-Robert	Georges	Gouer
Favecourt	Fancourt	Gower	Gafcoyne
Ferrers	Fitz-Philip	Gauy	Gray
Fitz Philip	Fitz-VVilliam	Goband	Golfofer
Filiot	Fitz-Pain	Gray	Grauns
Furniveus	Fitz-Alnye	Gauifon	Gurly
Furnivaus	Fitz-Ralfe	Golfofe	Gurdon
Fitz Otis	Fitz-Brown	Gobion	Gamages
Fitz VVilliam	Foke	Grenfy	Gaunt
Fitz Roand	Freville	Graunt	13
Fitz Pain	Faconbridge	Grelle	
Fitz Auger	Frifell	Grevet	
Fitz Aleyn	Filioll	Gurry	
Fitz Rauff	Fitz-Thomas	Gurley	
Fitz Brown	Fitz-Morice	Grammori	
Fonke	Fitz-Hugh	Gernoun	
Frevil	Fitz-VVarren	Grendon	
Front de Boef	Fauville	Gurdon	
Facunberge	Formay	Gines	
Fort	Formibaud	Grivel	
Frifell	Frifon	Greneville	
Fitz Simon	Finer	Glateville	
Fitz Fonk	Fitz-Prcy	Gurney	
Filioll	Furnivall	Giffard	
Fitz Thomas	Fitz-Herbert	Goverges	
Fitz Morice	Fitz-John	Gamages	
Fitz Hugh	31	30	
Fitz Henry		Hauuteney	Hanfard
		X	Ham

Holinshead, pag. 4.	Stow, pag. 106.	Holinshead, pag. 4.	Stow, pag. 106.
Hausfard	Haitinges	Lufe	Le Yawfe
Hastings	Haulay	Loterell	Loy
Haulay	Hufic	Loruge	Lave
Haurell	Herne	Longevale	Le Dispenfer
Hufce	Hamelyn	Loy	22
Hercey	Harewell	Lorancourt	.
Herious	Hardell	Loians	
Herne	Hecket	Limers	
Harcourt	Hamound	Longepay	
Henoure	Harcourd	Lauemale	
Hovell	11	Lane	
Hamelin		Lovetot	
Harewell		30	
Hardell		Mohant	Marmilou
Haket	Jarden	Mowne	Moribray
Hamound	Jay	Maundeville	Morville
Harcord	Jauville	Marmilon	Manley
18	Jasperville	Moribray	Malebranch
Jarden	4	Morville	Malemaine
Jay		Mirviell	Mufchampe
Jeniels		Manley	Mufgrave
Jercowife		Malebraunch	Mentebillers
Jauville		Malemaine	Mortmain
Jasperville		Mortimere	Mufe
6		Mortimaine	Moutbocher
Kaunt	Karre	Mufe	Maleville
Karre	Karron	Marteine	Marteine
Karrowe	Kyriell	Moutbocher	Mowntney
Koine	3	Mounfofer	Maleherbe
Kimaronne		Maleville	Mufegrofs
Kiriell		Malet	Mufard
Kancey		Moutteney	Mautravers
Kenetre		Monfchet	Merke
8		Maleherbe	Murres
Loveny	Lqftrange	Mare	Montague
Lacy	Latomere	Mufegros	Mantalent
Linneby	Lovcday	Mufard	Mandute
Latomer	Logenton	Moine	Maule
Lovcday	Le Scrope	Montravers	Malory
Lovell	Lemare	Merke	Muffet
Lemare	Levctot	Mortizale	Menpincoy
Levctot	Luterville	Moncheneff	Maimard
Lucy	Luy	Mallory	Morrell
Luny	Liflay, or Liele	Marny	Morley
Logevile	Longfpes	Mountagu	Mountmartin
Longefpes	Loverace	Mountfort	Myners
Loverace	Longschampe	Maule	Mauley
Longechampe	Lafels	Monhermon	Mainwaring
Lafales	Lind-Sey	Mufett	Mantell
Lacy	Loterell	Meneville	Meyel
Lovan	Lindfey	Mantevenat	Morton
Leded	Longvaile	Manfe	39 Men-

Holinshead, pag. 4.	Stow, pag. 106.	Holinshead, pag. 4.	Stow, pag. 106.
Menpincoy		Olifant	Olifaunt
Maine		Ofenel	Oyfel
Mainard		Oifel	Oliford
Morrell		Olifard	Oryol
Mainell		Orinal	6
Malehefe		Oriol	
Memorous			
Morreis		Pigot	Pigot
Morleian		Pery	Percy
Maine		Perepount	Perecount
Malevere		Perfbale	Perfbale
Mandut		Power	Power
Mountmartin		Patnel	Paynel
Mantelet		Percbe	Pecbe
Miners		Pavey	Peveler
Mauclerke		Peurell	Peros
Mauichenel		Perot	Picard
Moyet		Picard	Pudsey
Meintenore		Pinkenie	Pimeray
Meletak		Pomeray	Pounscey
Manville		Pounce	Punchardon
Manlay		Pavely	Pynchard
Maulard		Pafirere	Placy
Mainard		Plukenet	Patine
Menere		Phuars	Pampilion
Martinaff		Punchardoun	Poterel
Mare		Pinchard	Pekeney
Mainwaring		Placy	Pervinke
Matelay		Pugoy	Penicord
Malemis		Patefinc	22
Malebeire		Place	
Moren		Pampilioun	
Melun		Perclay	
Marceans		Perere	
Matell		Pekeny	
Morton		Potervelle	
76		Peukeny	
Noers	Nevile	Peccel	
Nevile	Neumarch	Pinel	
Newmarch	Norton	Putril	
Norbes	Norbes	Petivool	
Norice	Norece	Praus	
Newborough	Newborough	Pantolf	
Neiremet	Neele	Pito	
Neile	Normanville	Penecord	
Normavile	8	Prenedirlegaff	
Neofmarch		Percivale	
Nermutz		39	
Nembrutz		Quincy	Quincy
12		Quintiny	Quintine
Otevel	Otenel	2	2
Olibet	Olibet	Ros	Ridell
		X 2	



Holinshead, pag. 5.	Stow, pag. 107.	Holinshead, pag. 5.	Stow, pag. 107.
Ridell	Ridle	Sent Barbe	
Rivers	Rynel	Sent Vile	
Rivell	Rous	Souremount	
Rous	Ruffel	Soregliste	
Rushell	Rond	Sandvile	
Rabaud	Richmond	Sauncey	
Ronde	Sirewaft	Sent Cheverol	
Rie	Reymond	Sent More	
Rokell	9	Sent Scudemore	
Rifers		40	
Randvile		Toges	Towrs
Rofelin		Tercy	Toges
Rafstoke		Tuchet	Talybois
Rinwilt		Tracy	Tuchet
Rougere		Trousbu	Trusbot
Rait		Trainel	Trusbot
Ripere		Taket	Traynel
Rigny		Truffel	Taket
Richemound		Trifon	Talbot
Rochford		Talbot	Tanny
Raimond		Tonny	Tibote
22		Traies	Truffel
Souch	Senche	Tollemach	Turbeville
Shevile	Seint Quintine	Tolous	Turville
Seuchaus	Seint Omer	Tanny	Totes
Senclere	Seint Amond	Tonke	Tovers
Sent Quintin	Seint Logen	Tibote	Torel
Sent Omore	Sovervile	Turbeville	Tirel
Sent Amond	Sanford	Turville	Totels
Sent Logere	Somery	Tomy	Taverner
Somervile	Seint George	Taverner	Trencheville
Sward	Seint Les	Trenchelion	Tankervile
Saunfovere	Savine	Trevel	Tirel
Sanford	Seint Glo	Turbarvile	Tirel
Sanctes	Seint Albino	Tinevile	Torel
Savay	Seint Barbe	Tortechappel	Trevel
Saulay	Sandevile	Tenwis	Totelles
Sules	Seint More	37	
Sorell	Seint Scudemore	Vere	Valenco
Somersey	17	Vernoun	Vancord
Sent John		Vesfy	Vausfour
Sent George			
Sent Les			
Sesse			
Salvoin			
Say			
Solers			
Saulay			
Sent Albin			
Sent Martin			
Sourdemale			
Seguin			

Ver-

Holinshead, pag. 5.	Stow, pag. 107.	Holinshead, pag. 5.	Stow, pag. 107.
Verdoun	Vender	Valinsford	
Valence	Verder	Venicorde	
Verdeire	Verdon	Valive	
Vausfour	Vere	Vauville	
Vendore	Vernoune	Vancorde	
Verlay	Venables	Valenges	
Valsinger	Venoure	35	
Venables	Verland	Wardebois	Wake
Venoure	Verlay	Ward	Walenger
Vilan	Vernois	Wafre	Warde
Verland	Verny	Wake	Wardebus
Valers	Vilan	Wareime	Waren
Veirny	Umframvile	Ware	Ware
Vauvrvile	Unket	Watelin	Wateline
Venich	Urnall	Watvile	Watvile
Verrere	18	Wely	Woly
Ushere		Werdonel	Wyuel
Vesfy		Wespaile	10
Vauay		Wivell	
Vian		12	
Vernoyys		The total summe	The total summe
Urnal		of all in Ralph	of all in John
Unket		Holinshead,	Stow,
Urnaful		629	407
Vasderol			
Vaberon			

Besides this Roll of Battell Abbey, there is another extant, not (as this) Alphabetically modelled, (the work of some Monk well at Leisure) but loose, without any literal Order. An argument, in my opinion, of the more native Purity thereof, (lesse soiled with partiall Fingers) as not so much tampered with by Art and Industry. It is reputed by many to be the Muster-roll of such principal Souldiers, as embarked with Duke William at St. Valeris: and it is said that after the Fight ended, this List was called over, and all persons solemnly summoned, to answer to their Names therein; though many made no *vous-avez*, as either sick of their Wounds, or slain out-right amongst the six thousand and odd, which lost their Lives on the place. Were we assured hereof, we would preferre this before the former Roll, believing a French Muster-master, rather than any English Monk, (though the Abbot of Battell himself) as not so subject to the suspicion of Flattery herein. This Catalogue is taken out of Guiliam Tayleur a Norman Chronicler of good Credit: but the worst is, we want Tayleur's French Originall, and I fear it hath passed through some Bachelers hands, before it came to us. For there be three Editions thereof in our English Historians, which (like the feet of a Badger) fall out of unequal Length, (if the Reader be pleased to measure them) so different the Number of names therein. However, because this Catalogue may conduce to the supplying of Defects, clearing of Doubts, and amending of Faults in that former, we here present the several Copies thereof.

Fox

Fox, A&S & Mon.  
pag. 182.

Odo Bishop of Bayeux  
Robert Count de Mortaigne, Duke William's half brethren  
Baudwin de Buillon  
Roger Count de Beaumont, surnam'd with the beard  
Guillaume Malet  
le sire de Monfort sur Rille  
Guil. de Vicxpoint  
Neel de S. Sauveur le Viconte  
le sire de Fougiers  
Henry Seigneur de Ferrieres  
le sire Danbemar  
Guil. sire de Romare  
le sire de Lichbare  
le sire de Tongue  
le sire de la Mare  
le sire de Ncaubon  
le sire de Piron  
Rob. sire de Beaufon  
le sire Danou  
le sire de Soteville  
le sire de Margneville  
le sire de Tancarville  
Eustace Dambleville  
le sire de Magneville  
le sire de Grantmesnil  
Guil. Crespin  
le sire de S. Martin  
Guil. de Moulins  
le sire de Puis  
Geoffray sire de Mayenne  
Auffroy de Bohon  
Auffroy & Maugier de Cartrait  
Guil. de Garennes  
Hue de Gournay, sire de Bray  
le Conte Hue de Gournay  
Eugemont de l' Aigle  
le Viconte de Tonars  
Rich. Dauverenchin  
le sire de Biars  
le sire de Solligny  
le Bouteiller Daubigny

Holinshed, Chron.  
pag. 2.

Odo Bishop of Bayeux  
Robert Earle of Mortaigne  
Roger Earle of Beaumont, surnamed a la Barbe  
Guillaume Malet, feig. de Montfort  
Henry feign. de Ferrers  
Guil. d' Aubellemare, feig. de Fougieres  
Guil. de Roumare, feig. de Lichbare  
le feig. de Touque  
le feig. de la Mare  
Neel le Viconte  
Guil. de Pepens  
le feig. de Magneville  
le feig. de Grosmeuil  
le feig. de S. Martin  
le feig. de Puis  
Guil. Crespin  
Guil. de Moyenne  
Guil. Desmoullins  
Guil. Desgarennes  
Hue de Gournay, alias Genevay  
le feig. de Bray  
le feig. de Govy  
le feig. de Laigle  
le feig. de Tovar  
le feig. de Aurenchin  
le feig. de Vitrey  
le feig. de Traffy, alias Tracy  
le feig. de Picquigny  
le feig. d' Espinay  
Osmond feig. du Pont  
le feig. de Estoucheville  
le feig. de Torchy  
le feig. de Barnabot  
le feig. de Breval  
le feig. de Seulme  
le feig. de Houme  
le feig. de Souchoy  
le feig. de Cally  
le feig. de la Rivere  
Euldes de Beuieu  
le feig. de Roumilly  
le feig. de Glotz  
le feig. du Sap

Stow, Chron.  
pag. 103.

Odo Bishop of Bayon  
Robert Earle of Mortaigne  
Bandonni de Buillon  
Roger E. of Beaumont with the beard  
Guilliam Malet  
Guil. Fitz Osberne  
le sire de Montfort sus Rille  
Guil. de Vielz pont  
Neel de Saint Sauveur  
le Vicont  
le sire de Feugiers  
Henry sire de Ferrers  
le sire Dambemare  
Guil. sire de Romare  
le sire de Lichare  
le sire de Tongue  
le sire de la Mare  
le sire de Nahabon  
le sire de Piron  
le sire de Beaufon  
le sire de Damnon  
le sire de Soteville  
le sire de Margneville  
le sire de Tankerville  
Eustace Dambleville  
le sire de Magneville  
le sire de Grimfville  
Guil. Crespin  
le sire de S. Martin  
pag. 104.  
Guil. de Moulins  
le sire de Pins  
Gieffray sire de Mayenne  
Affroy de Behunt  
Affroy & Mavigr. de Cartait  
Guil. de Garennes  
Hue de Gournay, sire de le Bray  
le Conte Hue de Donnay  
Engemount le Laigle  
le Vicont de Tovar  
Rich. Donnemchin  
le sire de Biars  
le sire de Salligny  
le Bouteiller Daubigny

le

Fox, A&S & Mon.  
pag. 182.

le sire de Maire  
le feig. Branchou  
le feig. Ballen  
le feig. de Beaufaule  
le feig. de Telleres  
le feig. de Senlys  
le feig. de Pigneu  
Hamon de Kayen  
le sire de Despinay  
le sire de Port  
le sire de Torcy  
le sire de Tort  
le sire de Riviers  
Guil. Moyenne  
Raoul Tesson de Tingueleiz  
Roger Mar mion  
Raoul de Guel  
Avenel des Byars  
Paennel du Monstier Hubert  
Rob. Bertran le Tort  
pag. 183.  
le sire de Seulle  
le sire de Dorival  
le sire de Breval  
le sire de S. Jehan  
le sire de Bris  
le sire du Homme  
le sire de Sauchoy  
le sire de Cailly  
le sire de Semilly  
le sire de Tilly  
le sire de Romelli  
Mar de Basqueville  
le sire de Praulx  
le sire de Gonis  
le sire de Sainceaulx  
le sire de Mouilly  
le sire de Monceaulx  
The Archers du val de Reul, and of Bretheul, and of many other places.  
le sire de S. Saen, i. de S. Sydonio  
le sire de la Riviere  
le sire de Salnarville  
le sire de Rony  
Eude de Beaugien  
le sire de Oblic  
le sire de Sacie

Holinshed, Chron.  
pag. 2.

le feig. de Vanville  
le feig. Branchou  
le feig. Ballen  
le feig. de Beaufaule  
le feig. de Telleres  
le feig. de Senlys  
le feig. de Baqueville  
le feig. de Preaulx  
le feig. de Jovy  
le feig. de Longueville  
le feig. de Aquigny  
le feig. de Paffy  
le feig. de Tournay  
le feig. de Colambieres  
le feig. de Bollebec  
le feig. de Garenstieres  
le feig. de Longueville  
le feig. de Houdetot  
le feig. de Malletot  
le feig. de la Haie Maerbe  
le feig. de Porch Pinche  
le feig. de Dormal  
The Earle of Tanqueruile  
The Earle d'Eu  
The Earle d'Argues  
pag. 3.  
The Earle of Anjou  
The Earle of Nevers  
le feig. de Rouville  
le Prince de Alemaigne  
le feig. de Pavilly  
le feig. de S. Cler  
le feig. d'Espina  
le feig. de Breinetot  
Alain Fergant Earle of Britaigne  
le feig. de la Ferte  
Rob. fils Herways, Duc de Orleans  
le feig. de la Lande  
le feig. de Mortimer  
le feig. de Clare  
le feig. de Magny  
le feig. de Fontnay  
Roger de Montgomery  
Amaury de Tonars  
Eude de Beaugieville  
le feig. de Neanhou

Stow, Chron.  
pag. 103.

le sire de Marre  
le sire de Viftry  
le sire de Lacy  
le sire du vall Darie  
le sire de Tracy  
Hue sire de Montfort  
Hamon de Brayen  
le sire de Spinay  
le sire de Port  
le sire de Torchy  
le sire de Tort  
le sire de Riviers  
Guil. Moyon  
Raoul Tesson de Chigoleis  
Roger Mar mion  
Raoul de Gael  
Ave Neel de Biars  
Parnel du Monstier  
Bertram le Tort  
Hubert Robert  
le sire de Seukee  
le sire de Dormal  
le sire de Brenall  
le sire de S. Jehan  
le sire de Bois  
le sire de Homme  
le sire de Sauffay  
le sire de Cailly  
le sire de Semilly  
le sire de Tilly  
le sire de Romely  
Martell de Basqueville  
le sire de Praux  
le sire de Gony  
le sire de Sainceaulx  
De Mullox  
These Archers of the vale of Rucill, and of Brethiel, and of many other places.  
le sire de S. Saen  
le sire de la Rimer  
le sire de Salnarville  
le sire de Tony  
Eude de Beaugien  
le sire de Ollie

le

Fox, A&S & Mon.  
pag. 183.

le sire de Nefie  
le Visquains de  
Chaymes  
le sire du Sap  
le sire de Glos  
le sire de Anne  
le sire de Glauville  
le sire de Brecon  
le Vidam de Partay  
Raoul de Morimont  
Pierre de Bailloul  
sire de Fescamp  
le sire de Beaufault  
le sire de Tiltres  
le sire de Pacy  
le Seneschal de Torcy  
le sire de Gacy  
le sire Douilly  
le sire de Sacy  
le sire de Pacy  
le sire de Tourneur  
le sire de Praeres  
Guil. de Colombieres  
Hue sire de Bollebec  
Rich. sire Dorbec  
le sire de Bonneboz  
le sire de Tresgoz  
le sire de Montfiquet  
Hue le Bigot de Maletot  
le sire de la Haye  
le sire de Breay  
le sire de Montbray  
le sire de Saye  
le sire de la Ferre  
Boutevillain  
Tronffebant  
Guillaume Patric de la  
Land  
Hue de Mortimer  
le sire Danvillers  
le sire Donnchaunt  
le sire de S. Cler  
Rob. le filz Herneys Duc  
d'Orleans  
le sire de Harecourt  
le sire de Crevecoeur  
le sire de Deyncourt  
le sire de Brimetot  
le sire de Combray  
le sire Danway  
le sire de Fontenay  
le Conte Deureux

Holinshead, Chron.  
pag. 2.

le feig. de Peron  
Robert de Beaufou  
le feig. Meauvon  
le feig. de Soterville  
Eustace de Hambleville  
Geoffray Bournom  
le feig. de Blainville  
le feig. de Manneville  
Geoffray de Moienne  
Auffray, and Manger  
de Carteny  
le feig. de Freanville  
le feig. de Monbray  
le feig. de Tiltay  
Guil. Patais, feig. de la  
Land  
Eude de Mortimer  
Hue Earle of Gournay  
Egremont de Laigle  
Richard d'Aurinchin  
le feig. de Bearts  
le feig. de Soulligny  
Bouteclier d'Aubigny  
le feig. de Marcey  
le feig. de Lachy  
le feig. de Valdere  
Eude de Montfort  
Henoy de Cahieu  
le feig. de Vimers  
Guil. de Morvion  
Raoul Tesson de Tig-  
nelles  
Anguerand Earle of Her-  
court  
Roger Marmion  
Raoul de Gatel  
Avenel de Piers  
Pauvel du Montier Hu-  
bert  
Rob. Bertranle Tort  
le feig. de Senille  
le feig. Dorival  
le feig. de la Hay  
le feig. de S. John  
le feig. de Sauffy  
le feig. de Brye  
Richard Dollebec  
le feig. du Montfiquet  
le feig. de Bresey  
le feig. de Semilly  
le feig. de Tilly  
le feig. de preaux

Stow, Chron.  
pag. 104.

le sire de Sacy  
le sire de Fafie  
le Bisquams de  
Chaymes  
le sire de Sap  
le sire Duglosse  
le sire de Nime  
le sire de Blainville  
le sire de Brecon  
le Vidam de Partenay  
Raoul de Mortmont  
Pierre de Bailloul  
sire de Fescamp  
le sire de Beaufault  
le sire de Tillieres  
le sire de Pacy  
le Seneschal de Torchy  
le sire de Gacy  
le sire de Douilly  
le sire de Sancy  
le sire de Bacy  
le sire de Tourneur  
le sire de Praeres  
Guilliam de Colom-  
bieres  
Hue sire de Bollebec  
Richard sire Dorbec  
le sire de Donnebos  
le sire de Troingros  
le sire Mont Eiquet  
Hue le Vigot, alias Bigot  
de Maletot  
le sire de la Haye  
le sire de Bracy  
le sire de Montbray  
le sire de Say  
le sire de Lafert  
Boutevillain Tronfe-  
bours  
Guilliam Patris de la  
Land  
Hue de Mortimer  
le sire Donnchaunt  
le sire de S. Cler  
Robert le Fitz Herneys  
le sire de Harecourt  
le sire de Crevecoeur  
le sire de Dancourt  
le sire de Brunetot  
le sire de Cambray

1c

Fox, A&S & Mon.  
pag. 183.

le sire de Rebelchil  
Alain Pergant, Conte  
de Bretagne  
le sire de S. Vallery  
le Conte Deu  
Gautier Giffard Conte  
de Longueville  
le sire Desbouteville  
le Conte Thomas Dair-  
malle  
Guil. Conte de Hoymes,  
& Dargues  
le sire de Breville  
le sire de Breante  
le sire de F. anville  
le sire de Pavilly  
le sire de Clerc  
Toffan du Bec  
le sire de Maungny  
Roger de Montgome-  
ry  
Amaury de Touars

Holinshead, Chron.  
pag. 3.

le feig. de Menley  
le feig. de Monceaux  
The Archers of Breteville  
The Archers of Van-  
dreweile  
le feig. de S. Sain  
le feig. de Breanfon  
le feig. de Saffy  
le feig. de Naffy  
le Vidam de Chartres  
le feig. de Jeanville  
le Vidam du Passais  
Pierre du Bailloul feig.  
de Rescamp  
le seneschal de Torchy  
le feig. de Griffey  
le feig. de Baffey  
le feig. de Tournour  
Guil. de Colombieres  
le feig. de Bonnebault  
le feig. de Ennebault  
le feig. de Danvillers  
le feig. de Breville  
le feig. de Crevecoeur  
le feig. de Breate  
le feig. de Coutray  
The Earle of Eurenux  
le feig. de S. Valery  
Thomas Earle d'Anmale  
The Earle de Hiefmes

Stow, Chron.  
pag. 104.

le sire Danney  
le sire Fonteney  
le Counte Deureux  
le sire de Robertchil  
Alain fergent Counte  
de Bretagne  
le sire de saint Wal-  
ry  
le Counte Dedens  
Gualar Guisart  
Counte de Longne-  
ville  
le sire de Scouteville  
le Counte Thomas  
Danbinde  
Guil. de Hoimes, &  
Dargues  
le sire de Barreville  
le sire de Breante  
le sire de Freanville  
le sire de Panilly  
le sire de Clerc  
Toffandube  
le sire de Maungny  
Roger du Montgomey  
Comes  
Almay de Touars

There is still another Catalogue, late in the possession of Thomas Scrivens Esquire. I confesse, *Quantus Author, tanta fides*; and the Gentleman, long since dead, being generally unknown, some will question the Authority thereof. But know he was a good *Promus condus* of ancient Records, *condus*, in keeping them faithfully himself; and *Promus*, in imparting them freely to others. This his Catalogue is exemplified by John Stow in his Chronicle. Of whom though a Cambridge Comedian was pleased pleasantly to say, that *Mendacio non and then jogg'd on the Elbow*; yet indeed he deserved a Camden's commendation of a *famulus Chronici*, lacking Learning rather than Truth, seldom omitting what is, sometimes recording what is not observable. But see the Catalogue.

Achard	Aubrey	Boneit	Burnel	Bozim	Curfey
Averenges	Archer	Blair	Bunel	Bion	Caution
Aielard	Bastarde	Brachet	Belete	Bailoil	Caily
Alard	Baignard	Buget	Bonere	Brocherie	Corbec
Aubency	Barville	Bodler	Boiler	Bardusse	Clare
Avenel	Brassard	Burdet	Bogel	Bancan	Curtain
Asprevil	Berad	Blute	Berie	Buffey	Curtbofe
Audeny	Beynard	Berry	Bunt	Beamvis	Chamlin
Akein	Barkerville	Berri	Brenbe	Bleu	Costentin
Arcy	Barr	Bracy	Bru	Bavenre	Comthense
Amle	Buffe	Brenville	Butelem	Camule	Cozmis
Aumidville	Burs	Boutuile	Bricour	Chalenges	Chastlem
Abbeville	Beau	Buteile	Brian	Carderie	Courtneis
Andville	Beil	Beamchampe	Bach	Condrey	Chauers
Albemarke	Breit				

Y

Curry

a Camden  
in Middle-  
sex.  
b Stow Chron.  
pag. 107.



Maudryle & Dandrey	Seynt Denis & Seynt Eler	Harcourt & Hainsford	Hyway, Bari, Bagenus
Quenryle & Dandrey	Seynt Aubyn & Seynt Omer	Malsgreve & Musford	Holm, Hyldbrod, Hilym
Balye & Barkarey	Seynt Eylleri, Eyns & Gomer	Mare & Mautravers	Lages & Seim Lou
Byle & Cleyle	Tuberyle & Turkmert	Itens & Ferris	Maubank & Seim Malou
Mureyle & Calereyle	Gogers & Spenfer	Berneyle & Berners	Wale & Waleyle
Waleyle & Gureyle	Buns & Butler	Chayne & Chalers	Cauder & Bureyle
Bureyle & Sateyle	Greveler & Seynt Eginer	Dandon & Dangers	Stales & Clemanant
Devant & Coteyle	Doveres & Seynt Martin	Vols, Gray & Gungers	Beunys & Beaumont
Moun & Bonn	Seynt Nur & Seynt Eger	Britton & Bygod	Moun & Mounchampe
Vipon & Vipoun	Seynt Piger & Seynt Per	Traylliz & Troged	Nantes & Nantel
Baylan & Baylan	Aymel & Paynell	Penris & Pyatte	Perry, Cru & Lacy
Alarst & Marmysan	Peyvere & Peverell	Frey & Fulyn	Quincy & Trety
Agulin & Agulin	Rivers & Rivet	Dufflan & Tallate	Stokes & Somery
Chamberley & Chamber	Beauchamp & Beangel	Sanzever & Sanford	Seynt Lohan & Seynt Iay
Joun	Lou & Lovell	Vadu & Vatore	Greyle & Seynt Wally
Pere & Verroun	Ros & Rosell	Montagu & Mansford	Pukerty & Pansly
Verchery & Verdonn	Moutidours & Mounfrell	Farnus & Ferryman	Mohant & Mounchen
Cryel & Caron	Truffelot & Truffell	Valens, Ne & Vans	Is
Dunmer & Dunamm	Begun & Barrell	Claret & clarus	Loreyn & Lacy
Hallyng & Camnos	Bra & Baleril	Aubeyle & Seim Amant	Arney & Arty
Bardelle, Bous & Bays	Bisi & Baleril	Aganey & Dregant	Greyle & Cauty
Warrent & Wardeloy	Bisi & Baleril	Malerbe & Maudin	Aray & Crissy
Rades & Dorens	Maldrey & Maler	Brenes & Chaudat	Mole & Maudrey
Auri & Agrestin	Bureyle & Burt	Figueret & Hys de Lou	Garnay & Courmay
Bortour & Bureyle	Neryyle & Naret	Camusen & Canulin	Haufling & Ternay
Malebauch & Malmeyn	Esnyale & Coler	Braynse & Haldynse	Huse & Halse
Hauyle & Haudyn	Mountyn & Mounfcher	Maleche & Molyus	Hunthard & Pumrey
Davey & Dywys	Geyneyle & Gyllard	Moleun & Bryle	Langueyle & Langfys
Malare & Malvysn	Say & Seward	Rishford & Deyleyle	Pont & Pannlage
Morten & Mortimer	Chery & Charnard	Warrayle & Doyyle	Strange & Savage
Wauyn & Colamber	Pyryon & Pyppard	Nelers & Neryle	

Passé we now from Poetry to Painting, seeing great the affinity betwixt them, Fancie being predominant in both. Present we here the Reader with the Names and Armes of fourty Souldiers of King William the Conquerour, matched with as many Monks; but how, and on what occasion, the ensuing Writing will acquaint us.

In the time of Thurston, our Abbot of Ely, born of worshipfull Parentage in the Village of Wichford near Ely, King Harold, Son of Godwin, and together with him all the States of England almost, were slain by the Souldiers of William Duke of Normandy, Nephew to Saint Edward the King, upon the Feast of St. Calixt the Pope, in the year of our Lord God one thousand sixty and six.

Whereupon Eggleinc Bishop of Durham, Egtride Abbot of St. Albans, the Earle of Margary, and Edward Byarn, with sundry other chief of the Land, together with their Friends, laden with great Treasures, fled unto us, desirous to withstand the tempestuous Threats of the Normans seven years; until such time as Belac, who at that time was General of the Kings Army, and from whom the circuit of certain Hills at the South end of Alderhithe-Causey, which at this day are corruptly called Belfar's-Hills, took their name, being cast up on purpose, that the Army in the Night time might lodge there safely, as shewed us by the means of an huge number of Boats gathered together upon a sudden. A Councell then being called, it seemed good to our Captains in convenient time to crave the Kings Mercy. Whereupon certain were sent to the Kings Court, being then at Watwick, carrying with them to the King a mighty Treasure, a competent Price & Satisfaction to pacify him concerning an unadvised Attempt. Where with the Honourable King was appeased, yet with this Covenant and Condition, that so long as it pleased him, forty of the Kings Souldiers should be maintained at the charge of the Monastery. For the King feared, lest that whilest he bent his forces against the Scots not yet subdued, the Isle of Ely (being indeed a dreadfull Strength) should again revolt to his great Danger. The Souldiers with their Retinue are sent, they come and here abide. Whereof each one is delivered to some principall Monk, as a Captain to his Lieut.

Lieutenant, or a Guest to his Host. Now the King decreed that Bertwolde, the Butler, should minister Food to the Souldiers and Monks jointly together, one with another, in the common Hall of the Monastery. What need many words? These Captains to their Lieutenants, these Guests to their Hosts, these Souldiers to their Monks were most welcome: for all of them entertained each one, each one entertained all, and every one mutually one another, with all duties of Humanity. As the length the Fire of the civil War being quenched, and the King established according to his Hearts desire, five years after, his Severity in punishing being in godly manner pacified, it pleased the King to withdraw this Tote, whereby the Pride of the Monks was now sufficiently abated. And the Conquerour reclaimed his Souldiers, to punish the ungodly Insolvency of his Son Robert, who at that time in outrageous manner kept Riot in Normandy. But our Monks (which is a wonder to report) did not onely with Teares bewail the departure of their dearest Mates, the heroical Souldiers, and welcome Guests; but howled out most fearfully, and beat their Breasts as destitute of Hope, after the manner of a new-married Wife, whose Husband is violently taken away, at an unreasonable time, out of her sweet Armes unto the Wars. For they doubted lest that, being thus forsaken, they should be subject to the Spoil, whereas they had lived securely at ease, with their armed Guests, to whose trust they had committed themselves and their Goods. They being now all ready for their Journey, every one of our Monks, many in number, invested in their Copes, in dutifull manner accompanied these Gentlemen departing, unto Hadenham, with Songs, Croffes, Confers, Processions, and all Solemnity that might be used. And returning home, took order that the Armes of each Souldier should be belovely depainted upon the Wall of the common Hall, where they took their Repast together, to the perpetual memory of the customed Kindness of their Souldier-like Guests, the which from time to time, from the Predecessours to the Successors, and from obscure Antiquity to our Posterity at this day, are curiously set forth to be viewed of all men, not without a pleasant Delight, in such manner as they glitter and shine honourable in the Margent of this Table.

This Writing was composed about the Reign of King Henry the seventh, but the Armes set up in Ely-Hall (as may appear by inserting the Coat of Robert Orford, the fourteenth Bishop of Ely) about the year 1306. Which Hall was destroyed at the Dissolution; but another Transcript of the Armes of these Knights being depicted on the Wall of the Deanes Dining-room, was lately extant, whence our Draught here presented was taken (rather truly then nearly done, out of desire to conform to the Original) and communicated to me by that worthy Knight, and able Antiquary, St. Simon Archer of Warwickshire.

Some will wonder that M<sup>r</sup>. Camden maketh no mention hereof, whose Omniscience in these things may be presumed of. Yea, which is more, there is (saith he) a Rampire of mean Height, but of very large Compass, which they call Belfar's-Hills, of one Belliflar, I wot not who; taking no notice of Belafis, the Norman General, who subdued Elie, and from whom our late-produced Writing attereth those Hills to be so named. But besides that Camdenus non videt omnia, great Antiquaries are sometimes subject to fits of Sullenness, & will notice what they do see, when resolved to take no Notice thereof.

And now we have presented the Reader with eight severall Catalogues, two of Holinghead's, two of Stow's, two of M<sup>r</sup>. Fox, one of Scrivens, one of Frier Brompton's, besides the List of Elie Knights. I could with a good Herald would make a Mono-ogdon, that is, one out of eight, and Alphabetically digest the same; also note what Names are extant, and which, how, and when extinct.

By names which I call extinct, understand, not existent in any signal and remarkable lustre proportionable to their former greatness, though possibly some obscure under-boughs, truly derived thence, may still be in being. That worthy Doctor hath made many Converts in Physick to his seeming Paradox, and

Dr. Hevey  
main

maintaining the Circulation of Bloud running round about the Body of man. Nor is it less true, that gentle Bloud fetcheth a Circuit in the body of a Nation, running from *Teomanie*, through *Gentry* to *Nobility*, and so retrograde, returning through *Gentry* to *Teomanie* again. My Father hath told me from the mouth of *S<sup>r</sup> Robert Cotton*, that that worthy Knight met in a Morning a true and undoubted *Plantagenet* holding the Plough in the Country.

He might adde *Arms* to ancient names, where he could recover any Certainty therein; for I am confident that hereditary *Arms* are not so ancient as the Conquest, but fix'd in Families about the beginning of *Henry* the third, finding before that time the warlike Devices of the Sons, not the same with the Fancies of their Fathers, and their Grand-children differing from both.

If any say that I have already gone too far in this Subject, who am no *Herauld* by Profession, but onely *Knappe*, *Prace*, a *Crier* in the spiritual acception of the Office: yea, that this favours of *Revenge*, as if because so many in this Age invade my Calling, I in requital have made Incurtion into other mens Professions; like men that take *Letters of Mart*, not caring whom they wrong, so they repair themselves for their former sustained, or pretended Losses: Let such know that I adventure on Heraldry, not as a Calling, but as an accessorie quality for Recreation. And, in evidence of my Loyalty to the *Kings of Arms*, I submit what here I have written to their Censure and Correction, who have obliged me unto them with their many and great Civilities.

Onely I will add some Corollaries to this Roll, and so conclude.

*First Coroll.* When any Name begins with a *Vowel*, or an *H*, the prefixing of *D'* createth a (seeming) new Name: as *Arey*, *D' Arey*, *Anwers*, *D' Anwers*, *Hauel* or *Hairel*, *D' Hairle*.

*Second Coroll.* French Surnames are generally discernable by their Terminations

In	Age	As	Savage	Ers	In	Lay	As	Danvers
	<i>Ard</i>		<i>Giffard</i>	<i>Eux</i>		<i>Et</i>		<i>Devereux</i>
	<i>Champe</i>		<i>Beauchampe</i>					<i>Barret</i>
	<i>Court</i>		<i>Harcourt</i>			<i>Lay</i>		<i>Cholmelay</i>
	<i>Cy</i>		<i>Darcy</i>			<i>Nay</i>		<i>Courtney</i>
	<i>Ell</i>		<i>Terrell</i>			<i>Os</i>		<i>Talbot</i>
	<i>Er</i>		<i>Archer</i>			<i>Vile</i>		<i>Nevisle</i>

Some few Names whose Endings are exceptions from these Rules, are easily observed by reading, and known to be of French Extraction.

*Third Coroll.* *Wivill* is the last name in most Catalogues. First fix'd at *Stanton Wivill* in *Leicestershire*, where they continued in the twenty fourth year of the Reign of King *Henry* the sixth, on this Token, that *William Wivill* (being sworn and examined) did depose that he could expend twenty pounds a year of old Rents besides all Charges. Of this House was *Robert de Wivill* Bishop of *Salisbury*, one neither Handsome, nor Learned, but eminent for his long Life, (fourty five years Bishop there) and high Spirit, that he would not suffer the Castle of *Salisbury* to be parted from his See, challenged by *William Montacute* Earle of *Salisbury*, without putting it upon Tryall of Battel. Long since the *Wivills* here are extinct, bearing *Gules*, *Fretty Vary*, a Chief Or. But there is extant an ancient Family of that name in the North (though different in *Armes*) augmented in State and Honour by Matches with the *Heires of Pigot*, *Serope* of *Ypsall*, and *Bainton*: whereof *S<sup>r</sup> Marmaduke Wivill* of *Constable* *Burton* in *Richmondshire* was created Baronet by King *James*, whose Grand-child *Marmaduke* Baronet *Wivill* married the Daughter of *Coniers* Lord *Darcy*. And I am glad that I may auspiciously close, and conclude my Catalogue with so worthy a Gentleman; bearing *Gules*, three Cheveronels braced in *Sable*, *Gobone Argent* and *Azure*, a Chief Or.

*Fourth Coroll.* All names of Gentry which by authentical Records came over

The prefixing of D' before names.

French Surnames discerned by their terminations.

Wivill closesth the Catalogue.

The family of the Walgrave.

over at the Conquest, are not expressed in any of these Catalogues; as *Saukvil*, or *Sackvil*, and *Walgrave*, we finding two of that Surname.

One *John Walgrave*, a *Saxon*, living at *Walgrave* in *Northamptonshire*, and possessed of that Mannor before the Conquest.

The other a *Walloon* of that name, coming over with the *Conquerour*, and employed by him in many Services.

The later of these, on the former his consent that he should marry his onely Daughter, procured from the *Conquerour* a Pardon for his Father in Law, that he might quietly enjoy his Lands and Livings, descending on this *Walloon* *Walgrave* after the other his Death. Which Pardon, legible in French, was Anno 1612. in the possession of the *Walgraves*, still flourishing in *Suffolk*.

*Fifth Coroll.* Let none wonder, if some names of *Vorshipfull* and *Honourable* Families, undoubtedly of French Originall (but since the Conquest) have not appeared in the aforesaid Catalogues. For know that after the Conquest, sundry French-men of signall Worth entred *England* at severall times, chiefly

First of King *Henry* the second to Queen *Eleanor*, who brought the Dukedome of *Aquitain* & Earledome of *Poitiers* for her Dowrie. Secondly of *Edward* the second to *Isabella* Daughter to *Philip* the Fair King of *France*, when three thousand French came over with her (complained of as a great Grievance) and many settled here.

Not to speak of the Conquests of King *Edward* the third and *Henry* the fifth in *France*, causing such an Interchange of the Nations, that then *England* and *France* may be said to have born counterchangeably each others *Natives*.

*Sixth Coroll.* Many will admire no mention of *Tradesmen* in all these Catalogues, being of absolute necessity both in War and Peace. For soon would a *Glover*, *Feet* be found without a *Capper*, *Hands* betanned without a *Tanner*, *Currier*, *Shoemaker*, whole *Body* be starved, cold, without *Weaver*, *Fuller*, *Tailour*, hungry, without *Baker*, *Brewer*, *Cook*, *harboureils*, without *Mason*, *Smith* and *Carpenter*. Say not, it was beneath the French Gallantry to stoop to such mean Employments, who found all these *Trades* here amongst the *English* their *Vassals*. For (besides that nothing is base which is honest, and necessary for humane Society) such as are acquainted with the French, both ancient & modern, finical humour, know they account our *Tailours*, *Botchers*, *Shoemakers*, *Coblers*, *Cooks*, *Slovens*, compared to the exactnesse of their Fancy and Palate; so that certainly such *Trades* came over with them.

*Seventh coroll.* But hear what our great *Antiquary* saith herein. In that most authentical Register, *Doomesday Book* in the Exchequer, ye shall have *Cocus*, *Auriferer*, *Pistor*, *Pistor*, *Accipitrarius*, *Camerarius*, *Venator*, *Piscator*, *Medicus*, *Cook*, *Goldsmith*, *Painter*, *Baker*, *Falconer*, *Chamberlain*, *Huntman*, *Fisher*, *Leach*, *Marshall*, *Porter*, and others, which then held land in capite, and without doubt left these Names to their Posterity; albeit haply they are not mentioned in those Tables of Battel Abbey of such as came in at the Conquest.

*Eighth Coroll.* Now let me bespeak the Readers Pity (though possibly his ingenuous Sympathie hath given it before it was requested) for those poor *English*-men who were to find Free quarter for all these French. Where could their Land-lords lodge them? or rather how could they long continue Land-lords, when such potent Guests came to their Houses? O the severall ways which their Necessities dictated unto them! Some fought, as the *Kentsh*, who capitulated for their Liberty: some fled, as those in the North into *Scotland*: some hid themselves, as many in middle *England* in the Isle of *Ely*: some, as those of *Northfolk*, traversed their Title by Law, and that with good Success in the Old age of King *William* the *Conquerour*. Most betook themselves to Patience, which taught many a Noble Hand to work, Foot to travel, Tongue to intreat; even thanking them for their Confinement, who were pleased to restore a Shiver of their own Loaf which they violently took from them.

F I N I S.

Ascribed by John Raven Richmond Herald. See Weavers Fourall Monument, pag. 758. After the Conquest several recruits of French in England.

Tradesmen not mentioned in this Roll came over with them.

As appears by Doomsday Book. b Camden his remarks pag. 234.

The sad case of the English.

THE  
Church-History  
OF  
BRITAIN.

The Third Book.

FROM THE COMING IN OF  
THE  
NORMANS,  
Untill the appearing of  
JOHN WICLIFFE.



LONDON,  
Printed in the Year, M. DC. LV.



To the Right Honourable,

WILLIAM,  
Lord Beauchampe, &c.  
GRAND-CHILDE  
AND  
HEIR APPARENT,

To the Right Honourable,

WILLIAM,  
Marquifs of Hertford.



*Some there are, who exact of every  
Christian (as a Touchstone of  
their sincerity) to render an ac-  
count of the exact time of their  
Conversion, with the Circum-  
stances thereof, how, when, and  
where performed. I must crave leave to enter my  
self a Dissenter herein, conceiving such a Demand un-*

*A a 2*

*reasonable,*



reasonable, as generally required essential to all true Believers.

*I confess some may return a satisfactory Answer therunto; namely, such, whose Souls (suddenly snatch'd out of Errour and Vitioufness) were immediately wrought upon, (almost in an instant) by the Spirit of God. Thus of those \* three thousand gained, (on Many-Saints-day) by Saint Peter, at Jerusalem, with the preaching of one Sermon, each one might punctually and precisely tell, the very Moment of their true Conversion, and generally, the WORSE men have been, the BETTER they can point at the accurate date thereof.*

*And thus as Kings count their actions by the years of their Reign, (Bishops formerly of their Consecration) so these may use the stile (In the year of our Conversion, first, or second, &c.) And as \* Herod kept a Festivall of his Natural Birth-day, such (if so pleased) may duly and truly observe an Anniversary Solemnity of their Regeneration.*

*A Priviledge, not granted to all true Believers, God, to shew his Power that he Can, and Pleasure that he VVill, vary the manner of Mens Conversion, (though going the same path by his VVord and Spirit) useth a slower pace in the hearts of others, in whom Grace is wrought sensim sine sensu, modeled by degrees;*

*In*

*In such, no mortal man can assign, the minitary juncture of Time, when preparing grace (which cleared the ground) ended, and saving grace (which finish'd the fabrick of Conversion) did first begin.*

*Observable to this purpose are the words of our Saviour, \* So is the Kingdom of God, as if a man should cast seed into the ground, and should sleep, and rise night and day, and the seed should spring, and grow up, HE KNOWETH NOT HOW. That grace is sown, and is grown, Men know; but when, and how, (in the persons aforesaid) GOD KNOWS.*

*Besides these, (adult Converts) there are a second sort of Christians unable to discover the Date of grace dawning in them; namely, such who with \* Timothy, may be said to be good, time out of minde, sucking in grace with their milk, extracted from, and educated under a pious Parentage.*

*I hope and trust that your Honour may truly be ranked in this latter Form, that as many ancient deeds (written before the Reign of King Henry the third) are commonly without any date. Grace in like manner, will arise so early in your heart, (advantaged by your Godly Birth, and Breeding) that you shall not remember the beginning thereof.*

*However to make sure work, it will be safest to examine your self, (when arrived at Age) what eminent accessions,*

\* Mark 4. 25.

\* 2 Tim 1. 5.  
and 3. 15.

cessions, and additions of Grace, you can remember, with the Place and Time, when the same were effectually wrought in your Soul, and what bosome-sin you have conquered. Especially take notice of your solemn Reconciling to God after Repentance for some sin committed.

David no doubt in some sort may be said to be born good, God being his hope when in the \* Womb, when on the Breasts of his Mother, \* Trusting in him, and \* Taught by him, from his Youth. Now though probably he could not remember his first, and general Conversion, he could recount his Reconversion, after his foul Offences of Adulterie and Murder, as by his Penitential Psalm doth plainly appear.

Otherwise such who boast themselves Converted before Memorie, (by the priviledg of their pious Infancy) if they can recover no Memorials of their Repentance after relaps, and produce no time, nor tokens thereof, are so far from being good from their Cradle, it is rather suspicious they will be bad to their Coffin, if not labouring for a better spiritual estate.

And now my Lord let me recommend to your Childhood the Reading of the HOLY SCRIPTURES, as the \* Apostles termeth them, holy in the fountain, flowing from the holy Spirit inditing them, holy in the Conduit pipe, derived through \* holy men penning them, holy in the Liquor,

\* P sal. 22. 10.

\* p sal. 71. 5.

\* P sal. 71. 17.

\* 2 Tim. 3. 15.

2 Petter 1. 21.

Liquor, teaching, and directing to Holiness, holy in the Cisterne, working Sanctity in such as worthily receive them, and making them wise unto Salvation.

Now next to the Study of the Scriptures, History best becometh a Gentleman, Church-History a Christian, the British History an Englishman; all which qualifications meeting eminently in your Honour, give me some comfortable assurance, that these my weak endeavours will not be unwelcome unto you; by perusing whereof, some profit may probably accrew to your self, and more honour will certainly redown to

The meanest and unworthiest  
of your Lordships Servants,

THOMAS FULLER.

THE

Anno  
Regis  
Gul.  
Conq.  
1.

Anno  
Dom.  
1057.

THE  
CHVRCH-HISTORY  
OF  
BRITAINNE.

C E N T. XI.

Ob.  
14.

1.



*William Duke of Normandy* being thus arrived, soon conquered *Harold* with an army of *Normans*, as far beneath the English in *Number* as above them in *temperance*: For the English being revelling before, had in the morning their brains *arrested*, for the *arrearages* of the indigested *fumes* of the former night, and were no better then *drunk* \* when they came to fight. But these things belong to the *Historians* of the State to relate; whilst it is proper to us to observe, that *King William* to testify his gratitude to God, for the victory, founded in that place, *Battel-Abby*, endowing it with revenues, and large immunities. The *Abbot* whereof (being a *Baron* of *Parliament*) carried a pardon in his presence, who casually coming to the place of *Execution*, had power to save any *Malefactor*. The *Abbey-Church*, was a place of safety for any *Fellon* or *Murderer*, though such *Papists* sanctuaries themselves, if accused as unlawful, can finde no *refuge* in *Scripture precepts*, or *presidents* for their justification, seeing the very *Horns* of the *Altar*, by divine command, did *pull* away those wilful offenders which fled unto them: and *impunity* being the greatest motive to *impiety*, made their *Covenant* the *Center* of *sinners*. Here the *Monks* flourished in all affluence, as the *Old world* in the dayes of *Noah*, they ate, they drank, they bought, they sold, would I might add, they married wives and were given in marriage, (for want whereof they did worse) till in the dayes of *King Henry* the eight they were all drowned in the general *Deluge* of the *Dissolution*.

2. Now it was proper to the place of *Stigand*, *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, to perform the Solemnities of *King Williams* Coronation; but he declined that employment,

B b

The drunken English conquered by the Normans, and founderth Battle-Abbey.

a *Mene aduac*  
*ebrii contra bo-*  
*stet inconstan-*  
*ter procedunt.*

b *Comdeni*  
*Brit.in Suffes.*

\* *William*  
*Crowned by*  
*the Arch-*  
*Bishop of*  
*York, whilst*  
*many of the*  
*English Cler-*  
*gye fle into*  
*Scotland.*

employment, pretending *Williams* unlawful title, and loath to pour the sacred oil on his *Head*, whose *Hands* had shed so much innocent blood: The other accounting himself to have a better title to the *Crown*, by conquest, then the *Arch-Bishop* had to his *Miter* by *Simony*, disdain'd his service, and accepted the *Crown* from the hands of *Aldred*, *Arch-Bishop of York*: who first required an *Oath* of him, to defend the *Church*, minister justice, and (amongst other things) to use *Englishmen* as favourably as *Normans*. Notwithstanding which *Oath*, he made the *Normans* his *Darlings*, and the *English* his *Drudges*; in which *Oath*, he made the *Bishops* and *Abbots* unable to comport themselves with his harshness, and conceiving it more credit and safety, to go then to be driven away; fearing by degrees they should all be quarrell'd out of their places, unwillingly willing quitted their preferments, and fled into *Scotland*. Here King *Malcolm Canmore* (who had married *Margaret* Niece to *Edward* the Confessor) freely received them. He himself had formerly lived fourteen years in *England*; and now of a grateful Guest, became a bountiful Host, and courteously harboured these *Exiles*. And as, at this time, *England* began to turn *France*, imitating the *language*, *Garbe*, and *manners* thereof; so *Scotland* began now to turn *England*: the *Families* transplanted thither, transplanting the *English* customs, fashions, and *Civilities* along with them.

3. About this time *Doomes-day-book* was made, containing an exact survey of all the houses and land in the Kingdom, impartially done with rigorous severity. They omitted *Nec lacum, nec lacum, e nec lacum*, to accurate they were in the very *fractions* of the *Land*: and therefore it may seem a miracle, that the *Monks of Crowland* should finde a courtship peculiar to themselves, (be like out of veneration to their *Covent*) that their lands were rated *sec ad flatum, nec ad p[re]sentiam*, neither so much in quantity, nor so high in value as indeed they were worth. This book of the *General Survey* of *England*, though now begun, did take up some years, e before it was compleated.

4. King *William* called a *Synod* of his *Bishops* at *Winchester*, wherein he was personally present, with two *Cardinals* sent thither from *Rome*. Here *Stigand Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury* was depofed, for several *uncanonical* exorbitances, and *Lauftrank* a lordly *Lombard* substituted in his room. *Stigand* liv'd some years after in a *Prison*, and (which was worse) a prison liv'd in him, being frighten'd in his own bowels towards himself. For pretending poverty, he denied himself necessities, being afterwards discovered to carry a *Key* about his neck which open'd to infinite treasure, so that none would lavish pity on him, who starv'd in store, and was wilfully cruel to himself.

5. A learned lawyer hath observed, that the first encroachment of the *Bishop of Rome* upon the liberties of the *Crown* of *England*, was made in the time of King *William the Conqueror*. For the *Conqueror* came in with the *Popes Banner*, and under it won the battle, which got him the *Gauntlet*; and therefore the *Pope* presumed he might boldly pluck some flowers from it, being partly gain'd by his countenance and blessing. Indeed King *William* kindly entertained these *Legats*, sent from *Rome*, so to sweeten the *rack* of his coming in by the sword, in the nostrils of religious men, pretending what he had gotten by power, he would keep by a pious compliance with his *Holiness*. But especially he did serve the *Pope* to be served by him; that so with more ease and less envie, he might suppress the *English Clergie*. But although this politick *Prince* was courteous in his complementary addressees to the *See Apostolick*, yet withall he was careful of the main chance to keep the essentials of his *Crown*, as, amongst others, by these four remarkable particulars may appear.

6. First he retained the ancient custom of the *Saxon Kings*, investing *Bishops* and *Abbots*, by delivering them a *Ring* and a *Staff*, whereby without more ado, they were put into plenary possession of the power and profit of their place. Yea, when *Arch-Bishop Lauftrank*, one so prevalent, that he could persuade King *William* to any things, (provided that the King himself thought

Doomes-day book made.

e Englishi in his story. fol. 515.

d idem ibid.

e Florentius Wigornensis & Stigand archiepis in his libris. Anno 1173. Sigand depofed, & Lauftrank conftitutus.

The Popes Bull upon the crown of England. In John Dabry in his libris. fol. 11. & 12. & 13.

\* Yet King William invested ecclesiastical persons. e North. Ecclesiastical History. fol. 14. & 15. & 16. & 17. & 18. & 19. & 20. & 21. & 22. & 23. & 24. & 25. & 26. & 27. & 28. & 29. & 30. & 31. & 32. & 33. & 34. & 35. & 36. & 37. & 38. & 39. & 40. & 41. & 42. & 43. & 44. & 45. & 46. & 47. & 48. & 49. & 50. & 51. & 52. & 53. & 54. & 55. & 56. & 57. & 58. & 59. & 60. & 61. & 62. & 63. & 64. & 65. & 66. & 67. & 68. & 69. & 70. & 71. & 72. & 73. & 74. & 75. & 76. & 77. & 78. & 79. & 80. & 81. & 82. & 83. & 84. & 85. & 86. & 87. & 88. & 89. & 90. & 91. & 92. & 93. & 94. & 95. & 96. & 97. & 98. & 99. & 100.

Anno Dom. 1067. Anno Regni Gul. Conq.

Ordo. 2.

1070 4.

Anno Dom. 1067. Anno Regni Gul. Conq.

it fitting) requested *William* to bestow on him the donation of the Abbey of *Saint Augustine in Canterbury*; the King refused, saying, that he would keep all *pastoral* h States in his own hand. Wiser herein then his successors, who parted with those *Staves*, wherewith they themselves were beaten afterward.

7. Secondly being demanded to do Fealty for his *Crown* of *England*, to *Gregory* the seventh *Pope of Rome*, he returned an answer as followeth.

In English.

Excellentissimo Sancte Ecclesie Pastori Gregorio, gratia Dei Anglorum rex, & dux Normannorum Willielmus salutem cum amicitia. Hubertus Legatus tuus Religiose Pater, ad me veniens ex tua parte me admonuit, quatenus tibi & successoribus tuis fidelitatem facerem, & de pecunia quam antecessores mei ad Romanam ecclesiam misere solebant, melius cogitarem. Quam admissi, alterum non admissi. Fidelitatem facere nolui, nec volo, quia nec ego promisi, nec antecessores meos antecessoribus tuis, id fecisse comperio. Pecunia tribus ferme annis, in Gallis me agente, negligenter collecta est. Nunc vero, divina misericordia me in regnum meum reverso, quod collectum per prefatum Legatum mittitur; Et quod reliquum est per Legatos Lanfrancum, Archiepiscopum fidelis nostri, cum opportunum fuerit, transmittitur. Orate pro nobis, & pro statu Regni nostri, quia antecessores vestros dileximus, & vos pro omnibus sincerè diligere & obedienter audire desideramus.

To *Gregory* the most excellent Pastor of the holy Church, *William* by the grace of God, King of the *English* & Duke of the *Normans*, witheth health, and desireth his friendship. Religious Father, your Legat *Hubert* coming unto me, admonished me, in your behalf, in as much as I should do fealty to you, and your successors, and that I should take better care, for the payment of the money, which my predecessors were wont to send to the Church of *Rome*. One thing I have granted, the other I have not granted. Fealty I would not do, nor will I, because I neither promised it, neither do I finde that my predecessors ever did it to your predecessors. The money for almost three years when I was abroad in *France*, hath been but negligently collected. But now seeing by divine mercy, I am returned into my Kingdom, what is gathered is sent by the aforesaid Legat; and the arrears which remain, shall be sent by the messengers of *Lanfrank*, our faithful Arch-Bishop, in time convenient. Pray for us, and for the good state of our Kingdom, because we have loved your predecessors, and do desire sincerely to love, and obediently to hear you, above all others.

It is strange on what pretence of right the *Pope* required this Fealty; was it because he sent King *William* a consecrated Banner, that under the colour thereof he endeavoured to display his power over all *England*, as if the King must do him homage, as a *Banneret* of his creation, or because he had lately humbled *Henry the fourth*, the *German Emperor*, he thought that all *Kings* in like manner, must be slaves unto him, the *Pope* being then in his *Vertical height*, and *Dog-days* of the heat of his *Power*? But we need no further inquiry into the cause of his *Ambition*, when we read him to be *Gregory* the seventh, otherwise *Hildebrand* that most active of all that late in that Chair. Surely he lent this his demand rather with an intent to spie then hope to speed therein, so to found the depth of King *William*, whom if he found shallow, he knew how to proceed accordingly; or else he meant to leave this demand dormant in the *Dock*, for his successors to make advantage thereof; who would claim for due, whatsoever they challenged before. However so bold an asker never met with a more bold denier. Soon did King *William* finde his spirits,

B 2

who

IMS sedes episcopatum Lanfrancum electus by St. John Dabry in his libris reports of Freeman's fol. 89.

A Orsenv. breth his love to him.

who formerly had not lost but hid them for his private ends. England's Conqueror would not be *Romes Vassal*, and hee had *Brain* enough to deny, what the other had *Brow* to require, and yet in such wary language, that he carried himself in a religious distance, yet politick parity with his *Holiness*.

8. Thirdly, *King William* would in no wise suffer any one in his Dominion, to acknowledg the Bishop of *Rome* for Apostolical without his Command, or to receive the Popes Letters, except first they had been shewed unto him. As for the Arch-Bishop of *CANTERBURY*, Primate of *England*, though by his own authority he might congregate Councils of Bishops, and sit President in them; yet the King permitted him to appoint, or prohibit nothing, but what was according to His own will and pleasure, and what the King had ordained before.

9. Lastly, *King William* suffered no Bishop to excommunicate any of his Barons, or Officers, for adultery, incest, or any such hainous crime, except by the Kings Command, first made acquainted with the same. Here the word *Baron* is not to be taken in that restrictive sense, to which the modern acceptance hath confined it, only for such of the higher Nobility, which have place, and Votes in Parliament; but generally for such who by *Centure* or *Chief*, or in *Capite* (as they term it) held land immediately of the King. And an English Poet (counted the *Virgil* of his age, and the *Ennius* in ours) expresseth as much in his Rhythmes, which we here set down, with all the rust thereof, without rubbing it off, (remembering how one *John Thorowton* a Justice of *Cheshire*, in Queen *Elizabeth's* dayes, for not exhibiting a judicial *Concord*, with all the defects of the same; but supplying, or filling up what was worn out of the Authentical Original, was fined for being over officious) and therefore take them with their faults, and all, as followeth.

The berthe was that noe man that of the King huld ought  
In Cheif or in ent Serbise, to Hanling were ibrought  
Bote the Wardens of holy Church that brought him thereto  
The King seide of his Baites wat he had misdoe  
And loke best were thet to amendment it bring  
And bote by wolde by thet seide doe the Hanling.

And a grave Author gives a good reason, why the King must be inform'd before any of his Barons be excommunicated, lest otherwise (saith he) the King not being certified thereof, should out of ignorance unawares, communicate with persons excommunicated, when such Officers of His, should come to kiss His hand, be called to his Council, or come to perform any personal attendance about Him. Hitherto we have seen how careful the Conqueror was, in preserving His own right in Church-matters. We will conclude all with the Syllogisme, which the Oracle of the Common-Law frameth in this manner,

It is agreed, that no man onely can make any appropriation of any Church, having care of souls, being a thing Ecclesiastical, and to be made to some person Ecclesiastical, but he that hath Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction.

But William the first of himself, without any other (as King of England) made appropriation of Churches, with cure to Ecclesiastical persons, as by many instances may appear.

Therefore it followeth, that He had Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction.

And so much concerning King William's policy, in doing justice to His own power. Proceed we now to His bounty, confirming old, and conferring new favors upon the Church and Clergie.

10. First,

King William  
exerciseth the  
power both  
of Pope and  
Arch Bishop  
in his own  
Dominion.  
a *Radmer*  
*Hist. Nov.*  
*lib. 1. pag. 6.*  
b *idem ibid.*  
Barons not to  
be excommu-  
nicated with-  
out the Kings  
command.

c 7. *Selden*  
*Spicilegium ed*  
*Edmum.*  
*lib. 108.*  
d *Robert of*  
*Gloster*  
e *Camden* &  
*Elizabeth*, Anno  
1584.

f *Radulphus de*  
*dictis*, sub An-  
no 1103.

g *L. Cook* Re-  
ports, fifth  
part de *Jure*  
*Regis Ecclesi-*  
*asticis*, fol. 10.

10. First, whereas before his time the Sheriff and Bishop jointly kept their Courts together, (especially at the two solemn times, about *Easter* and *Michaelmas*) King William, in favour of the Clergie, assigned the Bishops, an entire jurisdiction by themselves, wherein they should have cognizance of all causes, relating to Religion. I say relating to Religion, a latitude of a chequer extension, adequate almost to the minde of him that will stretch it out, and few Ecclesiastical Judges would lose, what might be got by measuring. Now formerly, whilst the power of Sheriff, and Bishop went hand in hand together in the same Court, neither could much outstrip other; but since they were severed, the Spiritual power far outwent its old mate, improving his own, by impairing the Secular Courts; and henceforward the Canon-law took the firmer footing in England; Date we from hence the *Squinties* of the Clergie, whose sight (single before) was hereafter divided with double looks betwixt two objects at once; the Pope and the King, (to put him first whom they eyed most) acting hereafter more by forraign, then domestick interest.

11. A learned pen makes a just complaint, that *B Courts which should distribute peace, do themselves practice duels, whilst it is counted the part of a resolute Judge to enlarge the privilege of his Court*. A grievance most visible in contest, betwixt the Common, and the Canon Law; which, as if they were flars of so different an Horizon, that the elevation of the one necessitated the depression of the other, lie at catch, and wait advantages one against another. So that, whilst both might continue in a convenient and healthful habitude, if such envious corrivalitie were deposed, now alternately those Courts swell to a tympany, or waste to a consumption, as their Judges find themselves, more, or less strengthened with power, or befriended with favour. A mischief not to be remedied, till, either that mutual consent, or a predominant power to both, impartially state their jurisdictions, rightly setting down the land-marks thereof, and binding their proceedings not to exceed their bounds, which would both advance learning, and expedite the execution of Justice.

12. To return to King William: As he conferred power on, so he confirmed profit to the Clergie. Witnes his Charter, granting them thoroughout England, tythes of calves, colts, lambs, milk, butter, cheefe, woods, meadows, mills, &c. Which Charter is concluded 'tis the strong hem keeps all the cloth from raveling out) *Qui decimam deinceps, per justitiam Episcopi, & Regis (si necesse fuerit) ad redditionem & arguatur: who shall detain his tythes, by the power of the Bishop, and King (if need be) let him be argued into the payment thereof*. And Kings arguments, we know, are unanswerable, as *ab autoritate*, carrying power and penalties with them. This Charter might seem to give the tenth loaf, of all the bread in the land, into the hands of the English Clergie. But the municipal laws, which were afterwards made, did lo chip and pare this loaf, with their *Modium decimandi*, that in many places (Vicaridges especially) a small shiver of bread falls to the share of the Minister, not enough for his necessary maintenance.

13. And here, to make a short, but needful digression, I finde in eminent Writers, two contrary characters of King William. Some make him an arrand Tyrant, ruling onely by the *Magna Charta* of his own will, oppressing all English without cause, or measure. No author need to be alledged for the avouching thereof, the thing being author for it self, being so notoriously known, and generally believed. Others make him to quit his title by Conquests, and hold the Crown, partly by Bequest from King Edward the Confessor, whose good laws he is said to confirm (*Leges bonas Regis Edwardi quas Guilielmus bastardus postea confirmavit*) and partly by compact with his people. Yea, the Chronicles of *Litchfield* make him to call a Parliament in effect; I mean, a Meeting of his Clergie and Nobility in a great Council; where, as if he had turn'd perfect English-man, he conformed his practice to their ancient constitutions.

14. Should

Bishops jurisdic-  
tions first  
severed from  
the Sheriffs,  
see this cited  
by *McSiden*  
in his  
notes on *Ed-*  
*mund's*, pag.  
167.

The content  
betwixt Com-  
mon Law, how  
onely to be  
reconciled.  
A Lord Bacon  
in his ad-  
vancement of  
Learning,  
pag. 463.  
Aphorisme  
95.

King William  
his Charter to  
the Clergie.  
See it at  
large in Mr  
*Selden* of  
tythes, cap. 8.  
pag. 225.  
d Others read  
it *adignare*,  
let him be  
compelled.

Two contrary  
characters of  
King William.

e See Mr *Sel-*  
*den*, *supra*.



and therefore prodigal in *Lanckfranks* praise, an Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and great promoter of monastical life. Indeed there was a design, driven on by *walkelines*, Bishop of *Winchester* (who had privately wrought the King to abet it) to reintroduce Secular Priests into Monks places, till *Lanckfranks*, getting notice, defeated the plot; procuring, that all such Monks, whom he had first noticed in their Convents, were afterwards riveted therein by Papal authority.

21. About this time a constitution was made, that Bishops should remove their Sees, from petty towns to populous places. This reason being rendered for their removal, *Ne vilesceret Episcopalis dignitas*, by their long lying in so little villages. Such Bishops Churches could not properly be called *Cathedrals*, who late not upon *chairs*, but *low stools*, so inconsiderably small were some places of their residences. A fair candle-stick, advantageously set, in some sense may be said to give light to the candle it self; and Episcopal lustre will be the brighter, if placed in eminent Cities. Besides, Bishops having now gotten Canon-Law, and distinct Courts by themselves, much people repaired unto their Consistories, which conveniently could not be accommodated in little villages, but required bigger places for their better entertainment. In order to this command, the Bishop of *Dorchester*, near *Oxford*, removed to *Lincoln*, as somewhat before, *Selsey* was translated to *Chichester*; and *Sherborne* to *Sarisbury*; and; not long after, *Thetford* to *Norwich*. Now, as these Cities, to which they removed, being great before, and grew greater afterwards: so those places which they left, *Dorchester* and *Selsey* especially decayed to contemptible villages, it faring with places, as with persons; the rich grow richer still, and the meaner are daily diminished.

22. As these Bishops accounted themselves well busied, in removing their Bishopricks: so some, I am sure, were ill employed in endeavouring to remove a good Bishop, I mean *Wulfstan*, from his Church of *Worcester*. As the Poets feign of *Jacobs*, that he had two faces, because living before, and after the flood; so this *Wulfstan* may be charactered accordingly, made Bishop before, but continuing his place long after the Norman inundation. But, in what sense soever he may be said to have two faces, he had but one heart, and that a single and sincere one to God, and all goodness; yet his adversaries heaved at him, to cast him out of his Bishoprick (because an Englishman of the old stamp) but he fate safe, right-poised therein, with his own gravity and integrity. And, being urged to resign his *staff and rings*, (ensignes of his Episcopacy) he refused to surrender them to any man alive, but willingly offered them up at the Tomb of *Edward* the Confessor, from whom he received them. This his gratitude to his dead Patron, and candid simplicity in neglecting the pomp of his place, procured him much favour, and occasioned his peaceable confirmation in his Bishoprick.

23. At this time several Liturgies were used in *England*, which caused confusion, and much disturbed mens devotions. Yea, which was worse, a brawl, yea, a battle happened betwixt the English Monks of *Glastenbury*, and *Thurstan*, their Norman Abbot, in their very Church, obtruding a *service* upon them, which they disliked. Unfit persons to fight (being by their profession men of peace) and unfitter the place for a quarrel. \* *Have ye not houses to eat and drink in?* saith *St Paul* to the *Corinthians*, or *despise ye the Church of God?* Was there no other room in their Convent, for them to fall out, and fight in, but their Church alone? Here was an *Holy War* indeed, when Church-forms, candle-sticks, and Crucifixes, were used for shields, by the Monks, against the Abbot's armed-men, brought in against them. Nor was *Holy-water* onely, but much blood spilled in the place; eight Monks being wounded, and \* two slain (or if you will sacrificed) near the steps of the High Altar. But this accident, ill in it self, was then conceived good in event thereof, because occasioning a settlement, and uniformity of Liturgie

Bishops Sees removed from villages to cities.

Wulfstan simplicity gave his Bishoprick.

The original of *Secundum usum Sarum*.

\* 1 Cor. 11. 22.

\* Fulgium an ancient, and authentic Chronicle, cited by Mr Fox pag. 233.

Anno Dom. 1067. Regi Gul. Conq

all over *England*. For hereupon *Osmond*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, devised that *Ordinary*, or form of Service, which hereafter was observed in the whole Realm: his Churches practice being a precedent, and the devotion therein a direction to all others. Henceforward the most ignorant Parish-Priest in *England* (though having no more Latin in all his treasury) yet understood the meaning of, *Secundum usum Sarum*, that all Service must be ordered, *According to the course and custom of Salisbury Church*.

24. I finde no Jews in *England* (no deviation I hope from Church-History, to touch at the Synagogue) before the Reign of the Conqueror, who brought many from *Rome* in *Normandy*, and settled them in *London*, *Norwich*, *Cambridge*, *Northampton*, &c. In what capacity these Jews came over, I finde not; perchance as plunderers, to buy such oppressed English mens goods, which Christians would not meddle with. Sufficient it us to know, that an invasion by Conquest (such as King *William* then made) is like an Inn-entertaining all adventurers; and it may be these Jewish bankers assisted the Conquerour with their coin. These Jews (though forbidden to buy land in *England*) grew rich by usury (their consciences being so wide, that they were none at all) so that in the barest pasture (in which a Christian would stave) a Jew would grow fat, he bites so close unto the ground. And ever low down their backs, is part of Gods curse upon the Jews. And crook-back'd men, as they eye the earth, the center of wealth; so they quickly see (what straight persons pals by) and easily stoop to take up that they finde thereon; and therefore no wonder, if the Jewish nation, whose souls are bowed down with covetousness, quickly wax wealthy therewith. King *William* favoured them very much; and *Rufus*, his Son, much more; especially, if that speech reported of him be true, that he should swear by *St Luke's face* (his common oath) if <sup>b</sup> the Jews could overcome the Christians, he himself would become one of their self.

25. Now was the time come of King *William's* death, ending his days in *Normandy*. But see the unhappines of all humane felicity; for, his breath, and his servants forsook him both together; the later leaving him, as if his body should bury it self. How many hundreds held land of him in *Knights-service*; whereas now, neither Knight, nor Elquire to attend him. At last, with much ado, his corps are brought in mean manner to be interred in *Cane*. As they were prepared for the earth, a private person forbids the burial, till satisfaction was made unto him, because the King had violently taken from him that ground, on which that Church was erected. Doth not *Solomon* say truly, *A living dog is better then a dead lion*; when such a little curr durst snarle at the corps of a King, and a Conqueror? At last the Monks of *Cane* made a composition, and the body was buried. And, as it was long before this Kings corps could get peaceable possession of a grave; so since by a firm ejection he hath been ousted of the same. When French fouldiers <sup>c</sup> *Ann Domini* 1562. (amongst whom some English were mingled) under *Chatillon* conducting the remnant of those which escaped in the battel of *Dreux*, took the City of *Cane*, in his way (our of pretence, forsooth, to seek for some treasure supposed to be hid in his Tomb) most barbarously and cowardly brake up his coffin, and cast his bones out of the same.

26. *William* the Conquerour left three sons, *Robert*, *William*, and *Henry*; and, because hereditary fir-names were not yet fixed in families, they were thus denominated, and distinguished;

1. The eldest from his goods of fortune (to which cloaths are reduced) *Robert Curthose*, from the *short hose* he wore; not onely for fancy, but sometime for need, cutting his coat according to his cloath: his means, all his life long, being scant and necessitous.
2. The second from the goods of his body, viz. a ruddy complexion, *William Rufus*, or, *Red*. But, whether a lovely, and amiable; or

The first coming of the Jews into *England*. A Survey of *London*, in *Columan* direct Ward.

<sup>b</sup> Some Survey of *London* pag. 259. The death of King *William*, with the difficulty of his burial.

<sup>c</sup> Some Chron. at the death of King *William*

The three sons of the Conqueror, how denominated.

22. Sept. 9.

Sept. 9. 1087

10	The Church-History of Britain.	XI. Cent.
King William Rufus crowned.	<p>or ireful, and cholerick Red, the Reader on perusal of his life, is best able to decide.</p> <p>3. The third from the goods of his minde, and his rich abilities of learning, Henry Beauclerke, or, the good scholar.</p> <p>The middlemost of these, William Rufus, presuming on his brother Roberts absence in Normandy, and pretending his Father got the Crown by Conquest, which by will he bequeathed unto him (his eldest brother being then under a cloud of his Fathers displeasure) adventured to possess himself of the Kingdom.</p> <p>27. On the Twentie sixth of September, Lanckfrank, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, with good wolstan, Bishop of Worcester, assisting him, Crowned Rufus King of England, though but his Fathers second son. And indeed, the known policy of the former, and the reputed piety of the latter, were the best supporters of his title. Jacobs we know (acted with a propheticall spirit) guiding his a hands wittingly, laid his right on Ephraim the yonger, and his left on Manasseh the elder brother: but, what warrant these Bishops had to invert, and transpoise natures method, by preferring the yonger brother, before the elder, was best known to themselves. Under Lanckfrank he had his education, who b made him a Knight, though it had been more proper for his Tutors profession, yea, and more for his credit, and his Pupils profit, if he (as the instrument) had made him a good Christian.</p> <p>28. He began very bountifully, but on another mans cost; not as a Donor, but a Dealer thereof, and Executor of his Fathers Will. To some Churches he gave c ten mark, to others six, to every country village five shillings, besides an hundred pound to every County, to be distributed among the poor. But afterward he proved most parcimonious, though no man more prodigal of never performed promises. Indeed Rehoboam, though simple, was honest, speaking to his Subjects, though foolishly, yet truly according to his intent, that his d finger should be heavier then his fathers loins: Whereas Rufus was false in his proceedings, who, on the imminence of any danger or distress (principally to secure himself against the claim of his brother Robert) instantly to oblige the English, promised them the releasing of their taxes, and the restoring of the English Laws: but, on the sinking of the present danger, his performance sunk accordingly; no letter of the English Laws restored, or more mention thereof, till the returning of the like State storme, occasioned the reviving of his promise; and alternately, the clearing up of the one, decaded the performance of the other.</p> <p>29. This year died Lanckfrank, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury: after whose death, the King seized the profits of that See, into his own hand, and kept the Church vacant for some years; knowing, the emptiness of Bishopricks caused the fulness of his coffers. Thus Arch-Bishop Rufus, Bishop Rufus, Abbot Rufus (for so may he be called, as well as King Rufus; keeping at the same time the Arch-Bishopricks of Canterbury, the Bishopricks of Winchester, and Durham, and thirteen Abbies in his hand) brought a mals of money into his Exchequer. All places which he parted with, was upon present payment, Simon e Magnus with his hands full of money, would carry any thing from Simon Peter, with his f Silver and gold have I none. Yea, John Bishop of Wells, could not remove his seat to Bath, nisi e also unguento manibus Regis delibatis, unless he had moistned the Kings hands with white ointment; though a lcs proportion, of a yellow colour, would have been more soveraign to the same use. And picking a quarrel with Remigius, Bishop of Lincoln, about the founding of his Cathedral, he forced him to buy his peace, at the price of a thousand marks.</p>	<p>Anno Dom. 1087.</p> <p>Anno Regis Ruf. 3.</p>
a Gen. 48. 14.		1088 Sept. 2.
b Mat. Paris pag. 14.		
His covetousness and inconstancy. e Chronicon Johannis Brom. tom. pag. 83.		
d 1 King. 12. 11.		
His enriching himself by Church livings.		1089. 3.
f AEs 8. 12. f AEs 3. 6. g Mat. Paris pag. 17.		
30. But		

III. Book.	The Church-History of Britain.	11
<p>Anno Dom. 1093.</p> <p>Anno Regis Ruf. 1.</p>	<p>30. But in the mid't of his mirth, King Rufus, coming to Gloucester, fell desperately sick, and began to bethink himself of his ill-lod life. As all aches, and wounds prick, and pain moit the nearer it draweth to night; so, a guilty conscience is moit active to torment men, the nearer they conceive themselves approaching to their death. Hereupon he resolveth to rectifie all ill-gotten goods, releafe all persons unjustly imprisoned, and supply all empty places with able Pastors. In pursuance hereof, he made Anselme (the Abbot of Beck in Normandy) one of eminent learning, and holmes of life, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury; which place he was hardly perwaded, with much importunity, to accept. The first eminent act, of his Archiepiscopal office, which we finde, was, when preaching at the Court on Ash-wednesday, he denied a Abbes and Absolution to all those Courtiers, who affected effeminate-ness in their behaviour; especially, in wearing their hair long, and kemb'd like women. A sin, no doubt; for, whereas Tertullian calls the length of womens hair, Sarcina sue humilitatis, the same in men (so promiscuously worn) may be called, Sarcina sue superbie.</p> <p>31. There passeth a memorable expression of Anselme's, cried up, and commended by some, for a master-piece of devotion; namely, That he had rather be in hell without sin, then in heaven with sin; which b others condemn as an unflavour'd speech, not according to Scripture-phrases, as from one not sufficiently acquainted with the justification of a Christian man. Indeed, some high-flown expressions often knock at the door of blasphemy, but yet not with any intention to enter in thereat; in which we are more to minde the sense, then the found of the words. Amongst those may this of Anselme's be ranked, uttered no doubt in a zealous detestation of sin; yea, which charitably may be defended in the very letter thereof. For, Adam (we know) was some c while in Paradise (Heavens suburbs) after the eating of the forbidden-fruit, yet was sensible of no pleasure therein, which made him hide himself, as proscrued by his guilty conscience; and some of the Ancients conceive, that Christ went locally to hell, yet no pain did seize on him there, seeing sorrow can arrest none, but at the issue of sin going before.</p> <p>32. But, to leave Anselme's words, let us come to his deeds. Who was scarce warm in his Arch-Bishopricks, when the King sent to him for a thousand pound; which sum, being so small in it self (Rufus usually demanding more of lcs Bishopricks) and that after his entrance on his See, free from any precontract, might have passed without the suspicion of Simony, under the notion of a meer gratuity. However, Anselme refused to pay it, because he would avoid the appearance of evil. Others d say, that he freely sent the King five hundred pounds, with this complement; that, though it was the first, it should not be the last he would present to his Majesty: which the King in choler refused, because short to the sum he expected. Indeed, Rufus only retained this of, all his Archiepiscopal education (being bred under Lanckfrank, as is aforesaid) that thereby he experimentally knew the sweetness of Church-preferments; and in his bargain and sale, let a rate upon them accordingly, being after his recovery from his sickness, far more fordid, and sacrilegious then before.</p> <p>33. Amongst the many Simoniacal Prelates that swarmed in the land, Herbert Bishop of Thetford, must not be forgotten; nick-named (or fir-named shall I say?) Lofeng, that is, the Flatterer; our old English word leasings, for lying, retains some affinity therunto, and at this day we call an insinuating fellow, a Glozing companion. Though the best perwasisiveness of his flattery, consisted in down-right arguments of gold, and silver. For, guilty of the hereditary sin of Simony (his father formerly having bought the Abby of Ramsey) he purchased the Bishopricks of Thetford of the King. But afterward he posted to Rome, confessed his fault, and was absolved from the guilt thereof. Thus, as the leprosie of Naaman was washed away in Jordan, so that e his flesh came again as the flesh of a little child, and he was clean: so this</p>	<p>His sickness &amp; resolution of amendment.</p> <p>a Edmerus Nivernus, lib. 1. pag. 23.</p> <p>Anselme's expression questioned. b Mr Fox AEs and Monum. vol. 1. pag. 240.</p> <p>c Gen. 3.</p> <p>d Edmerus Nivernus, lib. 1. pag. 22.</p> <p>e 2 Kings 5. 14.</p>
C c 2		





death. At that time, the present providing of good fwords, was accounted more essential to a Kings Coronation, then the long preparing of gay clothes. Such preparatory pomp as was used in after-ages at this Ceremony, was now conceived, not only useless, but dangerous, speed being safest to supply the vacancy of the Throne. To ingratiate himself to the English, he instantly, and actually repealed (for his brother *William* had put all the Land out of love, and liking of fair promises) the cruel *Norman Laws*. Laws written in bloud, made more in favour of Deer, then of Men; more to manifest the power, and pleasure of the impuler, then for the good, and protection of the Subject; wherein, sometimes, mens mischances were punished, for their misdeeds. Yea, in a manner King *Henry* gave eyes to the blind in winter-nights; I mean, light to them who formerly lived (though in their own houses) in uncomfortable darkness, after eight a clock; when heretofore the *Curfew-bell* did ring the knell of all the fire, and candle-light in English families. But now these rigorous Edicts were totally repealed; the good, and gentle Laws of *Edward* the Confessor generally revived; the late Kings extorting Publicanes (whereof *Raoulf Flambard*, Bishop of *Durham*, the principal) closely imprisoned; the Court-corruption, by the Kings command, studiously reformed; adultery (then grown common) with the loss of virility, severely punished; *Anselme* from exile speedily recalled; after his return, by the King heartily welcomed; by the Clergie, solemnly and ceremoniously received; he to his Church; his lands, and goods to him fully restored; *English* and *Normans* lovingly reconciled; all interests, and persons seemingly pleased; *Robert*, the Kings elder brother (though absent in the Holy-Land) yet scarcely missed; and so this Century, with the first year of King *Henric*'s reign, seasonably concluded.

Anno Dom. 1100.  
Anno Regis Hen. I.

The end of the eleventh Century.

CENT.

## CENT. XII.

JOHANNI FITZJAMES

DE LEUSTON,

In Com. Dorset. ARMIG.

**N**on desunt in hoc nostro seculo, qui Librorum Dedicaciones penè ducunt superstitiosum, planè superfluum; sic enim argutuli ratiocinamur. Liber, si bonus, Patrono non indiget, suo Marte pergat; si malus, Patrono ne sit dedecori, suo merito pereat.

Habeo tamen quod huic dilemmati possim revertere. Liber Meus, nec bonus nec malus, sed quiddam medium inter utrumque. Bonum, ipse non ausum pronuntiare, cum plurimis Mendis Laboret: Malum, alii spero non dijudicent; cum Legentibus possit esse usui.

Sub hac dubia Conditione, vel Adversariis nostris Judicibus, opus hoc nostrum, Patronum sibi ascrivere, & potest & debet; Et sub aliis Clientela tua qui tam MARTE præstas quam MERCURIO, foveri serio triumphat.

Hen. I. 1101.

I.



**G**raue *Anselme* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, espoused and married *Maud* (daughter of *Malcolme* King of the *Scots*, and *S<sup>t</sup> Margaret* his wife) to *Henry* King of *England*. Shee had been a professed *Volary*, and was pressed by the importunity of her parents and friends, for Politick ends, to this marriage; insonuch as in the bitterness of her soul, (able to appale the writer hereof, seeing his ink our-black'd with her expression)

she devoted the fruits of her body to the *Devil*, because they would not permit her to perform her promise of *Virginitie*. Thus a *Matthew Paris*. But the Reader reserveth his other ear for the relation of *Eadmerus*, reporting this story after a different, yea contrary manner, as followeth.

2. The aforesaid *Maud*, when a Girl, lived under the tuition and correction of *Christian* her Aunt, and Abbess of *Wilton*, at what time the *Norman* souldiers conquering the Kingdom, did much destroy, and more endanger virgins by their violence. *Christian* therefore to preserve this her Niece,

clapt

The Hellish imprecation of *Maud* when married to King *Henry*.

a Hist. Ang. in Hen. I. anno 1101.

The story otherwise told by *Eadmerus* an eye and ear witness.

*Here*

d *Camdens*  
Brit. pag. 173.

14 A R now was begun, no wonder if Church-men made Knights: And that Age conceived that a Knights Sword dipt in Holy water was well tempered, and became true metal indeed: why Abbots were now prohibited to confer this honor, the cause is not rendered; whether because it made KNIGHT-wood too common, or that this Priviledg was reserved only for higher Prelates, such as Bishops and Arch-Bishops were, or that it was an encroachment upon the Royal dignity, it being as proper for Kings to ordain Priests, as for Abbots to dub Knights. This is most sure, that notwithstanding this Canon, a King Henry the first, some years after granted, and King John confirmed to the Abbot of Reading, the power of Knighting persons, with some cautions of their behaviour therein.

a 7 Selden ad Eadmer. Specul. leg. 207.

19. That Monks enjoyn no Pennance to any, without permission of their Abbot, and that only to such persons, whereof they have cure of Souls.
20. That Monks and Nuns be not God-fathers or God-mothers.
21. That Monks hold no Lands in Farm.
22. That Monks take no Churches by the Bishops, and that they spoyl not such as are given unto them of the Revenues, but so that the Priests serving in those Cures, and the Churches might be provided with necessaries.
23. That Faith in way of marriage, pledged secretly and without witness, betwixt man and woman, be of no effect if either party do deny it.
24. That Crinitis, such as wear long hair be so fhaven, that part of their Ears may appear, and their Eyes not be covered.

Crinitis are opposed to Tonfis, extended to all Lay-persons. If any demand how it came within the cognizance of the Church to provide about their trimming, (which might well have been left to the parties pleasure, and his Barbers skill) know this Canon was built on the Apostles words, b doth not even nature it self teach you, that if a man have long hair it is a shame unto him. And the Church forbade whatsoever was a Trepass against Christian decency. c Gildas greiveth this Character of the Pits: Eurciferos magis vultus pilos quam Corporum pudenda vestibus tegentes, that they covered rather their Thievish Eyes with their hair, then their shame with Cloaths: which Ruffin-like custom of long hair now used by the Normans, was here justly restrained.

b 1 Cor. 11. 34.

c De excid. Britan. fol. 6.

25. That parties akin to the Seventh Generation be not coupled in marriage; and that persons so coupled remain not in Marriage; and if any be privy to this Incest, and not declare it, let him know himself to be guilty of the same crime.

This brought much Grief to the Popes Mill for Dispensations. As secular Princes used to slip travellers on common Bridges, or at the entrance of Gates, not with intent finally to forbid their going further, but to receive Tole or Custom for their passing by: So the Pope prohibited these degrees in marriage, not absolutely to hinder such matches, but to receive large Summes of money for his leave; after whose faculties obtained, if such marriage were against the Law of God, men did sin not with less guiltiness, but more Expences.

26. That the Bodies of the Dead be not carried to be buried out of their own Parishes, so that the Parish Priest should lose his due unto him.
27. That none out of a rash novelty, (which we know to have happened) exhibit reverence of Holiness to any Bodies of the Dead, fountains or other things, without Authority from the Bishop.

28. That

Anno Dom. 1105.  
Anno Regis Henr. 6.

28. That none presume hereafter (what hitherto men used in England) to sell Men like brute Beasts.

This Constitution, as all others, which concerned the Subjects Civil right, found not general obedience in the Kingdom. For the proceedings of the Canon Law were never wholly received into practice in the Land; but so as made Subjects in whatsoever touched temporals, to secular Laws and national Customs. And the Laytie, at pleasure, limited Canons in this behalf. Nor were such sales of servants, being mens proper goods, so weakened with this prohibition, but that long after they remained legal according to the Laws of the Land.

a See Mr Selden, Specul. leg. ad Eadmerum, pag. 228.

29. That the sin of Sodometry, both in Clergie and Laytie, should be punished with heavy Censures.

Remarkable that the same Synod which forbade Priests Marriage, found it needful to punish Sodometry, an Italian Vice, beginning now to be naturalized in England. For those who endeavour to make the way to heaven narrower than God hath made it, by prohibiting what he permits, do in event make the way to hell wider, occasioning the committing of such sins, which God hath forbidden. We may further observe, that the plaister now applied to the rotten sore of Sodometry, was too gentle, too narrow, and too little time laid on. Too gentle; for whereas the sin is conceived to deserve death, it was only lubber'd over, that the party convicted of this wickedness, if in Orders was admitted to no higher honour, and deposed from what he had, till restored again on his repentance. Too narrow, if it be true what one observes, that b At O N K S (as neither merely Lay nor Priests) were not threatened with this Curse, where all was hidden in Cloysters. Lastly, too little time laid on; for whereas at first it was constituted, that such Excommunication of Sodomites convicted, should solemnly be renewed every Lords Day; this short-lived Canon did die in the birth thereof, and Anselme himself c postponi conceffit, suffered it to be omitted, on pretence that it put basely into many mens minds, whose corruption abused the punishment of sin in the provocation thereof; whilst others conceive this relaxation indulged, in favour to some great offenders, who hardened in Conscience, but tender in Credit, could not endure to be so solemnly, publicly, and frequently grated with the shame of the sin they had committed.

b Bate in the Acts of English Votaries, second part, chap. 74.  
c Eadmerus ut prius.

So much for the Constitutions of that Synod, wherein though Canons were provided for Priests, Cap a Pe, from the shavvaig to the shoes, yet not a syllable of their instructing the people and preaching Gods word unto them. We must not forget, that men guilty of Simony in the first Canon, are not taken in the Vulgar acception, for such as were promoted to their places by money, but in a new coyned fence of that word; for those who were advanced to their Dignities by investiture from the King, which gave occasion to the long and hot Broil, happening betwixt King Henry, and Anselme, which now we come to relate.

4. The King commanded him to Consecrate such Bishops, as he lately had invested; namely, William of Winchester, Roger of Hereford, &c. which Anselme refused, because flatly against the Canon newly made in the Council of Rome, by Pope Urban, that any who had their entrance, by the Authority of temporal Princes should be admitted to Bishopricks. Hereupon the King enjoyned Gerard Arch-Bishop of York to Consecrate them; who out of opposition to Anselme his Competitor, was as officious to comply with the

Anselme refuses to consecrate the Kings Bishops.

D d 2

King

4 1103

King, as the other was backward, hoping thereby to hitch his Church a degree the higher, by help of his Royal Favour. Here hapned an unexpected accident: For *William*, Bishop of *Winchester*, refused Consecration from the Arch-Bishop of *Tork*, and resigned his staff and ring, back again to the King, as illegally from him. This discomposed all the rest. For whereas more then the moiety of Ecclesiastical persons in *England*, were all in the same condemnation, as invited by the King, the very multitude of offenders would have excused the offence, if loyal to their own cause. Whereas now this defection of the Bishop of *Winchester*, to brake the ranks, and maimed their entireties; that their cause thereby was cast by their own confession, and so a party raised among them against themselves.

Anselme sent  
to Rome.

5. Soon after, the King was contented that *Anselme* should go to *Rome*, to know the Popes pleasure herein. But one, none of the *Conclave*, without a propheticall spirit, might easily have foretold the resolution of his Holiness herein: never to part with power, whereof (how injuriously soever) though but pretently possessed. *Anselme*, for his compliance with the Pope herein, is forbidden to return into *England*, while the King seileth on his temporalities.

The King  
parts with his  
investing of  
Bishops.

6. However, not long after, by mediation of friends, they are reconciled; the King disclaiming his right of Investitures, a weak and timorous act, of so wise and valiant a Prince; whose Predecessors before the Conquest held this power (though some time loosely) in their own hands; and his Predecessors since the Conquest gaup'd it fast in their fists, in defiance of such Popes as would finger it from them. Whereas now he let it go out of his hand, whilst his Successors in vain, though with a long arm, reach't after it to recover it. And now *Anselme*, who formerly refused, consecrated all the Bishops of vacant Sees; amongst whom, *Roger* of *Salisbury* was a prime person, first preferred to the Kings notice, because he began prayers quickly, and ended them speedily; for which quality he was commended as fittest for a Chaplain in the Camp, and was not unwelcome to the Court on the same account.

Anselme for-  
bids Priests  
marriage.

7. *Anselme* having deposed the King of investing Bishops (one of the fairest robes in his *ivory-robe*) did soon after deprive the Clergie of one half of themselves. For, in a solemn Synod he forbad Priests Marriage; wherein, as charitably we believe, his intentions pious and commendable, and patiently behold his pretences, specious and plausible: so we can not but pronounce his performance for the present, injurious and culpable, and the effects thereof for the future pernicious, and damnable. And here we will a little enlarge our selves on this subject of so high concernment.

Only by a  
Church Con-  
stitution.  
a In . . .  
q. an. 22. at  
11.  
b Lib. 7. de Je-  
fuit. post. 3.  
art. 2.

8. It is contested on all sides, that there is no *express* in Scripture to prohibit Priests Marriage. *a Thomas*, and *b Scotus* commonly crows (as if reason enough for the later to deny, because the former affirmed it) do both (such the strength of truth) agree herein. Only Ecclesiastical Constitutions forbid them Marriage. And, though many Popes tampered heretofore, none effectually did drive the nail to the head, till *Hildebrand*, alias *Gregory* the seventh (the better man the better deed) finally interdicted Priests Marriage. However his Constitutions, though observed in *Italy* and *France*, were not generally obeyed in *England*; till *Anselme* at last forbad Married Priests to officiate, or any Lay-people, under pain of censure, to be present at their Church-service.

Grounded on  
double cer-  
e.

9. Herein he proceeded on two erroneous principles. One, that all men have, or may have (if using the means) the gift of *Continencie*. Wherein they do not distinguish betwixt,

1. Common gifts, which God bestoweth on all his servants, *Jude* c. 3. Common salutation.
2. Proper gifts, thus the *c* Apostle, when he had wished all himself

c 1 Cor. 7.

Anno  
Dom.  
1105.

Anno  
Regis  
Hen. 1  
6.

1106.

1107.

Anno  
Regis  
Hen. 1  
2.

Anno  
Dom.  
1107

himself (that is, able to contain) he immediately addeth, *But every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that.*

His other false supposition is, That Marriage is either inconsistent with, or at least impeditive to the purity of Priestly profession.

10. The falseness whereof appeareth by the precedent of *Enoch*, in whom met the threefold capacity of King, Priest, and Prophet. Yet his Marriage remitted not the reins of his Princely power, hindered not the performance of his Sacerdotal function, rebated not the edge of his Propheticall spirit; for, *a He walked with God, and begat sons and daughters*. He made not a prayer the less for having a child the more; and let us be but alike holy with *Enoch*, and let others be more holy with *Anselme*.

Parasourne  
business in a  
married per-  
son.

a Gen. 5. 22.

11. Wherefore when the *b* Apostle saith, *He that is married careth for the things which are of this world, how he may please his wife*, therein he describeth, not that height of God-pleasing, which Marriage ought, and in it self may, and by *Enoch* was improved; but expresth such faults which through humane corruption too commonly come to pass. Which are *ita mariti, non matrimonii; uxoris, non uxoris*, flowing neither from the essence, nor from the exercise of Marriage, but only from the depraved use thereof, which by Gods assistance, and mans best endeavours, may be rectified and amended.

St Paul ex-  
pounded.  
b 1 Cor. 7. 33.

12. It is therefore falsely charged on Marriage, *quod* Marriage, that it is an hindrance to Hospitality; starving the poor to feed a family. It is contested it would break Marriage, if *ceteris paribus*, she should offer to vie bounty with Virginity; only the may equal Virginity in cheerfulness of her giving, and in the discreet choice of fit objects, whereon to bestow it. Yet give me leave to say, in a married family there be commonly most mouths, and where most mouths, there probably most bread is eaten, and where most bread is eaten, there certainly most crumbs fall beneath the table, so that the poor are fasted by those fragments. If any rejoyce, that single folke bestow their almes, not by crumbs, but whole loaves; the worst I wish is, that poor people may finde the truth thereof. Nor doth the having of children *quod* children make men covetous, seeing *Salomon* saw a man, *c who had neither child nor brother, yet his eye was not satisfied with riches*. On the other side, I finde two in one and the same *d* Chapter, professing they had enough, viz. *Esaue* and *Jacob*, both of them married, both of them parents of many children.

And marriage  
defended.

c Eccles. 4. 8.

d Gen. 33. 5.  
11.

13. And here well may we wonder at the partiality of the Papists, over-exalting Marriage in the Laity, to a Sacrament; and too much deprecating the same in Priests, as no better then refined fornication. Yea, some have made Virginity the corn, and Marriage the cockle: which is a wonder that they should be of several kinds, seeing Virginity is but the fruit, and Marriage the root thereof. But, amongst all the foul mouths bellicelling Marriage, one rayling Rhymer, of *Anselmes* age, bore away the bell (drinking surely of *Syx* instead of *Helicon*) and I am confident my translation is good enough for his bald verses.

A Monks ver-  
tes, as bald  
as his crown.

*c O male viventes, versus audite sequentes;  
Uxores vestras, quas odit summa potestas,  
Liquite propter eum, tenet qui moris tropheum.  
Quod si non facitis, inferni claustra petitis:  
Christi sponsa jubet, ne Presbyter ille ministraret,  
Qui tenet uxorem, Domini quia perdit amorem.  
Contradictores fore dicimus insipientes,  
Non ex rancore loquor hec, potius sed amore.*

*e Found in  
Ramsay Ab-  
bey, in a  
Treatise De  
Monachu, ci-  
ted by John  
Bale.*

O ye that ill live, attention geve, unto my following rhythmes;  
 Your wives, those dear mates, whom the highest power hates, see that ye leave  
 them betimes.

Leave them for his sake, who a conquest did make, and a crown and a cross did  
 acquire,

If any sayno, I give them to know, they must all unto Hell for their hire.  
 The Spouse of Christ forbids that Priest his ministerial function,  
 Because he did part with Christ in his heart, at his marriage-conjunction.  
 We count them all mad (if any so bad) as daring herein to contest;  
 Nor is it of sight, that this I indite, but out of pure love, I protest.

Where did this rayling Monk ever read, that God hated the wives of Priests?  
 And, did not the Church of Rome, at this time, come under the character of  
 that defection, described by the <sup>a</sup> Apostle? *That in the latter times some should*  
*depart from the faith, forbidding to marry;* &c.

14. These endeavour (as they are deeply concerned) to wipe off from  
 themselves this badge of Antichrist, by pleading that,

1. They forbid Marriage to } no man.
2. They force Priefthood on }

Only they require of those who freely will enter into the Priesthood, to vow  
 virginity, and command such to part with their wives, who were formerly  
 entered into Orders.

15. All which is alledged by them but in vain, seeing marriage may be  
 forbidden, either *directly*, or *consequentially*. For the first, none, well in their  
 wits, consulting their credit, did ever *point-blank* forbid marriage to all peo-  
 ple. Such would be held as, *hostes humani generis, enemies of man-kinde*, in  
 their destructive doctrines. Nor did any ever absolutely (as it followeth in  
 the same text) *command all to abstain from meats*. This were the way to empty  
 the world of men, as the simple forbidding of marriage would fill it with  
 bastards. And, although some silly Hereticks, as *Tatian, Marcion, and Mani-*  
*chen*, are said absolutely to forbid marriage, yet they never mounted high,  
 nor spread broad, nor lasted long. Surely some more considerable mark is  
 the aim of the Apostles reproof, even the Church of Rome, who by an oblique  
 line, and consequentially, prohibit marriage to the Priests, a most considera-  
 ble proportion of men within the pale of the Church.

16. Notwithstanding the premises, it is fit that the embraces of marriage  
 should on some occasion for a time be forboren, for the advance of  
 Piety; first, when private dalliance is to yield to publick dolefulness, <sup>b</sup> *Let*  
*the Bridegroom go out of his chamber, and the Bride out of her closet*. For though  
 by the Levitical Law, one might not be forced to fight in the first year of his  
 marriage, yet might he on just occasion, be pressed to fast on the first day  
 thereof. It is not said, *Let the Bridegroom go out of his Bridegroomship*, but  
 onely out of his Chamber; and that also with intention to return, when the solemn-  
 ity of sorrow is over-past. Secondly, when such absence is bewixt them mutually  
 agreed on, <sup>c</sup> *De fraud ye not one another, except it be with consent for a time, that*  
*ye may give your selves to fasting and prayer, and come together again, that Satan*  
*tempt you not for your incontinency*. Here indeed is an Interdiction of the mar-  
 riage Bed, but it is *Voluntary*, by mutual consent of the parties; and *Temporary*,  
 onely *durante eorum luctu*, not as the Popish Prohibition, Impulsive, by  
 the power of others, and *perpetual*, to continue during their lives.

17. Hear what Henry of Huntington expressly saith of *Anselmes* carriage  
 herein. He prohibited English Priests to have wives, who before time were not  
 prohibited; which as some thought to be a matter of greatest purity, so others again took  
 it to be most perilous, lest while by this means they aimed at cleanliness above their  
 power,

a 1 Tim. 4. 7.

An ill exa-  
m-Well stopped  
up.Marriage Bed  
may be for-  
boren for a  
time, not to-  
tally forbid-  
den.  
b Joel 2. 11.

c 1 Cor. 7.

H. Hunting-  
ton his Coni-  
tine of Anselme.

power, they should fall into horrible uncleanness, to the exceeding great shame of  
 Christianity.

18. But *Anselme* died, before he could finish his project of *Priests Di-*  
*vorces*, who had he decaied before he began it, his memory had been left less  
 stain'd to Posterity. His two next Successors, *Rodolphus*, and *William Corbel* went  
 on vigorously with the Design, but met with many and great Obstructions.  
 Other Bishops found the like opposition, but chiefly the Bishop of *Norwich*, whose  
 obdurate Clergie would keep their wives, in defiance of his endeavours against  
 them.

19. Indeed *Norfolk-men* are charactred in *jure municipali vestatiissimi*, and are  
 not easily ejected out of that whereof they had long prescription, and present  
 possession; No wonder therefore if they tickled for their wives, and would  
 not let go a moytie of themselves. Besides, *Herbert Losing of Norwich* need-  
 ed not to be so fierce and furious against them, if remembering his own extra-  
 dition, being the Son of an Abbot. These married Priests travell'd their cause  
 with Scripture and Reason, and desired but Justice to be done unto them. But  
 Justice made more use of her sword, then of her Ballance in this case, not neigh-  
 ing their Arguments, but peremptorily and powerfully enjoying them to for-  
 goe their wives, notwithstanding that there were in England, at this time, many  
 married Priests, signal for Sanctity and Abilities.

20. Amongst the many eminent married Priests, flourishing for *Learn-*  
*ing and Piety*, one *Ealphegus* was now living, or but newly dead. His Refi-  
 rence was at *Plymouth* in *Devonshire*. <sup>a</sup> Mr *Camden* saith he was *eruditus &*  
*conjugatus*, but the Word *conjugatus* is by the <sup>b</sup> *Index Expurgatorius* command-  
 ed to be deleted.

21. To order the Refractory married Clergie, the Bishops were fain to  
 call in the aid of the Pope. *John de Crema* an Italian Cardinal, jolly with his  
 youthful Bloud, and Gallant Equipage, came over into England with his  
 Bignefs and Bravery to bluster the Clergie out of their wives. He made a  
 most Gawdy Oration in the Commendation of *Virginity*, as one who in his  
 Own Person knew well how to value such a Jewel, by the loss thereof. Most  
 true it is that the same night at *London*, he was caught a Bed with an <sup>c</sup> Har-  
 lot, whereat he may be presumed to blush as red as his Cardinals Hat, if  
 any remorie of Conscience remained in him. What saith <sup>d</sup> *Deborah*, *In the*  
*dayes of Shamgar, when the high-ways were unemployed (obstructed by the Phil-*  
*istims) travellers walked thorow by-paths*. The stopping the Way of marriage,  
 Gods Ordinances, make them frequent such base by-paths, that my Pen is  
 both afraid and ashamed to follow them. Cardinal *Crema* his mischance (or  
 rather misdeed) not a little advantaged the Reputation of married Priests.

22. Bishops, Arch-Bishops, and Cardinals, all of them almost tired out  
 with the stubbornness of the Reculant Clergie; the King at last took his turn  
 to reduce them. *William Corbel* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* willingly resigned  
 the work into the Kings hand, hoping he would use some Exemplary severity  
 against them; but all ended in a money matter; the King taking a Fine of  
 married Priests, permitted them to enjoy their wives, as well they might, who  
 bought that which was their own before.

23. About this time the old *Abby of Ely* was advanced into a new *Bis-*  
*hoprick*, and *Cambridg-shire* assigned for its Diocess, taken from the *Bisshoprick*  
 of *Lincoln*; Out of which Henry the first carved one [Ely], and Henry the last  
 two [Oxford and Peterborough] *Bisshopricks*, and yet left *Lincoln* the largest  
 Diocess in England. *Spaldenck Manor* in *Huntington-shire* was given to *Lincoln*,  
 in Reparation of the Jurisdiction taken from it, and bestowed on *Ely*.

24. One *Herveyus* was made first *Bisshop of Ely*: One who had been  
 undone, if not undone, banished by the Tumultuous *Welsh*, from the Beggerly  
*Bisshoprick of Bangor*; and now (in Pity to his Poverty and Patience) made  
 the rich *Bisshop of Ely*. It is given to Parents to be most fond of, and indul-  
 gent to their youngests, which some perchance may render as a Reason, why  
 this

Anselme dieth  
in infancy of  
Wichel Divor.The flowers  
of Norwich  
Clergy.Learned mat-  
ried Ealphe-  
gus.  
a Brit. in De-  
von.  
b Printed Anno  
1612, pag. 383.  
c A Virgin-Le-  
cher unmask-  
edc Roger Hove-  
den and Hen.  
Huntington.  
d Judg. 5. 6.Priests buy  
their own  
Wives.Ely. Abbey  
made a Bissho-  
p-ricke.And enriched  
with Royal-  
ties.

St. David's  
council with  
Canterbury.

this *Bishoprick*, as last born, was best beloved by the King. Surely he bestowed upon it vast privileges; and his *Successors* cockering this *See* for their *Darlings*, conferred some of their own *Royalities* thereon.

25. *Bernard*, Chaplain to the King, and Chancellor to the Queen was the first *Norman* made *Bishop* of *St. David's*. Prefuming on his masters favour, and his own merit, he denied subjection to *Canterbury*, and would be, (as anciently had been) an absolute *Arch-Bishop* of himself. Indeed *St. David's* was *Christian* some hundred of years, whilst *Canterbury* was yet *Pagan*; and could these good *Cards* (if but permitted fairly to play them) for *Archiepiscopal Jurisdiction*, even in some respect Equal to *Rome* it self. Witness the ancient riming verse, about the proportions of *Pardons* given to *Pilgrims* for their visiting *Religious places*,

*Roma semel quantum his dat Menavia tantum.*

Not that *St. David's* gives a peck of *Pardons* where *Rome* gives but a gallon (as the words at the first blush may seem to import) but that two *Pilgrimages* to *St. David's*, should be equal in merit to one *Pilgrimage* to *Rome*, such was the conceived *Holiness* of that place.

Imper Congress.  
fut.

26. *Giraldus Cambrensis* states the Case truly and briefly. That *Canterbury* hath long prescription, plenty of Lawyers to plead her *Title*, and store of money to pay them. Whereas *St. David's* is poor, remote out of the road of preferment; intimating no less, that it equally accommodated she could set on foot as good an *Archiepiscopal Title*, as *Canterbury* it self. But he addeth, that except some great alteration happeneth (understand him, except *Wales* recover again into an absolute *Principality*) *St. David's* is not likely to regain her ancient Dignity. *William*, *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, aided by the *Pope*, at last humbled the *Bishop* of *St. David's* into a *Submissi*, Who vexed heretofore, wreckt his spleen on the *Welsh Clergie*; furiously forcing them to *forgo* their *Wives*. The successors of this *Bishop* would have been more Thankful to his Memory had he laboured less for the honor, and more preserved the profits of his *See*, whose lands he dilapidated with this his expensive suit, and on other designs for his own preferment.

King Henry  
his death.  
a Mat. Paris  
1186-73.

27. King Henry died in *Normandy* of a surfeit by eating a *Lamprey*. An unwholesome fish, inasmuch, that *Galen*, speaking of *Eels* in general (where-to *Lampreys* may be reduced) expostulates with the gods, for giving them so delicious a taste, and so malignant, and dangerous an operation. But, grant them never to good, excess is a venomous string, in the most wholesome flesh, fish, and fowl, and it was too great a quantity caused his surfeit. I finde him generally commended for temperance in his diet; only his palat (his servant in all other meats) was commonly his master in this dish. He was buried at *Reading*, leaving but one daughter (the Sea having swallowed his Sons) surviving him.

Stephen usurpeth  
the Crown on a  
filly title.

28. *Stephen*, Earl of *Bologna*, hearing of *Henry* his death; hasteth over into *England*, and seizeth on the Crown. All his title unto it was this; First, *Maud*, the true heir thereof, was a female. Secondly, absent beyond the Seas. Thirdly, married to a fornicer. Fourthly, no very potent Prince, viz. *Geffrey Plantagenet* Earl of *Anjou*, whose land-lock situation rendered him less formidable for any effectual impression on this Island. Lastly, he was Son to *Adela*, Daughter to King *William* the Conqueror (though a Male deriving his title from a Female) conceiving himself the Daughters Son, to be preferred before *Maud*, the Sons Daughter. Indeed *Stephen* had an elder Brother, *Theobald* Earl of *Blou*, but he chose a quiet County, before a cumbersome Kingdom; the enjoyment of his own, rather than invasion of anothers inheritance, seeing *Maud* was the uncourted heir of the English Crown.

Anno  
Dom.  
1126.

Anno  
Regis  
Henr.  
27.

1129 30.

1135 36.

Steph.  
1.  
Dec.  
2.

Anno  
Regis  
Henr.  
36.

28. This *Maud*, I may call, *Maud* the fourth; yea, *England* had no Queen of another name since the Conquest;

*Maud* the  
fourth.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>Maud</i> the first, Wife to King <i>William</i> the Conqueror.  | 3. <i>Maud</i> the third, Wife to King <i>Stephen</i> .  |
| 2. <i>Maud</i> the second, (Daughter to <i>Malholme</i> King of <i>Scots</i> ) Wife to King <i>Henry</i> the first. | 4. <i>Maud</i> the fourth, Daughter to King <i>Henry</i> the first, and in right Queen of <i>England</i> . |

This last *Maud* was first married to *Henry* the fourth, Emperor of *Germany*, and after his death was contantly called *The Empress*, by the courtesy of *Christendom*, though married to Earl *Geffrey*, her second husband. To her, all the Clergie, and Nobility had sworn fealty, in her father's life time.

Dec.  
26.

29. *William*, *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, notwithstanding his oath to *Maud*, solemnly crowned *Stephen*, and in the same act; shewed himself perjured to his God, disloyal to his Prince, and ingrateful to his Patrons, by whose special favour he had been preferred. The rest of the Bishops, to their shame, followed his example; dealing with oaths, as *sea-men* with the points in the *Compass*, saying them forwards and backwards. Indeed covetousness, and pride prompted this disloyalty unto them, hoping to obtain of an Usurper, what they desired to get from a lawful King. For, their modestie (and that little enough) in asking, was all *Stephens* measure in giving; reliving with himself for the present, to grant what should please them, and at leisure to perform what should please himself. Let him now get but the stump of a Crown, and with wife watering thereof, it would sprout afterwards. Hence was it that he granted the Bishops liberty to build, and hold many Castles; freedom in forests; investiture from the *Pope*; with many other immunities, which hitherto the Clergie never obtained. All things thus seemingly settled, yet great was the difference of judgments in the English, concerning King *Stephen*, which afterwards discovered themselves in the variety of mens practices.

The perjury  
of the Clergie.

30. Some acted vigorously for *Stephen*, conceiving possession of a Crown creath a right unto it. Where shall private persons (unable of themselves to trace the intricacies of Princes titles) fix their loyalty more safely, then on him whom success tendereth unto them for their Sovereign; God doth not now (as anciently) visibly, or audibly discover himself; we must therefore now only look, and listen, to what he sheweth, and saith by his voice, in the success of things, whereby alone he expresseth his pleasure, what he owneth or disclaimeth. This their judgment was crossed by others, who distinguished betwixt Heavens permission, and consent; God sometimes suffering them to have power to compel, to whom he never gave authority to command.

Variety of  
people's opi-  
nions.

31. But some urged, that *Stephen* was declared lawful King by popular consent, which, at this time, could alone forme a Legal right to any in this Island. For *Maud*, *Stephens* coronation, in vain pretended succession, seeing the Crown, since the Conquest, never observed a regular, but an uncertain and desultory motion. Nor was it directed to go on by the straight line of primogeniture, which leapt over the Conquerors eldest, to his second Son: Then, taking a new rise, from the eldest still surviving, to *Henry* his third Son. Here no chain of succession could be pleaded, where no two links followed in order. But others answered, that such popular election of *Stephen* had been of validity, if the electors had been at liberty; whereas they being engaged to *Maud* by a former oath, could not again dispose of those their votes, which formerly they had passed away.

Pro and Con  
for King *Stephen*.



A second party with their opposers.

A third with theirs.

A fourth with theirs.

Some as it, not for King Stephen commands.

Politics practice.

Robert Earl of Gloucester singular. a Mot. Paris PAR. 75.

32. Others conceived that the stain of *Stephen* his usurpation in getting the Crown, was afterward scoured clean out by his long (more then eighteen years) enjoying thereof. For, suppose Providence for a time may wink, and connive, yet it cannot be conceived in so long a slumber; yea, asleep; yea, a lethargic, as to permit one peaceably so long to possess a Throne, except heaven had particularly designed him for the same. To this others answered, that *Stephen* all that time rather possessed, then enjoyed the Crown (alarum'd all his life long by *Maud*, and her Son) so that he had as little quiet in, as right to the Kingdom. But, grant his possession thereof never so peaceable, what at first was founded in the foundation, could not be made firm by any height of *superstructure* thereupon. An error by continuance of time can never become a *truth*, but the more inveterate error.

33. A third sort maintained, that Subjects Loyalty is founded on their Sovereigns protection, so that both sinke together. Seeing therefore *Maud* was unable to afford her people protection, her people were bound to no longer allegiance. But this position was disproved by such, who bottoming allegiance onely on conscience, make protection but the encouragement, not the cause thereof. They distinguished also betwixt a Princes wilful deserting his people, and his inability to protect them; not through his own default, but the forcible prevailing of others. Thus the confugal tie is onely dissolved by the parties voluntary unclannels, and not by his, or her adventitious impotency to render due benevolence.

34. A fourth party avouched, that *Maud* (though not actually, and openly, yet) tacitly, and interpretatively released the English from their allegiance unto her. For what Prince can be presumed to tyrannical, as to tie up people to the strict termes of Loyalty, unto him, when the same is apparently destructive unto them, and no whit advantageous to himself? But others disliked this position; for, where did any such relaxation appear? It cancelleth not the obligation of a debtor, to fancy to himself an acquittance from his creditor, which cannot be produced.

35. Some acted at the commands, though not for the commands of King *Stephen*, namely, in such things wherein his injunctions concurred with equity, charity, and order, consistent with the principles of publike utility, and self-preservation. These, having the happiness to be commanded by an Ullurper, to do that, which otherwise they would have done of themselves, did not discover themselves to act out of their own inclinations, whilst it passed unsuspected in the notion of their obedience to King *Stephen*. Thus many thousands under the happy conduct (or at leastwise contrivance) of *Thurstan*, Arch-Bishop of *York*, though in their hearts well affected to *Maud* her title, unanimously resisted *David* King of *Scots*, though he pretended *reparative arms* in Queen *Maud* her behalf; under which specious title, he barbarously committed abominable cruelties, till nettled therewith, both *Stephanists*, and *Maudists* joyntly bad him battle, and overthrew him, nigh *Alerion* in *York-shire*.

36. All generally bare the burdens, and no less politickly, then patiently, paid all taxes imposed upon them. Recusancy in this kinde had but armed King *Stephen* with a specious pretence to take all from them, for refusing to give a part. Nor scrupled they hereat, because thereby they strengthened his usurpation against the rightful heir, because done against their wills, and to prevent a greater mischief; Mean time they had a reservation of their loyalty, and, erecting a throne in their hearts, with their prayers, and tears, mounted Queen *Maud* on the same.

37. *Robert*, Earl of *Gloucester* (the Queens half-brother) may even make up a *forme* by himself, finding none other before, or after him of the same opinion. Who conditionally did homage to King *Stephen*, *scilicet*, a *fi dignitatem* (nam sibi servaret illibatam, namely, so long as he preserved this Roberts dignity (for so I understand the Pronounes reciprocation) to be inviolated.

38. A

Anno Dom. 1135. Anno Regis Steph. 1.

Anno Regis Steph. 1. 1135.

2. 1136.

4. Dec. 19. 1138.

38. A few there were, whose reluctant consciences remonstrated against the least compliance with King *Stephen*; whose high loyalty to *Maud*, interpreted all *passiveness* under an Ullurper, to be activity against the right heir. These even quitted their Lands in *England* to the tempest of times; and secretly conveyed themselves, with the most incorporeal of their estates (as occupying in the least room in their wastage over) into *Normandy*.

39. The Clergie, perceiving that King *Stephen* performed little of his large promises unto them, were not formerly so forward in setting him up, but now more fierce in plucking him down, and sided effectually with *Maud* against him. An act, which the judicious behold, not as a crooked deed, bowing them from their last, but as an upright one, straightning them to their first, and best oath, made to this *Maud* in the life time of her father. But *Stephen* (resolved to hold with a strong, what he had got with a wrong hand) fell violently on the Bishops, who then were most powerful in the land (every prime one having, as a Cathedral for his devotion; so many manors for his profit, parks for his pleasure, and castles for his protection) and he uncalled *Roger* of *Sarisbury*, *Alexander* of *Lincoln*, and *Nigelus* of *Ely*, taking also a great mass of treasure from them.

40. Most fiercely fell the fury of King *Stephen* on the Dean, and Canons of *Pauls*, for crossing him in the choice of their Bishop. For, he sent, and took their a *Focaria*, and cast them into *London-Tower*; where they continued many dayes, not without much scorn, and disgrace, till at last those Canons ransomed their liberty at a great rate.

41. What these *Focaria* were, we conceive it no disgrace to confess our ignorance, the word not appearing in any *Classical Author*, and we must by degrees scue our selves into the sense thereof:

1. It signifieth some female persons, the gender of the word discovering too much.
2. They were near to the Canons, who had an high courtesie for them, as appears by procuring their liberty at so dear a price.
3. Yet the word speaks not the least relation of affinity, or consanguinity unto them.
4. All the light we can get in this *Focaria*, is from some sparks of fire which we behold in the word, so as if these *shoes* were *symphs of the chimney*, or *fire-makers* to these Canons.

If so, surely they had their Holiday-clothes on, when sent to the Tower (*Kitchin-stuff* doth not use to be tried in that place) and were considerable (if not in themselves) in the affections of others. And now, well fare the heart of b *Roger Hoveden*, who plainly tells us, that these *Focaria* were these *Canons Concubines*. See here the fruit of forbidding marriage to the Clergie, against the Law of God, and nature. What saith the Apostle? c *It is better to marry them to burn*; or, which is the same in effect, It is better to have a wife then a fire-maker.

42. *Albericus*, Bishop of *Hofia*, came post from *Rome*, sent by Pope *Innocent* the second into *England*; called a Synod at *Westminster*, where eighteen Bishops and thirty Abbots met together. Here was concluded; That no Priest, Deacon, or sub-Deacon should hold a wife, or woman, within his house, under pain of degrading from his Christendom, and plain sending to hell. That no Priests for should claim any spiritual living by heritage. That none should take a *Benefice* of any Lay-man. That none were admitted to *Cure* which had not the letters of his *Orders*. That Priests should do no bodily labour: And, that their transubstantiated God should dwell but eight dayes in the box, for fear of worm-eatings, moulding or stinking; with such

E c 2

like.

Highly contentious.

An honest re-vote of the Clergie.

Canons of *Pauls* foundly paid. a *Red. de Di-ceto in hunc annum.*

What *Focaria* were.

b In Anno 1137.

c 1 Cor. 7. 9.

A Synod at Westminster.



Henry of Winchester Arch-Bishop.

like. In this Synod, *Theobald*, Abbot of *Becco*, was chosen Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, in the place of *William* lately deceased.

43. The most considerable Clergy-man of *England* in this age, for birth, wealth, and learning, was *Henry of Blois*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and Brother to King *Stephen*. He was by the Pope made his Legate for *Britaine*, and out-fitted the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. For, although *Theobald* just at this time was augmented with the title of *Legatus natus* (which from him was entailed on his successors in that See) yet this *Henry of Blois*, being for the present, *Legatus factus*, out-lusted the other: as far, as an extraordinary Ambassador doth a Leger of the same Nation. In this *Henry*, two interests did meet, and contend; that of a Brother, and that of a Bishop; but the latter clearly got the conquest, as may appear by the Council he called at *Winchester*, wherein the King himself was summoned to appear. Yea, some make *Stephen* personally appearing therein (a dangerous precedent to plead the cause of the Crown, before a convictee of his own subjects) so that to secure some of *Supremacy in appeals*, he suffered a Recovery thereof against his own person in a Court of Record looting of himself to save the Crown thereby unto himself. But *William of Malmesbury* present at the Council (and therefore his testimony is to be preferred before others) mentions only three parties in the place present there with their attendance:

1.

Roger of Sarisbury with the rest of the Bishops, grievously complaining of their Castles taken from them.

2.

Henry Bishop of *Winchester* the Popes Legat, & President of the Council; With *Theobald* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* pretending to umpire matters in a moderate way.

3.

Hugh Arch-Bishop of *Rouen*, and *Aubrey de Vere* (ancestor to the Ear of *Oxford*) as Advocate for King *Stephen*.

a *William Malmesbury* hist. novel. lib. 2. pag. 182. The influence of the Synod at *Winchester*.

This *Aubrey de Vere* seems learned in the Laws, being characterized by my a Author, *bono causarum variatibus exercitatus, a man well versed in the windings of causes*.

44. In this Synod, first the commission of Pope *Innocent* the second was read, impowering the said *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, with a Legative authority. Then the Legate made a Sermon; *Latiariter*, which is, as I conceive, in the *Latin tongue*. We finde not his text; But know this was the subject of his discourse, to inveigh against King *Stephen* depriving those Bishops of their Castles. Sermon ended, the Kings advocates or true subjects rather (many making them to speak only out of the dictates of their own Loyalty, & not to plead by deputation from the King) made his defence, that Bishops could not canonically hold Castles, and that the King had dispoyled them of their treasure, not as Episcopal persons, but as they were his Lay-offices, advised thereto by his own liciturity. The Bishops returned much for themselves, and in fine, the Synod brake up without any extraordinary matter effected. For soon after came Queen *Maud* with her Navie and Armie out of *Normandy*, which turned debates into deeds, and consultations into actions; But we leave the readers to be satisfied about the alternation of success betwixt King *Stephen* and *Maud* to the Historians of our State. There may they read of *Maud* her strange escapes, when avoiding death, by being believed dead (otherwise she had proved in her grave, if not pretended in a Coffin) when getting out in white Lynen, under the protection of Snow: I say, how afterwards both King *Stephen* and *Robert* Earl of *Gloucester* were taken prisoners, and given in Exchange, the one for the

Anno Dom. 1158.  
Anno Regis Steph. 7.

1159. 5.

1140. 6.

1141. 7.

Anno Regis Steph. 7.  
Anno Dom. 1141.

100. 1144.

15. 1150.

19. 1155.

the liberty of the other; with many such memorable passages, the reader may stock himself from the pens of the civil Historians, the proper relators thereof.

45. It is strange to conceive how men could be at leisure in the troublesome Reign of King *Stephen* to build and endow so many Religious foundations. Except any will say, that men being (as mortal in peace) most dying in War, the devotions of those dayes (maintaining such deeds meritorious for their souls) made all in that Martiall age most active in such employments. Not to speak of the Monastery of *St Mary de pratis*, founded by *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, and many others of this time: the goodly Hospital of *St Katharines* nigh *London*, was founded by *Maud*, wife to King *Stephen*, though others assign the same to *Ro. Bishop of Lincoln*, as founder thereof. So stately was the Quire of this Hospital, that it was not much inferior to that of *St Pauls* in *London*, when taken down in the dayes of Queen *Elizabeth*, by Doctor *Thomas Wilson* the Master thereof, and Secretary of State.

46. Yea, King *Stephen* himself was a very great founder. *St Stephen* was his tutelary Saint (though he never learned his usurpation from the patient example of that Martyr) whose name he bore, on whole day he was Crowned, to whose honor he erected *St Stephens* Chappell in *Westminster*, near the place where lately the Court of Request was kept. He built also the *Cisterians* Monastery in *Feversham*; with an Hospital near the west-gate in *Tork*. And, whereas formerly there were paid out of every plough-land in *England*, betwixt *Trent* and *Edenburgh-frith*, twenty four b Oat-heaves for the Kings Hounds; *Stephen* converted this rent-charge to his new-built Hospital in *Tork*. A good deed no doubt; for, though it be unlawful to take the c childrens bread and to cast it unto the dogs; it is lawful to take the dogs bread, and to give it unto the children.

47. The King, being desirous to settle Sovereignty on his Son *Eustace*, earnestly urged *Theobald* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* to Crown him. For, *Stephen* saw that fealty, barely sworn to *Maud* in her Fathers life time, was afterwards broken: and therefore (his own guilt making him the more suspicious) for the better assurance of his Sons succession, he would go one step farther, endeavouring to make him actual King in his own life time. But the Arch-Bishop stoutly refused, though proffered for the same, and forced to flee the land, till after some time he was reconciled to the King.

48. *Eustace* the Kings Son died of a frenzie, as going to plunder the lands of *Bury* d Abby. A death untimely in reference to his youthful years, but timely and seasonably in relation to the good of the Land. If conjecture may be made from his turbulent spirit, coming to the Crown he would have added tyranny to his usurpation. His Father *Stephen* begins now to consider, how he himself was old, his Son deceased, his Subjects wearied, his Land wasted with War: which considerations, improved by the endeavours of *Theobald* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and Gods blessing on both, produced an agreement between King *Stephen* and *Henry* Duke of *Normandy*, the former holding the Crown for his life, and after his death settling the same on *Henry*, his adopted Son and Successor.

49. We have now gotten (to our great credit, and comfort, no doubt) an English-man Pope; namely, *Nicholas Breakpear*, alias *Adrian* the fourth. Born, saith my e Author, nigh *Oxford* in *Middlesex*, of the ancient and Martiall family of the *Breakpears*; though others make him no better then a bastard of an Abbot of *St Albans*. The Abbot of which Covent he confirmed the first in place, of all in *England*. If I miscount not, we never had but four Popes and a half (I mean Cardinal *Poel*, Pope elect) of our Nation. And yet of them, one too many (will the Papists say) if Pope *Jone* (as some esteem her) were an English-woman. Yea, lately (the Elected following the plurality of the Electors) they have almost ingrossed the Papacy to the Italians. Our *Adrian* had but bad success, choked to death with a

Why plenty of Religious foundations in the f. Martiall dayes.

a Survey of London pag. 117.

Religious house founded by King Stephen.

b Stow in the end of B. Ste. plun 11c. c Mark 7. 27.

The continuance of *Theobald* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*.

The seasons bleedeth of Prince *Eustace*, d Mar. Paris in this year.

An English-man Pope.

e Camden in *Middlesex*. f Bate in English Votaries, fol. 85.

Jeffery Mon-  
muth defend-  
ed.

The death of  
K. Stephen.

a Stone in the  
end of his  
life.

Stripes  
when they  
were.

\* A. in Plantagenet.

K. Henry his  
character.

the in his throat. Thus any thing next nothing, be it but *advantageously plant-*  
*ed*, is big enough to *batter* mans life down to the ground.

50. *Jeffery ap Arthur* (commonly called from his native place, *Jeffery of Monmouth*) was now Bishop of *St Asaph*. He is the Welsh *Herodotus*, the father of ancient History, and *fabler*; for, he who will have the first, must have the later. *Polydore Virgil* accuseth him of many falsehoods (so hard it is to halt before a cripple) who, notwithstanding, by others is defended, because but a translator, and not the original reporter. For, a translator tells a lie in telling no lie, if wilfully varying from that copy, which he promiseth faithfully to render. And if he truly translates what he findes, his duty is done, and is to be charged no further. Otherwise the credit of the best translator may be crack'd, if himself become security for the truth of all, that he takes on trust from the pens of others.

51. King *Stephen* ended his troublesome life. A Prince, who if he had come in by the door, the best room in the house had not been too good to entertain him. Whereas now the addition *Usurper* (affixed generally to his name) corrupts his valour into cruelty, devotion into hypocrisy, bounty into flattery, and design. Yet, be it known to all, though he lived an *Usurper*, he died a lawfull King; for, what formerly he held from the rightful heir by *violence*, at his death he held under him by a mutual composition. He was buried with his Son, and Wife, at *Faversham* in *Kent*, in a Monastery of his own building. At the demolishing whereof, in the reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, a stone, to gain the lead wherein he was wrapp'd, cast his corps into the Sea. This Sacrilege will not only feast on gold and silver, but (when sharp set) will feed on meaner metals.

52. *Henry* the Second succeeded him, known by a triple fir-name, two personal and ending with himself, *Fitz-Empress*, and *Shorimantle*; the other hereditary, fetch'd from *Jeffery* his Father, and transmitted to his Posterity, *Plantagenet*, or \* *Plantagenet*. This name was one of the *Sobriquets*, or penitential nick-names, which great persons about this time, positing to the Holy War in *Palestine*, either assumed to themselves, or had by the Pope, or their Confessors imposed upon them, purposely to disguise, and obscure their lustre therewith. See more of the same kind,

- |  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| 1. <i>Beuger</i> , a Shep-<br>heard.           | 6. <i>Grand-Baiffe</i> , Ox-<br>face.         | 11. <i>Sans-terr</i> , Lack-<br>land.                |
| 2. <i>Grise-Gonelle</i> , Gray-<br>coat.       | 7. <i>La-Zouch</i> , a Branch<br>upon a stem. | 12. <i>Malduit</i> , Ill<br>taught.                  |
| 3. <i>Tesle de Estoupe</i> ,<br>Head of towie. | 8. <i>Houles</i> , a Sheep-<br>hook.          | 13. <i>Juvenest</i> , <i>Geffard</i> ,<br>or Heifer. |
| 4. <i>Arbust</i> , a Shrub.                    | 9. <i>Hapkin</i> , an Hat-<br>chet.           | 14. <i>Fitz de flaw</i> , Son<br>of a flail.         |
| 5. <i>Mauel</i> , an Ham-<br>mer.              | 10. <i>Chapell</i> , an Hood.                 | 15. <i>Plantagenet</i> , Stalk<br>of a Broom.        |

Thus these great persons accounted the penance of their pilgrimage, with the merit thereof, doubled, when passing for poor inconsiderable fellows, they denied their own places, and persons. But, be it reported to others, whether this be proper, and kindly evangelical *self-denial*, so often commended to the practice of Christians. However some of these by-names, assumed by their fanciful devotion, remained many years after to them, and theirs; amongst which *Plantagenet* was entailed on the Royal blood of England.

53. This King *Henry*, was wife, valiant, and generally fortunate. His faults were such as speak him *Mild*, rather than a *virious one*. *Widom* enough he had for his work, and work enough for his wisdom, being troubled in all his relations.

Anno  
Dom.  
1155.

1154 20.

Hm.

Anno  
Regis  
Hen. 2.

3 21.

1 1155.

2 1156.

relations. His wife *Queen Elianor* brought a great portion, (fair Provinces in *France*) and a great stomach with her; so that it is questionable, whether her forward spirit more drove her Husband away from her chaff, or *Requench* (fair face) more drew him to her wanton embraces: His Sons (having much of the Mother in them) grew up, as in Age, in obstinacy against him: His Subjects, but especially the Bishops, (being the greatest *Self-mongers* in that Age) very stubborn and not easily to be ordered.

Mean time but may justly admire, that no mention in Authors is made of, nor provisions for *Maad* the Kings Mother, (surviving some years after her Son's Coronation) in whom during her life, lay the real right to the Crown. Yet say not King *Henries* policy was little in preferring, to take his Title from an Usurper by adoption, rather than from his own Mother, (the rightful heir) by succession; and his piety left, in not attending his Mothers death; but marching the scepter out of her hand, seeing no Writer ever chargeth him with the least degree of uncharitableness unto her. Which leadeth us to believe that this *Maad*, worn out with age and afflictions, willingly waded the Crown, and reigned in her own contentment, in seeing her Son reign before her.

55. Those who were most able to advise themselves, are most willing to be advised by others, as appeared by this politic Prince. Presently he chose a Privy Council of Clergie and Temporality, and refineth the Common Laws; Year towards the end of his Reign began the use of our *trial* and *Judges*. The platform hereof he fetch'd from *France* (where he had his education) and where *Charles the Bald*, some hundred of years before, had divided his Land into twelve parts, assigning several Judges for administration of justice therein. Our *Henry* parcelled England into six Divisions, and appointed three Judges to every Circuit, annually to visit the same. Succeeding Kings: (though changing the limits) have kept the same number of Circuits, and let the skillful in *Arithmetick* cast it up, whether our Nation receiveth any loss, by the change of three Judges every year, according to *Henry* the second's Institution, into two Judges twice a year, as long since hath been accustomed.

56. The Laws thus settled, King *Henry* cast his eye on the numerous Castles in England. As a good reason of State formerly perswaded the building, so a better pleaded now for the demolishing of them. *William* the Conqueror built most of them, and then put them into the custody of his Norman Lords, thereby to awe the English into obedience. But these Norman Lords in the next generation, by breathing in English ayre, and wedding with English wives, became so perfectly Anglized, and lovers of Liberty, that they would stand on their guard against the King, on any petty discontentment. If their Castles (which were of proof against Bowes and Arrows, the Artillery of that Age) could but bear the brunt of a sudden assault, they were privileged from any solemn Siege, by their manuels and multitude, as whole several beleaguers would not compensate the cost thereof. Thus as in foul bodies, the *Physick* in process of time growth to friendly and familiar with the disease, that they at last side together, and both take part against Nature in the Patient; so here it came to pass, that these Castles intended for the quenching, in continuance of time occasioned the kindling of Rebellion. To prevent farther mischief, King *Henry* razed most of them to the ground, and secured the rest of greater consequence into the hands of his Confidants. if any ask, how these Castles belong to our Church-History; know, that Bishops of all in that Age, were the greatest Traders in such Fortifications.

57. *Thomas Becket*, born in London, and (though as yet but a Deacon) Arch-Deacon of *Canterbury*, Doctor of Canon-Law, bred in the Universities of *Oxford*, *Paris*, *Bologna*, was by the King made Lord Chancellor of England. During which his office, who braver then *Becket*? None in the Court were more

What be-  
came of *Maad*  
the Empress.

The body of  
the Common-  
Law com-  
piled.

Castles dem-  
olished.

*Thomas Becket*  
L. Chancellor  
of England.

more costly clothes, mounted more stately steeds, made more sumptuous feasts, kept more jovial company, brake more merry jells, used more pleasant pastimes. In a word, he was so perfect a Lay-man, that his Parsonages of *Bromfield*, and *S<sup>t</sup> Mary-hill in London*, with other Ecclesiastical Cures, whereof he was Pastor, might even look all to themselves, he taking no care to discharge them. This is that *Becket*, whose mention is so much in English, and miracles so many in Popish writers. We will compare his acts in proportion to our History, remitting the Reader to be satisfied in the rest from other Authors.

His great reformation being made Arch-Bishop of Canterbury.

58. Four years after, upon the death of *Theobald*, *Becket* was made by the King, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. The first Englishman since the Conquest (and he but a mongrel, for his mother was a Syrian, the intercourse of the *Holy-War* in that age making matches betwixt many strangers) who was preferred to that place. And now (if the Monks their writing his life may be believed) followed in him a great and strange Metamorphosis. Instantly his cloaths were reformed to gravity, his diet reduced to necessity, his mirth confined to the Clergie, his expences contracted to frugality, his mirth retrenched to austerity; all his pastimes so devoured by his piety, that none could see the former *Chancellor Becket*, in the present *Arch-Bishop Becket*. Yea, they report, that his clothes were built three stories high; next his skin he was a Hermit, and wore sack-cloth; in the middle he had the habit of a Monk; and above all wore the garments of an Arch-Bishop. Now, that he might the more effectually attend his Archiepiscopal charge, he resigned his Chancellors place, whereto the King was not a little offended. It added to his anger, that his patience was daily pressed, with the importunate petitions, of people complaining, that *Becket* injured them. Though, generally, he did but recover to his Church such possessions, as, by their covetousness, and his predecessors connivance, had formerly been detained from it.

A stubborn defender of the vicious Clergy, against secular Magistrates.

41 King 1.6.

59. But, the main matter, incensing the King against him was, his stubborn defending the Clergie from the secular power: and particularly (what a great fire doth a small spark kindle?) that a Clerk, having killed and stolen a Deer, ought not to be brought before the Civil Magistrate for his punishment. Such impunity breeding impieties, turned the house of God into a den of thieves: many rapes, riots, robberies, murders, were then committed by the Clergie. If it be rendered as a reason of the viciousness of *Adonijah*, that his father never said unto him, *Why dost thou so?* No wonder if the Clergie of this age were guilty of great crimes, whom neither the King, nor his Judges, durst call to an account. And, seeing Ecclesiastical censures extend not to the taking away of life, or limb; such Clerks as were guilty of capital faults; were either altogether acquitted, or had only penance inflicted upon them; a punishment far lighter than the offence did deserve. Indeed, it is most meet, in matters merely Ecclesiastical (touching the Word and Sacraments) Clergy-men be only answerable for their faults to their spiritual superiors, as most proper, and best able to discern and censure the same. And in cases criminal, it is unfit that Ministers should be summoned, before each proud, pettish, petulant, pragmatical, secular, under-officer. However, in such causes to be wholly exempted from civil power, is a privilege, which with reason cannot be desired of them, nor with justice indulged unto them. Sure I am, *Abiathar* (though High-Priest) was convicted before, and deposed by *Solomon* for his practising of treason. And *S<sup>t</sup> Paul* saith, *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers.*

c Rom. 13. 1. He incurs the Kings displeasure. d See them at large in *Mat. Paris*.

60. To retrench these enormities of the Clergie, the King called a Parliament at *Clarendon*, near *Salisbury* (and not in *Normandy*, as Mr *Fox* will have it) intending with the content of his great Council, to confirm some severe Laws of his Grand-father King *Henry* the first. To these Laws, sixteen in number, *Becket*, with the rest of the Bishops, consented and subscribed them. But

1162 8.

1164 10.

Anno Regis Hen. 2. 10.

Anno Dom. 1164

But afterwards recanting his own act, renounced the same. Let not therefore the crime of incontinency, be laid too heavily to the charge of Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, first subscribing, then revoking popish articles presented unto him: seeing this his name-like *Thomas*, and predecessor, *Becket*, without any stain to his Sainthood, retracted his own act, upon pretence of better information. But so highly was *Becket* offended with himself for his subscription, that, in revenge, for some months, he suspended himself from all Divine Service (his pride, and laziness, both before, and after, suspended him from ever preaching) and would not be present thereat. Hereafter let none hope for more favour from this Arch-Bishop, then their fact may deserve; seeing he cannot rationally be expected to be courteous to others, who was so severe unto himself. The best was, in this his suspension, the knot was not tied so hard, as to hurt him; who, in case of necessity, as he had bound, to be, could loose himself: though, for the more state of the matter, Pope *Alexander* \* himself was pleased solemnly to affirm him from his suspension. Mean time *Becket*, both in his suspension, and absolution, most highly offended King *Henry*, who every day the more was alienated from, and incensed against him.

61. During *Becket*'s abode about *Clarendon*, he is reported every morning to have walk'd, from his lodging, some miles, to the Kings Palace. Where the ground (say they) called *Becket*'s path, at this day presenteth it self to the eyes of the beholders (but most quick-sighted, if looking through Popish spectacles) with the grass, and grain growing thereon, in a different hew, and colour from the rest. A thing having in it more of report, than truth; yet more of truth then wonder: the discolourations of such veins of earth being common in grounds elsewhere, which never had the happiness of *Becket*'s feet to go upon them.

62. But oh! If *Becket*'s feet had left but the like impression in all the ways he went, how caise had it been for all mens eyes, and particularly for our pen, to have track'd him in all his travels? Who, not long after, without the consent of the King, took Ship, sail'd into *Flanders*, thence travelled into the Southern parts of *France*, thence to *Pontinnack*, thence to *Seves*, abiding seven years in banishment. But, though he served an apprenticeship in exile, he learned little humility thereby, only altering his name (for his more safety) from *Becket* to *Derman*; but retaining all his old nature, remitting nothing of his rigid resolutions.

63. Now, to avoid idleness, *Becket*, in his banishment, variously employed himself. First, in making, and widening breaches, between *Henry* his native Sovereign, and *Lewis* the French King. Secondly, in writing many voluminous letters of expostulation to Princes, and Prelates. Thirdly, in letting his heavy excommunications against the English Clergie; namely, against *Roger*, Arch-Bishop of *York*; *Gilbert Foliot*, Bishop of *London* (a learned man then himself); *Joelene*, Bishop of *Salisbury*; and others. His chief quarrel with them, was their adherence to the King; and particularly, because the Arch-Bishop presumed to Crown *Henry* the King's Son (made joyn't-King in the life of his Father) a privilege which *Becket* claimed, as proper to himself alone. Fourthly, in receiving comfort from, and returning it to Pope *Alexander* at *Beneventum* in Italy. Sameness of affliction bred sympathy of affection betwixt them, both being banished; the Pope by *Frederick Barbarossa*, the Emperour, for his pride and insolency: as our *Becket* smarted for the same fault, from King *Henry*. Here also *Becket* solemnly resigned his Arch-Bishoprick to the Pope, as troubled in conscience, that he had formerly took it as illegally from the King, and the Pope again restored it to him, whereby all scruples in his mind were fully satisfied.

64. But afterwards by mediation of friends, *Becket*'s reconciliation was wrought, and leave given him to return into *England*. However the King still

\* For his Mon. see the letter at large, pag. 269.

The vanity of *Becket*'s path.

He flesh beyond Sea, without the Kings consent.

How employed in his banishment.

a See them exemplified at large in *Supplic. De Trilun Thom.*

Is reconciled to the King.

still retained his temporals in his hand, on weighty considerations. Namely, to show their distinct nature from the spirituals of the Arch-Bishoprick, to which alone the Pope could restore him: Lay-lands being separable from the fame, as the favour of secular Princes: and *Becket's* bowed knee must own the Kings bountifull hand, before he could receive them. Besides, it would be a caution for his good behaviour.

65. *Calum non animam*: Travellers change climates, not conditions. Witnests our *Becket*, stubborn he went over, stubborn he staid, stubborn he return'd. Amongst many things, which the King desired, and he denied, he refused to restore the Excommunicated Bishops, pretending he had no power (indeed he had no will) and that they were Excommunicate by his Holiness. Yea, he, instead of recalling his old, added new Excommunications; and, that thunder which long before rumbled in his threatnings, now gave the crack upon all those that detained his temporal revenues. <sup>a</sup> *Roger Howden* reports, that upon Christmas-day (the better day the better deed) he Excommunicated *Robert de Broc*, because the day before he had cut off one of his horses tails. Yea, he continued, and encreased his insolence against the King and all his subjects.

66. Here the King let fall some discontented words, which instantly were catch'd up in the ears of some Courtiers attending him. He complained that never Sovereign kept such lazy Subjects, and Servants, neither concern'd in their Kings credit, nor sensible of his favours conferred on them, to suffer a proud Prelate to saucily to affront him. Now, a low hollow, and a less clap with the hand, will let fierce dogs on worrying their prey. A quater-nion of Courtiers being present; namely,

1. *St Richard Breton*, of which name (as I take it) a good family at this day is extant in *Northampton-shire*.
2. *St Hugh Mortil* of *Kirk-Oswald* in *Cumberland*, where his sword wherewith he slew *Becket*, was kept a long time, in memorial of his fact. His family at this day extinct.
3. *St William Tracey*, whose heirs at this day flourish, in a worthy and worshipful equipage, at *Todington* in *Glocester-shire*.
4. *St Reginald Fitz-Wise*, <sup>c</sup> or, *Beares-Sonne*. His posterity was afterwards men of great lands and Command, in the County of *Monaghan* in *Ireland*, being there called <sup>d</sup> *Mac-Mahon*, which in Irish signifieth the son of a bear.

These four Knights, applying the Kings general reproof to themselves, in their preposterous passions mis-interpreted his complaint, not onely for *Becket's* legal condemnation, but also for their warrant for his execution. Presently they post to *Canterbury*, where they finde *Becket* in a part of his Church (since called the Martyrdom) who, though warned of their coming, and advised to avoid them, would not decline them, so that he may seem to have more umde to be kill'd, then they had to kill him. Here happ'ned his expostulation, they requiring restitution of the Excommunicated Bishops; whose peremptory demands, met with his pertinacious denials, as then not willing to take notice of *Solomon's* his counsel, <sup>e</sup> *A soft answer pacifieth wrath*. Brauls bredd blows, and all four falling upon him, with the help of the fifth, an officer of the Church, called *Hugh*, the ill-Clerk, each gave him a wound, though that with the sword dispatch'd him, which cut off his crown from the rest of his head.

67. A barbarous murder, and which none will go about to excuse, but much heightened both by the *Profes*, and *Poetry* (good and bad) of Popish Writers in that age. Of the last and worst sort, I account that *Distick* (not worthy

Returns as obdurate as he went over.

a *Porte posterius Historicis secundis*, pag. 521.

Is slain by four Knights in his own Church.

b *Cand. Brit. in Cambria*, pag. 777.

c Others call him *Walter*. d *Cand. Brit. in Ireland*, pag. 10.

e *Prov. 15.1*.

Various censures on his death.

Anno Dom. 1170. Regis Henr. 2. 23.

1170. 16.

Dist. 28.

worthy the translating) one verse whereof, on each leaf of the door of *Cantebury* Quire, is yet legible in part;

*Est sacer intra locus, venerabilis, atq; beatus,  
Praeul, ubi sanctus Thomas est & martyrizatus.*

But, if he were no truer a martyr, then *martyrizatus* is true position, his memory might be much suspected. More did the Mules smile on the Author of the following verses,

*Pro Christi Sponsa, Christi sub tempore, Christi.  
In Templo, Christi verus amator obit.  
Quis moritur & Praeul. Cur & Pro grege. Qualiter & Ense.  
Quando & Natali. Quis locus & Ara Dei.*

For Christ his Spouse, in Christ's Church, at the tide  
Of Christ his birth, Christ his true lover dy'd.  
Who dies? A Priest. Why? For's flock. How? By th' sword.  
When? At Christ's birth. Where? Altar of the Lord.

Here I understand not, how properly it can be said, that *Becket* died *Pro grege*, For his flock. Hee did not die, for feeding his flock, for any fundamental point of Religion, or for defending his flock against the wolf of any dangerous doctrine; but meerly he died for his flock; namely, that the sheep thereof (though ever so scabb'd) might not be dress'd with tarr, and other proper (but sharpe, and smarting) medicines. I mean, that the Clergie might not be punished by the secular power, for their criminal enormities. Sure I am, a learned, and moderate <sup>a</sup> writer of that age, passeth this character upon him, *Quae ab ipso acta sunt laudanda nequaquam censuerim, licet ex laudabili zelo processerint*. Such things as were done by him, I conceive not at all to be praised, though they proceeded from a laudable zeal. But <sup>b</sup> *Stapleton* calls this his judgment, *Audacis Monachi censura non tam politica, quam plane ethnica*. The censure of a bold Monk, not so much politick as heathenish. Should another add of *Stapleton*, that this his verdict is the unchristian censure of a proud and partial Jesuite; railing would but beget railing; and so it is better to remit all, to the day <sup>c</sup> of the revelation of the righteous judgment of God.

68. Now King Henry, though unable to revive *Becket's*, shewed as much sorrow himself, for his death, as a living man could expresse; and did the other as much honour, as a dead man could receive. First, searching after all his kinned (as most capable of his kindeness) he found out his two sisters. One *Mary*, a virgin, not inclinable to marry, whom he preferred Abbes of the rich Nunnery of *Berking*. His other nameless sister, being married to one of the *Le Botellers*, or *Butlers*, He transplanted with her husband, and children into <sup>d</sup> *Ireland*, conferring upon them high honours, and rich revenues; from whom the Earls of *Ormond* are at this day descended. He founded also the magnificent Abbey, called <sup>e</sup> *Thomas-Court* in *Dublin* (in memory of the said *Thomas Becket*, and expiation of his murder) beautifying the same with fair buildings, and enriching it with large possessions. Nor did onely the purse, but the perion of King Henry do penance. Who walking some miles bare-foot, suffered himself to be whipped on the naked back by the Monks of *Cantebury*. As for the four Knights, who murdered him, the Pope pardoned them, but conditionally, to spend the rest of their lives in the *Holy war* (where the King, as part of his penance enjoyned by the Pope, maintained two hundred men for one year, on his proper charges) to try, whether they could be as courageous in killing of Turks, as they had been cruel in murdering a Christian.

<sup>a</sup> *William Somner* in his Antiquities of *Cantebury*, pag. 166.

<sup>a</sup> *Gallicanus* *Durhamensis*.

<sup>b</sup> In tribus *Thomis*.

<sup>c</sup> *Rom. 2. 5*. The heavy penance performed by King Henry.

<sup>d</sup> *Candens Brit. in Ireland*, pag. 82. *clidem* pag. 93.

Becket after  
fifty years in-  
flamed.

a *Præfatus his  
Dialog. in Re-  
ligionis viti-  
b Fox Arts  
and Monum.  
pag. 493.*

The blinde  
superstition  
of people.  
c *Wit. Sumner  
ut prius, pag.  
249.*

d John 12. 13.

69. And now, being on this subject, once to dispatch *Becket* out of our way, just a Jubilee of years after his death, *Stephen Langton*, his mediate successor, removed his body from the *Under-croft* in *Christ-Church*, where first he was buried, and laid him at his own charge, in a most sumptuous shrine, at the East end of the Church. Here the <sup>a</sup> rust of the sword that killed him, was afterwards tendred to Pilgrims to kiss. Here many miracles were pretended to be wrought by this saint, in number <sup>b</sup> two hundred and seventy. They might well have been brought up to four hundred, and made as many as *Baals* lying Prophets: though even then, one Prophet of the Lord, one *Micaiah*, one true miracle were worth them all.

70. It is almost incredible, what multitudes of people flock'd yearly to *Canterbury* (which City lived by *Becket's* death) especially on his Jubilee, or each fifty years after his enshrining. No fewer then an hundred <sup>c</sup> thousand (we finde it in words at length, and therefore a cipher is not mistaken) of English and forrainers repaired hither. And, though great the odds in hardncis, between stones and flesh, there remains at this day in the marble, the prints of their superstition, who crept, and kneeled to his shrine. The revenues whereof by peoples offerings, amounted to more then six hundred pounds a year. And the same accountant, when coming to set down, what then, and there was offered to Christ's, or the High-Altar, dispatcheth all with a blank, *Summo Altari nil*. Yea, whereas before *Becket's* death, the Cathedral in *Canterbury* was called *Christ's Church*, it passed afterwards for the Church of *S<sup>t</sup> Thomas*; verifying therein the complaint of <sup>d</sup> *Mary Magdalen*, *Suffulerunt Dominum*, They have taken away the Lord. Though since, by the demolishing of *Becket's* shrine, the Church (and that justly) hath recovered his true and ancient name.

SECT.

Anno  
Dom. 1174.  
Anno  
Regis  
Hen. 20.

Anno  
Regis  
Hen. 1  
1174.  
20.

## SECT. II.

DOMINO

JOANNI WYRLEY

DE WYRLEY-HALL,

In Com. Stafford, Equiti Aurato.

**L**Ex Mahometica jubet, ut Turcarum quisque mecha-  
mice arti incumbat. Hinc est, quod, vel inter Ot-  
tomanicos Imperatores, hic faber, ille Sartor, hic  
totus est in baltheorum \* bullis, ille in Sagittarum pennis con-  
cinnaudis, prout quisque sua indole trahatur.

Lex mihi partim placet, partim displicet. Placet in-  
dustria, ne animi otii rubigine obducti sensim torpescerent.  
Displicet, ingenuas mentes servili operi damnari, cum humi-  
le nimis sit & abjectum.

At utinam vel lex, vel legis amula consuetudo, inter An-  
glos obtineret, ut nostrates nobiles, ad unum omnes, meliori  
literaturæ litarent. Hoc si fiat, uberrimos fructus Respub-  
lica perceptura esset ab illis, qui nunc absque Musarum cultu  
penitus sterileseunt.

Tu verò (Doctissime Miles!) es per paucorum hominum,  
qui ingenium tuum nobilitate premi non finis: sed artes in-  
genuas, quas Oxonii didicisti juvenis, vitæ assidue colis.  
Gestis itaque Liber noster Te Patrono; quo non alter aut in  
notandis mendis oculator, aut in condonandis clementior.

\* *Edw. Sandry  
in suis peregrinatio-  
nibus.*

20. 1174.



**H**EN amongst all the stripes given him since the death of *Becket*, none made deeper impression in *King Henry's* soul, then the undutifulness of *Henry*, his eldest Son, whom he made (the foolish act of a wise King) joyn-King with himself, in his life time. And, as the Father was indiscreet to part off so much of his apparel, before he went to bed: so the Son was more unnatural, in endeavouring to rend the rest from his back, and utterly to disrobe him of all Regal power. The Clergie were not wanting in their plentiful censures, to impute this mischance to the King, as a Divine punishment on *Becket's* death; that his natural Son should prove so undutiful to him, who himself

The unduti-  
fulness of  
young King  
Henry.

himself had been to unmerciful to his spiritual father. But this rebellious child pald not unpunished. For, as he honoured not his Father; so his dayes were few in the land which the Lord gave him. And, as he made little account of his own father; so English Authors make no reckoning of him in the Catalogue of Kings. This Henry the third being wholly omitted, because dying during the life of his Father.

Richard made Arch-Bishop of Canterbury.

2. But, before this Henries death, Richard, Prior of Dover, who divided Kent into three Arch-Deaneries, was made Arch-Bishop of Canterbury. Indeed the place was first proffered to Robert, Abbot of Beccles, in Normandy (Sequens of three, if he had accepted it [Anselme, Theobald, and this Robert] who, in the compals of seventy years, out of the same Abby were made Arch-Bishops of Canterbury) but he refused it, as ominous to succeed Becket in his Chair, lest he should succeed him in his Coffin; and preferred a whole skin before an holy Pall. But Richard accepting the place, is commended for a milde and moderate man, being all for accommodation, and his temper the best expedient betwixt the Pope and King; pleasing the former with presents, the latter with compliance. This made him connive at Jeffery Plantagenet his holding the Bishoprick of Lincoln, though uncanonical, as on uncanonicalness met in his person. For, first he was a bastard. Secondly, he was never in orders. Thirdly, he was under age; all which irregularities were answered in three words, *The Kings Son*. This was that Jeffery, who used to protest by the royaltie of the King, his Father, when a slander by minded him to remember the honesty of his Mother.

The controversy betwixt Canterbury & York for pre- cedency.

3. A Synod was call'd at Westminster, the Popes Legat being present thereat; on whose right hand sat Richard, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, as in his proper place. When, in springs Roger of York, and, finding Canterbury so seated, fairly fits him down on Canerburies lap (a baby too big to be danced thereon) yea, Canterbury his servants dandied this lap-child with a witnes, who pluck'd him thence, and biffeted him to purpose. Hence began the brawl, which often happened betwixt the two Sees for precedence; though hitherto we have pald them over in silence, not conceiving our selves bound to trouble the Reader, every time those Arch-Bishops troubled themselves. And, though it matters as little to the Reader, as to the Writer, whether Roger beat Richard, or Richard beat Roger; yet, once for all, we will reckon up the arguments, which each See alledged for its precedence.

### Canterburies Title.

1. No Catholick person will deny, but that the Pope is the fountain of spiritual honors, to place and displace at pleasure. He first gave the Primacy to Canterbury: Yea, whereas the proper place of the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, in a general Council, was next the Bishop of St. Rustinus; Anselme and his successors were advanced by Pope Urban, to sit at the Popes right foot, as *alterius orbis Papa*.

2. The English Kings have ever allowed the Priority to Canterbury. For a Duarchie in the Church (viz. two Arch-Bishops equal in power) being inconsistent with a Monarchie

### Yorks Title.

1. When Gregory the great made York and Canterbury Archiepiscopal Sees, he affixed precedence to neither, but that the Arch-Bishops should take place according to the seniority of their consecrations. Until Lanckfrank, Chaplain to King William (thinking good reason he should conquer the whole Clergie of England, as his Master had vanquished the Nation) usurped the superiority above the See of York.

2. If Antiquity be to be respected, long before Gregories time, York was the See of an Arch-Bishop, whilst as yet Pagan Canterbury was never dream'd of for that purpose.

Lucius

Anno Dom. 1174.  
Anno Regis Hen. 3. 20.

1176. 22.

Anno Dom. 1176.  
Anno Regis Hen. 3. 22.

Monarchy in the State, they have ever countenanced the superiority of Canterbury, that the Church-government might be uniform with the Commemoration.

3. Customs hath been accounted a King in all places, which time, out of mind hath decided the precedence to Canterbury.

4. Some will wonder that such spiritual persons should be so spiteful, that they, who should rather have contended de pacendis assensu, which of them should better feed their flocks, should fall out de laeva caprina, about a toy and trifle, only for Priority. Yet such will cease to wonder, when they consider how much carnality there was in the Disciples themselves: Witnes their unedifiable counsel, just before our Saviours death, quis esset major, which of them should be the greater, when then the question should rather have been, quis esset major, not who should be the biggest, but who should be the heaviest for their departing Master.

5. Here the Pope interposed, and to end old Divisions, made a new distinction, Primate of all ENGLAND, and Primate of ENGLAND, giving the former to Canterbury, the latter to York. Thus when two Children cry for the same apple, the indulgent father divides it betwixt them, yet so, that he giveth the bigger and better part to the Child that is his Darling. York is faine to be content therewith, though full ill against his will, as sensible that a secondary Primacy is no Primacy; and as one stomaching a Superior as much as Canterbury did disdain an Equal. Yea, on every little occasion this controversie brake out again. The last slash which I finde of this flame, was in the Reiga of King Edward the first, when William Wickham, Arch-Bishop of York, at a Council at Lambeth for Reformation, would needs have his Cross carried before him, which John Peckam, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury would in no case permit to be done in his Province. Wherefore the said Peckam inhibited all from selling

6. To return to King Henry, never did the branches of the English Monarchy sprout higher, or spread broader before or since, as in the Reign of this King, so large and united his command, though in several capacities: For by right of inheritance from his Mother Maud, he held England and the Duke-

Lucius, the first Christian Britain King, founding a Cathedral therein, and placing Samson in the same, who had Maurinus, Pyramus, Tactians, &c. his Incestors in that place.

3. If the extent of jurisdiction be measured, York, though the lesser in England, is the larger in Britain, as which at this time had the entire Kingdom of Scotland subject therunto; Besides, if the three Bishopricks, (viz. Worcester, Lichfield, Lincoln) formerly injuriously taken from York, were restored unto it, it would vie English Latitude with Canterbury it self.

4. Some will wonder that such spiritual persons should be so spiteful, that they, who should rather have contended de pacendis assensu, which of them should better feed their flocks, should fall out de laeva caprina, about a toy and trifle, only for Priority. Yet such will cease to wonder, when they consider how much carnality there was in the Disciples themselves: Witnes their unedifiable counsel, just before our Saviours death, quis esset major, which of them should be the greater, when then the question should rather have been, quis esset major, not who should be the biggest, but who should be the heaviest for their departing Master.

5. Here the Pope interposed, and to end old Divisions, made a new distinction, Primate of all ENGLAND, and Primate of ENGLAND, giving the former to Canterbury, the latter to York. Thus when two Children cry for the same apple, the indulgent father divides it betwixt them, yet so, that he giveth the bigger and better part to the Child that is his Darling. York is faine to be content therewith, though full ill against his will, as sensible that a secondary Primacy is no Primacy; and as one stomaching a Superior as much as Canterbury did disdain an Equal. Yea, on every little occasion this controversie brake out again. The last slash which I finde of this flame, was in the Reiga of King Edward the first, when William Wickham, Arch-Bishop of York, at a Council at Lambeth for Reformation, would needs have his Cross carried before him, which John Peckam, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury would in no case permit to be done in his Province. Wherefore the said Peckam inhibited all from selling

6. To return to King Henry, never did the branches of the English Monarchy sprout higher, or spread broader before or since, as in the Reign of this King, so large and united his command, though in several capacities: For by right of inheritance from his Mother Maud, he held England and the Duke-

How much carnality in the most spiritual.

\* Luke 22. 24.

The Popes decision gives final satisfaction.

b Mr Jackson out of Floribegans in his Chronologie Anno 1280.

The far extended English Monarchie in this Kings Reiga.

dom of Normandy, by the same title from his Father, *Geffroy Plantagenet*; he possessed fair lands in *Anjou and Maine*, by *Match* in right of *Queen Eleanor* his wife he enjoyed the *Dukedom of Aquitaine and Guien* even to the *Pyrenean Mountains*; by *Conquest* he lately had subdued *Ireland*; leaving it to his Successors annexed to the *English Dominions*; and for a time was the effectual *King* of Scotland, whilst keeping *William* their *King* a *Prisoner*, and acting at pleasure in the *Southern parts* thereof. The rest of *Christendom* he may be said to have held by way of *Arbitration*, as *Christiani orbis arbiter*, so deservedly did *Foreign Princes* esteem his wisdom and integrity, that in all difficult controversies he was made *Umpire* betwixt them.

Could not make him fortune in his own Family.

\* Mat. Paris, pag. 151.

Cui \* satis ad votum non essent omnia terra  
Climata, terra modo sufficit octo pedum.

He whom alive the world would scarce suffice,  
When dead, in eight foot earth contented lies.

He died at *Chinon* in *Normandy*, and was buried with very great solemnity, in the *Nunnery of Font-Evcard* in the same *Country*. A *Religious House* of his own *Foundation* and *Endowment*.

Disobedience endeavoured to be explained by superstition  
a Mat. Paris, p. 151.

8. It is confidently reported, that when *Richard*, Son and Successor to *King Henry*, approached his Fathers dead Corps, they bled afresh at the *Nostrils*; whence some collected him the cause of his death. But whilst natures *Night-councillors* (treading in the dark causes of hidden qualities) render the reason of the falling forth of the blood on such occasions, let the learned in the Laws decide how far such an accident may be improved for a legal evidence. For surely that *Judge* is no better than a *Murderer*, who condemneth one for *Murder* on that proof alone. However on the bleeding of the *Fathers Nostrils*, the Sons heart could not but bleed, as meeting there with a guilty Conscience. And therefore (according to the *Devotion* and *Devotion* of those dayes) to expiate his disobedience, he undertook with *Philip Augustus*, *King of France*, a long Voyage against *Sultan Saladin*, to recover *CHRIST* his grave, and the *City of Jerusalem*, from the *Turks* in *Palestine*.

An account of our design.

9. Having formerly written an whole Book of the *Holy War*, and particularly of *King Richards* achievements therein, I intend here no repetition; Only our design is to give a Catalogue of some of our *English Nobility*, who adventured their persons in the *Holy War*; and whole Male-Posterity is eminently extant at this day. I have known an excellent *Musician*, whom no Arguments could persuade to play, until hearing a *Bungler* scrape in the company, he snatch'd the Instrument out of his hand (in indignation that *Musick* should be so much abused) then tuned and played upon it himself. My project herein is, that giving in an imperfect list, of some few noble Families, who engaged themselves in this service; It will so offend some eminent Artist (hitherto silent in this kind) that out of disdain he will put himself upon so honourable a work, deserving a Gentleman who hath Lands, Learning and leisure to undertake so costly, intricate and large a subject for the honor of our Nation. And be it premised, that to prevent all cavils about precedence, first come, first serv'd; I shall Marshal them in no other method, but as in my studies I have met with the mention of them.

10. To

Anno Dom. 1177.  
Anno Regis Ric. 23.

1289.  
39. Ric. 1.

1190.  
1.

Anno Regis Ric. 1.  
Anno Dom. 1190.

10. To begin with the place of my present habitation; one *Hugh Nevil* attended *King Richard* into the *Holy War*, and anciently lieth buried in a *Marble Monument*, in the Church of *Waltham Abbey* in *Essex*, whereof no remainders at this day. This *Hugh Nevil* being one of the *Kings* special familiars, slew a *Lion* in the *Holy Land*, first driving an arrow into his Breast, and then running him through with his sword, on whom this Verse was made,

a Viribus Hugonis vires periit Leonis } The strength of Hugh  
A Lion flew.

If *Benaiah* the son of *Jehoiadab*, was recounted the fifth amongst *David's* worthies, for b killing a *Lion* in the midst of a pit in the time of *Joab*, surely on the same reason, this bold and brave *Baron Hugh*, ought to be entred into the Catalogue of the Heroes of his Sovereign. But I cannot give credit to his report, who conceiveth that the Achievement of the man was translated to his Master; And that on this occasion *King Richard* the first got the name of *Cordalion*, or *Lions Heart*.

11. This *Hugh Nevil* gave the Manor of *Thorndon* to *Waltham Abbey*, and was Ancestor of the Noble and numerous Family of the *Nevils*; to which none in *England* equal, for Honor, Wealth and number, in the later end of *King Henry* the sixth, though at this day the Lord *Abergavenny* be the only Baron thereof: He gave for his Armes a *Crofs Saltaire*, or the *Crofs* of *St Andrew*, probably assuming it in the *Holy War*. For though I confess this is not the proper *Crofs* of *Hierusalem*, yet was it highly esteemed of all those who adventured thither, as may appear, in that all *Knights-Templers* make such *Saltire Crofs*, with their *Thwarted Leggs* upon their *Monuments*.

12. *Giralde de Talbote* succeeds in the second place; When Articles were drawn up between our *King Richard*, in his passage to *Palestine*, and *Tancred King of Sicily*, for the mutual observation of many Conditions betwixt them. He put in upon their Oaths, for his Sureties, a *Grand-Jury* of his principal Subjects then present, viz. two *Arch-Bishops*, two *Bishops*, and twenty other of his Prime Nobility expressed in his Letters c Patents; Besides many others whose names were concealed. Of these twenty, the aforesaid *Giralde de Talbote* is the first; whose Male Issue and Name is extant at this day, flourishing in the Right Honourable Family of the Earls of *Shrewsbury*.

Giralde de Talbote, whence the house of Shrewsbury.

c R. Hoveden par. p. 151. in Ric. prim.

13. Next amongst the *Royal Jurors* (as I may term them) was *Guarvin Fitz Giralde*, from whom are descended the *Fitz Giralds* in *Ireland*, (where their name is in some places Provincial) of whom the *Earl of Kildare* is chief. A memorial of their service in *Palestine* is preserved in their Armes, giving Argent a *Crofs Saltaire Gules*. Here it must be remembered, that the valiant sprightly Gentleman *Hickman Lord Windsor* is descended from the same Male Ancestors with the *Fitz Giralds* (as *Robert Glover* a most exquisite Herald doth demonstrate) though according to the fashion of that age, altering his old, and assuming a new name from *Windsor*, the place of his office and Command: This *Lord Windsor* carrieth the Badge of his Service in his Arms, being essentially the same, with the *Earl of Kildare*, save that the colours are varied; the field *Gules*, and *crofs Saltaire Argent*, betwixt twelve *Crofs crofs*, &c: Which Coat seemingly surfeited, was conceived in that age, the more healthful for the same; the more Crofsed the more Blessed, being the Devotion of those dayes.

Guarvin Fitz Giralde, from whom the Earls of Kildare and Earls of Windsor.

f See Camd. Brit. in Berkshire.

14. Four other Gentlemen of quality remain mentioned in that Patent, *William de Cury*, Father to *John* the valiant Champion and Conqueror of *Ireland*; *Robert de Novo Burgo*; *Hugh le Brain*, and *Amalury de Mountford*.

A Quaternon more of adventures.

G g

of



Ingram  
knows this po-  
tency.  
R. 1. 1. 1.  
In R. 1. 1. 1.  
1085.

Radulphus De  
Ala ripa.

b Camd. Brit.  
ibid.  
A mistake  
freely couleffi.

c Camd. Brit.  
in Cumberland  
pag. 776.

Cressant and  
Star why the  
Device of R.  
Richard the  
first, in his  
voyage to the  
Holy Land.

The Armes of  
the ancient  
Family of  
Minshall.  
d Vir. July 4.  
1542.

e Sir Richard  
Minshall of  
Buck.

As also of the  
Noble S. Johns  
and Sackville.

of all whom formerly in our Alphabetical Comment on *Abby Roll*.

15. At the siege of *Acres* or *Ptolemais* (the Grave General of the Christian Army) amongst many Worthies dying there within the compass of one year; I finde a *Togelram de Fienes* to be slain, from whom the Lord Viscount *Say and Seal*, and the Lord *Dacres* of the South derive their descent. But most visible are the remains of the Holy War in the achievement of *Theophilus Fienes*, alias *Clinton*, Earl of *Lincoln*, giving in the lower parts of his shield (in a field *Argent*) six *Crosses* crossed *Fitchee Sable*, denoting the stability and firmness of his Ancestors in that service.

16. Also at the aforesaid Siege of *Acres*, *Radulphus de Ala ripa*, Arch-Dragon of *Colchester* ended his life. Now although because a Clergy-man, he could not then leave any lawful *Issue* behind him. Yet we may be confident that the Ancient Family *De Ala ripa* or *Dautry*, still continuing in b *Suffex* were of his Alliance.

17. Before we leave the Siege of *Acres*, let me refresh the Reader with my innocent (and give me leave to say provable) mistake. I conceived the Noble Family of the Lord *Dacres* took their Sir-name from some service there performed, confirmed in my conjecture. 1. Because the name is written with a *Local Time*, *D'Acres*. 2. Joan Daughter to *Edward* the first, King of *England*, is called *D'Acres*, because Born there. 3. They gave their Armes *Gules* three *Scollop-shells Argent*; Which *Scollop-shells* (I mean the nethermost of them, because most concave and capacious) smooth within, and artificially plated without, was oft times *Cup* and *Dish* to the *Pilgrims* in *Palestine*; and thereupon their Armes often charged therewith. Since suddenly all is vanished, when I found c *Dacor*, a Rivolet in *Cumberland*, so ancient, that it is mentioned by *Beke* himself, long before the Holy War was once dreamed of, which gave the name to *Dacres* Castles, as that (their prime feat) to that Family.

18. Before we go further, be it here observed, that when King *Richard* the first went into *Palestine*, he took up for his *Devise* in his *Ensign*, a *Cressant* and a *Star*, but on what account men variously conjecture. Some conceive it done in affront to the *Sultan Saladine*, the Turk giving the *Half Moon* for his Armes; But this seems unlikely, both because a *Cressant* is not the posture of the *Turkish Moon*, and because this was a preposterous method with a valiant man at his bare setting forth, who would rather first *win*, before wear the Armes of his *Enemies*; Others make a modest, yea Religious meaning thereof, interpreting himself and his souldiers by the *Cressant* and *Star*, expecting to be enlightened from above, by the beams of succels from the *Sun of Divine Providence*. Indeed it would trouble a wife man (but that a wife man will not be troubled therewith) to give a reason of King *Richards* fancy; it being almost as casie for him to forget ours, as for us intallibly to interpret his design herein. However we may observe many of the principal perions which attended the King in this War, had their Shields be *Cressant* and be *Starred*, in relation to this the *Royal Devise*.

19. Thus *Michael Minshall* of *Minshall* in *Cheshire*, serving King *Richard* in this war, had not onely the *Cressant* and *Star* given him for his Armes, but since also that Family hath born for their Crest, two *Lions pass* holding a *Cressant*. And I have seen a Patent d lately, granted by the Lord *Marshall*, to a Knight e deriving himself from a younger branch of that Family, assigning him for distinction, to change his *Crest* into the *Sultan* kneeling and holding a *Cressant*.

20. And thus the Noble Family of *Saint-John*, (whereof the Earl of *Bullingbrook*, &c.) give for their Paternal Coat *Argent* two *Stars Or* on a *Chief Gules*. These *Stars* first give us a dim light to discover their Service in the *Holy Land*, who since are beholding for perfecter information, to one now scarce counted a *Rime*, formerly admitted for a *Poet*, acquainting us with this, and another Noble Family adventuring in the Holy War, namely, the *Sackvilles*, still flourishing in the Right Honourable the Earl of *Dorset*.

King

Anno  
Dom. 1191.  
Anno  
Regis  
Rich.  
prim.  
2.

King Richard with good intent  
To rat cite of b Jakes went  
On morn he sent affur Sir Robert Sakeville  
Sir William Waterville  
Sir Hubart and Sir Robert of Turnham  
Sir Bertram Brandes and John de St John.

Yet the Armes or Crest of the *Sackvilles* give us not the least intimation of the Holy War. And indeed no rational man can expect an universal conformity in so much variety of fancies, that all the Armes of the adventurers thither, should speake the same Language, or make some sign of their service therein.

21. I finde e *St Frederick Tilney* Knighted at *Acres* in the Holy Land, in the third year of King *Richard* the first; he was a man *Magne laur* & *potens corpore*; Sixteen Knights in a direct line of that name succeeded in that Inheritance: Whole heir general was married to the Duke of *Norfolk*, whilst a male branch (if not, which I fear, very lately extinct) flourished since at *Shelleigh* in *Suffolke*.

22. When I look upon the ancient Armes of the Noble Family of the *Villiers*, wherein there is *Pilgrim* on *Pilgrim*, I mean five *Scollops Or*, on the *Cross* of *St George*; I presently concluded, one of that Family attended King *Richard* in the Holy Land; But on better enquiry, I finde that this Family at their first coming into *England*, bare *Sable* three *Cinqufoyles Argent*; and that *St Nicholas de Villiers* Knight, changed this d Coat in the Reign, not of *Richard*, but *Edward* the first, whom he valiantly followed in his Wars in the Holy Land, and elsewhere.

23. I will conclude with the Noble Family of *Berkely*, then which none of *England* now eminently exulting, was more redoubted in the Holy War. All know their descent from *Harding* (Son to the King of *Denmark*) whose Armes are said to be *Gules* Three *Danish Axes Or*, or as others suppose with more probability, I conceive onely a plain *Cheveron*, though some three hundred years since, they have filled their Coat with Ten *Crosses* *Pate Or*, in remembrance of the Achievements of their Ancestors in that service. For I finde that *Harding* of *England* Landed at e *Joppa*, July the third, in the second year of King *Baldwin*, with a Band of stout Souldiers, where he relieved the *Christians* besieged therein.

24. But I have been too tedious, intending onely a short Essay, and to be (let me call it) an honest *Decoy*, by entering on this subject, to draw others into the compleating thereof, during the whole extent of the Holy War. The best is, for the present we have had good leisure, these Martial times affording but little Ecclesiastical matter. For at this present much of the English Church was in *Palestine*, where *Baldwin*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, ended his life before the Siege of *Acres*; and where *Hubert Walter*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, was a most active Commander; besides many more of the eminent Clergie engaged in that service. Yet many did with that one Clergy-man more had been there, (to keep him from doing mischief at home) namely, *William Longcamp*, Bishop of *Eliz*, who plaied Rex in the Kings absence: so intolerable a Tyrant was he, by abusing the Royal Authority committed unto him. And it is a wonder, that he, being indeed a Norman born, but holding so many and great offices in this land, should not be able to speak one word of good f English, as the English were not willing to speak one good word of him.

25. Such as draw up a parallel betwixt this *William Longcamp*, and *Thomas Wolsey* (afterward Arch-Bishop of *Tork*) finde them to meet in many conformities. First, in the lowliness of their birth, the one the son of an Huf-

G g 2

band-man

a Robert of  
Gloucester.  
b Jakes, that  
is Joppa in  
Palestine.

The worship-  
ful Family of  
the *Tilney*.  
c *Shelleigh* in  
his first vo-  
lume of voy-  
ages.

The most ho-  
nourable An-  
cestors of the  
*Villiers*.

d *Barnes* in his  
description of  
*Leicester-shire*.

The Armes of  
the *Berkely*.

e *Chronicon Je-  
rusalem*, lib. 9,  
cap. 11.

More Church-  
men abroad  
then Church-  
business at  
home.

f *Goodwin* in  
his catalogue  
of the Bishops  
of *Eliz*,  
*Longcamp* &  
*Wolsey* paral-  
lel'd.



band-man, the other of a Butcher. Secondly, in the greatness of their power, both being the Popes Legates, and their Kings principal Officers. Thirdly, height of their pride; *Longcampe* having fifteen hundred daylie attendants; *Wolsey*, though but a thousand, equalizing that number with the nobility of his train. Fourthly, fuddennets of their fall, and it is hard to say, which of the two lived more hated, or died less pitted.

26. Yet to give *Wolsey* his due, he far exceeded the other. *Longcampe* is accused of covetousness, promoting his base kindred, to the damage and detriment of others; no such thing charged on *Wolsey*. *Longcampe's* activity moved in the narrow spicar of *Englands* Dominions; whilst *Wolsey* might be said (in some sort) to have held in his hand the scales of Christendome. Up Emperor, down *France*; and so alternately, as he was pleased to cast in his grames. *Wolsey* sat at the sterne more then twenty years, whilst *Longcampe's* impolitrick pride oured him of his place, in less then a quarter of the time. Lastly, nothing remains of *Longcampe's*, but the memory of his pride and pomp: whilst *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, and other stately edifices, are the lasting monuments of *Wolsey's* magnificence, to all posterity.

27. But seeing it is just to settle mens memories, on their true bottom; Be it known, that one putteth in a good word in due season, in the excuse of Bishop *Longcampe*, shaply not altogether so bad as the pens of Monks would persuade us. It enraged them against him, because *Hugh Nonant* Bishop of *Coveentry* and *Lichfield*, drave out Monks out of *Coveentry*, and brought in Secular Priests in the room; which alteration he being not able of himself to effect, used the assistance of *Longcampe* Bishop of *Elie*; ordering the same in a Synod called at *London*. And seeing Monks have no medium betwixt not loving and bitter hating, no wonder if for this cause they paid him their Investives. But we have done with him, and are glad of so fair a riddance of him, on this account, that most of his mildemeanors were by him committed, not *quâ* Bishop, but *quâ* Vice-roy, and so more properly belonging to the civil Historian.

28. King *Richard* in his return from *Palestine*, was taken prisoner for *Leopold Duke of Austria*, and detained by him in durance, with hard and un-Prince-like usage. Whilst the English Clergy endeavoured the utmost for his Enlargement. And at last when a fine certain was set upon him to be paid for his Ranfome; they with much ado in two years time disburbed the same.

29. The summe was an hundred and fifty thousand marks, to be paid, part to the Duke of *Austria*, part to *Henry* the sixth, Sir-named the *Sharpe*, (Sure such our *Richard* found him) Emperor of *Germany*. Some will wonder that the weight of such a summe should then sway the back of the whole Kingdome, (putting many Churches to the sale of their silver Chaliers) having seen in our age one City in few dayes advance a larger proportion; But let such consider,

1. The money was never to return, not made over by *Bills of Exchange*, but sent over in *specie*, which made it arise the more heavily. For such summes may be said in some sort to be but lent, not lost (as to the Common-wealth) which are not exported, but spent therein in the circulation of *Trading*.
2. A third of silver went then more to make a *marke* then now adayes, witness their *groats*, worth our six pence in the intrinsic value.
3. Before trading to the *East* and *West Indies*, some hundred and fifty years since, very little the silver of *England*, in comparison to the Banks of *Modern Merchants*.

However *Hubert*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, with much diligence perfected the work, and on his ranfom paid, King *Richard* returned into *England*.

30. Now

*Wolsey* the  
heret of the  
two.

Yet a word in  
excuse of  
*Longcampe*,  
a Godwin at  
prior.

King *Richard*  
dearly Ran-  
fomed.

Why a small  
sum great in  
that age.

30. Now left his Majesty should suffer any diminution by his long late imprisonment; King *Richard* was Crowned again by *Hubert Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, at *Winchester*, with great solemnity; and one may say that his durance was well bestowed on him, seeing after the same he was improved in all his relations.

- Son*. For though he could not revive his dead Father; yet on all occasions he expressed sorrow for his undutifulness.
- Husband*. Hereafter priting the company of *Beringaria* his Queen; Daughter to *Sanctius* King of *Navarre*, whom formerly he slighted and neglected.
- Brother*. Freely and fully pardoning the practices of his Brother *John* aspiring to the Crown in his absence; and being better to his base Brother *Geffery*, Arch-Bishop of *Tork*, then his tumultuous nature did deserve.
- Man*. Being more strict in ordering his own conversation.
- King*. In endeavouring the amendment of many things in the Land, in whole dayes a Council was kept at *Tork*, for Reformation, but little effected.

6. 1196.

8. 1198

31. *Hubert Walter*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, had almost finished a fair Covenant for Monks at *Lambeth*, begun by *Baldwin* his Predecessor. But instantly the Monks of *Canterbury* are all up in anger against him; they feared that in process of time *Lambeth* would prove *Canterbury* (viz. the Principal place of the Arch-Bishops residence) to the great impairing of their Priviledges; the vicinity of *Lambeth* to the Court encreased their jealousy; And now they ply the Pope with Petitions, and with what makes Petitions to take effect in the Court of *Rome*; never content till they had obtained (contrary to the Kings and Arch-Bishops desire) that the Covenant at *Lambeth* was utterly demolished; many bemoaning the untimely end thereof, before it was ended, murdered, as one may say, by malicious emulation.

*Lambeth* Co-  
ven, why de-  
molished.

9. 1199:

32. The death of King *Richard* is variously reported, but this relation generally received, that he lost his life on this sad occasion. A Viscount in *France*, subject to King *Richard*, having found a vast Treasure, (hid probably by some Prince, the Kings Predecessor) sent part thereof to King *Richard*, reserving the rest to himself; who could he have concealed all, had made no discovery, and had he sent all, had got no displeasure; whilst hoping by this middle-way to please the King, and profit himself, he did neither. King *Richard* disdaines to take part for a gift, where all was due; and blame him not, if having lately bled so much money, he desired to fill his empty veins again. The Viscount fled into *Paris*, whither the King following, straightly besieged him.

King *Richard*  
his death.

33. The Castle being reduced to distress, a Souldier shoots a poisoned arrow, contrary to the Law of *Armes*, being a sharp arrow, from a strong bow, is poison enough of it self, without any other addition. But those Laws of *Armes*, are only mutually observed in orderly Armies (if such to be found) and such Laws outlawed by extremity; when the half-famished Souldier, rather for sight then hunger, will champ a bullet. The arrow hits King *Richard* in the eye, who died some dayes after on the anguish thereof, having first forgiven the souldier that wounded him.

By a poisoned  
arrow.

34. By Will he made a tripartite division of his body, and our \* Author takes upon him to render a reason thereof. His Heart he bequeathed to *Ran*, because he had ever found that City hearty and cordial unto him: His Body to be buried at *Fount-Everard*, at his Fathers feet, in token of his sorrow and submission, that he desired to be as it were his Fathers Foot-stool: His

The three-  
fold division  
of his body.  
\* *Met. Paris*  
in hoc anno,  
pag. 195.

Bowls

a Gervasius  
Dated, censur'd  
in Rich. 1.  
p16. 1528.

His double  
Epitaph and  
successor.

b Driftes in his  
catalogue of  
honors, p28.  
120.

c Camden  
Brit. in Ox-  
ford-shire,

*Bonels* to be buried in the Parish Church, in the Province of Poitou, where he died (not for any *Bonels* of affection he bare unto them, but) because he would leave his *plub* and *excrementis* to so *base* and *treacherous* a place. Others more charitably conceive them buried there, because conveniently not to be carried thence, whole corruption required speedy interment. Another Monk telleth us, that his Heart was *grossitudine* & *proflans*, *gross* for the greatness thereof, which is contrary to the received opinion, that that part is the least in a valiant man, and the heart of a Lion (this *Richard* we know was called *Cure de Lion*, or Lion-hearted) less then the heart of an *Hare*.

25. I finde two *Epitaphs* made upon him, the first, (better for the conceit then the *Poetry* thereof) thus concludeth:

*Sic loca b per trina se sparfit tanta ruina,  
Nec fuit hoc funus cui sufficeret locus unus.*

Three places thus, are sharers of his fall,  
Too little, one, for such a Funeral.

The second may pass for a good piece of Poetry in that age;

*Hic Richard c jaces, sed mors si cederet, armis  
Vicia timore tui, cederet ipsa tuis.*

*Richard* thou liest here, but were death afraid  
Of any armies, thy armies had death dismayd.

Dying issueless, the Crown after his death should have descended to *Arthur*, Duke of Britain, as son to *Geffery*, fourth son to *Henry* the second, in whose minority, *John*, fifth son to the said *King*, seized on the Crown, keeping his Nephew *Arthur* in prison till he died therein. Thus climbing the Throne against confidence; no wonder if he fate thereon without comfort, as in the following Century, God willing, shall appear.

The End of the Twelfth CENTURY.

CENT.

Anno  
Dom.  
1199.  
Anno  
Regis  
Rich.  
prim.  
9.

1100  
King  
John  
1.

CENT. XIII.

TO  
M<sup>r</sup> JOHN ROBINSON  
OF

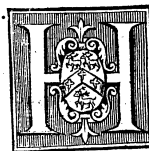
Milke-street in London, Merchant.

DIVINES generally excuse the \* dumb man cured by  
CHRIST, for publishing the same, though contrary  
to his command. THEOPHYLACT goes farther in his  
Comment on the Text, *didonchusm isfudus, unplanus 23 quidam non dya-*  
*domus odryus nre ludens pui dromy;* Hence we are taught (saith  
he) to proclaim and spread the fame of our BENE-  
FACTORS, though they themselves be unwilling.  
On which account I safely may, and justly must, pub-  
lickly acknowledg your bountie to me.

\* Mark 7. 36.

John  
3.

1207. I.



Is Christmas King John kept at Guilford, where he bestowed many new holiday-liveries on his Guard, and Hubert the Arch-Bishop, gave the like to his servants at Canterbury; who offended the King not a little, that the *Attire* should Ape the Crown, and the Chaplain vie gallantry with his Patron. To make some amends, when the King and Queen, the Easter following, were Crowned at Canterbury; Hubert made them magnificent, yea, superfluous a cheer. Yet his offence herein carried an excuse in it; and superfluity at that time seemed but needful to do penance for his former profuseness; and to shew that his Loyalty in entertaining of the King, should surpass his late vanity,

Hubert's indis-  
creet emulation  
of the  
King.

a Mat. Paris  
hist. Ang. in  
Anno 1201.

Anno  
Regis  
Anno  
Dom.

vanity, in ostentation of his wealth. However when King John had digested the *Arch-Bishops* dainty cheer, the memory of his servants coats stiff in his stomach. Surely if *Clergy-men* had left all emulation, with the *Laity*, in outward pomp, and applied themselves only to piety and painfulness in their calling, they had found as many to honour, as now they made to envy them.

2. But now we enter on one of the saddest *Tragedies* that ever was acted in *England*, occasioned by the *Monks of Canterbury*, after the decease of *Hubert*, about the election of a new *Arch-Bishop*. O that their Monkish controversies had been confined to a *Cloyster*, or else so enjoyed a single life; that their local discords might never have begotten any National diffentions. Behold (saith the *Apottle*) *how great a matter a little fire kindleth*, especially after a long drought, when every thing it meets is *Tinder* for it. All things at home, (scilicet *foreign concurrences*) conspired to inflame the difference: King John rather stubborn than valiant, was unwilling to lose, yet unable to keep his right; the *Nobility* potent and factious; the *Clergie* looking at *London*, but rowing to *Rome*, carrying *Italian hearts* in *English* bodies: the *Commons* preffed with present grievances, generally desirous of change; conceiving any alteration must be for their advantage, barely because an alteration. All improved the discord so long, till *Normandy* was lost; *England* embroyl'd; the *Crown* thereof invassall'd; the *Kings* person destroyed; his posterity endangered; *Forciners* fetch'd in to insult, and *Native Subjects* made *Slaves* to their intolencies.

3. The younger of the *Monks of Canterbury*, in the night time, without the *Kings* knowledge or consent, chose *Reginald* their *sub-prior*, to be *Arch-Bishop*. The *Seniors* of their *Convent*, solemnly, at a *Canonial* hour, with the approbation, yea commendation of the *King*, chose *John Gray*, *Bishop of Norwich* for the place; and both sides post to *Rome* for the *Popes* confirmation; he finding them violent in their wayes; to prevent further faction, advised them to pitch on a third man: *Stephen Langton*, born in *England*, but bred in *France*, lately *Chancellor of the University of Paris*, and thence made *Cardinal of St Chrysogone*. Which expedient, or middle way, though carrying a plausible pretence of peace, whereby the consequence thereof improve the *Popes* power, by invading the undoubted privileges of King John. The *Monks* loberly excused themselves, that they durst not proceed to an election without the *Kings* consent; but affrighted at last with the high threats of his *Holindes*, menacing them with *Excommunication*; *Stephen Langton* was chosen accordingly: One that wanted not ability for the place, but rather had too much, as King John conceived, having his high spirit in supulsion, that he would be hardly managed.

4. Then two Letters were dispatch'd from the *Pope*, to the *King*. The first had nothing of business, but complement, and four gold *Rings* with several stones; desiring him rather to munde the mysteries, then value the worth of the present; wherein the *Round* form signified *Eternity*, their *Square* Number, *Constancy*, the green *Smaragd*, Faith, the clear *Saphir*, Hope, the red *Granat*, Charity, the bright *Topaz*, good works; How precious these stones were in themselves, is uncertain; most sure it is they proved *Dear* to King John, who might bestrow his own fingers, for ever wearing those *Rings*, and, as my \* *Author* saith, soon after, *gemme commutate in geminis*. For in the second Letter, the *Pope* recommended *Stephen Langton* to the *Kings* acceptance, closely couching threats in case he refused him.

5. King John returned an answer full of stomach and animosity, that this was an intolerable encroachment, on his *Crown* and *Dignity*, which he neither could nor would digest, to have a stranger, unknown unto him, bred in *foreign* parts, familiar with the *French King* his sworn enemy, obtruded upon him for an *Arch-Bishop*. He minded the *Pope* that he had plenty of *Pre-lates* in the *Kingdome of England*, sufficiently provided in all kind of know-

A search here-  
the  
Arch-Bishop  
to an arch-  
e - was a  
Pope's  
would.  
a Times 3-5.

Two Arch-  
Bishops, cho-  
se the  
Monks of  
Canterbury, &  
the Pope pro-  
posed a third.

The Pope  
feinds two  
Letters of  
contrary tem-  
pers to the  
King.

\* Mat. Paris  
in Anno 1207,  
pag. 223.

King John re-  
turns, raising  
his voice to  
too high a  
note as still.

Anno  
Dom.  
1201.  
Regis  
7th.  
3.

1205. 7.

1207. 10.

Anno  
Regis  
7th.  
10.

Anno  
Dom.  
1207.

ledges, and that he need not to go abroad to seek for judgement and justice, intimating an intended defection from *Rome*, in case he was wronged. Other passages were in his letter, which deserved memory, had they been as vigorously acted, as valiantly spoken. Whereas now, (because he fouly failed at last) judicious ears hearken to his words no otherwise, then to the empty brags of impotent anger, and the vain evaporations of his discontentment. However, he began high, not only banishing the *Monks of Canterbury* for their contempt, out of his *Kingdome*, but also forbidding *Stephen Langton*, from once entering into *England*.

6. Hereupon *Pope Innocent*, the third, employed three *Bishops*, *William of London*, *Eustace of Ely*, and *Mauger of Worcester*, to give the *King* a serious admonition, and upon his denial, or delaying to receive *Stephen Langton*, for *Arch-Bishop*, to proceed to *Interdict* the *Kingdome* of all Ecclesiastical services, saving *Baptisme* of Children, *Confession*, and the *Eucharist*, to the dying in case of necessity, which by them was performed accordingly. No sooner had they *Interdicted* the *Kingdome*; but with *Joseline Bishop of Bath*, and *Giles of Hereford*, they, as speedily, as secretly, got them out of the *Land*, like adventurous *Empiricks*, unwilling to wait the working of their desperate *Physick*: except any will compare them to fearfull *Boyes*, which at the first tryall set fire to their *quills*, with their *faces backwards*, and make fast away from them: but the worst was, they must leave their *lands*, and considerable moveables in the *kingdome* behind them.

7. See now on a sudden the sad face, of the *English Church*. A face without a tongue; no singing of service, no saying of *Masses*, no reading of *Prayers*; as for preaching of Sermons, the *Latinistic*, and ignorance of those times, had long before interdicted them: None need pity the *living*, (hearing the impatient complaints of *Lovers*, for whose marriage no licence could be procured) when he looks on the dead, who were buried in *disches*, like dogs, without any prayers said upon them. True, a well informed Christian knows full well, that a corps though cast in a bogge, shall not stink there at the day of judgement; thrown into a *wood*, shall then finde out the way; buried by the high waves side, is in the ready *Read* to the Resurrection. In a word, that wheresoever a body be put or plac'd, it will equally take the *Alarm* at the last *Trampet*: Yet seeing these *People* beleev'd that a *Grave* in consecrated ground, was a good step to *Heaven*, and were taught that prayers after their death were essentiall to their *salvation*, it must needs put strange fears into the heads and hearts, both of such which deceas'd, and their friends which suriv'd them. And although afterwards at the intreaty of *Stephen Langton*, the *Pope* indulg'd to conventuall Churches to have service once a week: Yet *Parish Churches*, where the *peoples* need was as much, and *number* far more, of souls, as dear in *Gods* sight, were debar'd of that benefit.

8. Some *Priests* were well pleas'd that the *Interdict* for a time should continue, as which would render their persons and places in more reputation, and procure a higher valuation of *Holy mysteries*. Yea, this fasting would be wholesome to some souls, who afterwards would feed on *Divine Service* with greater appetite. Hereby two *Grand effects* were generally produc'd in the *Kingdom*. One, a terrible impression made in mens minds of the *Popes* Power, which they had often heard of, and now saw and felt, whose long arm could reach from *Rome* all over *England*, and lock the doots of all *Churches* there; an Emblem, that in like manner, he had, or might have bolted the *Gates* of *Heaven* against them. The second, an Alienation of the *peoples* hearts from King John, all being ready to complain; O cruel Tyrant over the souls of his Subjects, whose wilfulnesse depriveth them of the means of their *salvation*.

9. However, if things be well weigh'd, King John will appear meerly passive in this matter, suffering unjustly, because he would not willingly part with

Three Bi-  
shops by com-  
mand from the  
Pope Inter-  
dicted the  
whole King-  
dome.

Englands fid-  
ele under  
Interdict.

a Corpora de-  
ficientia more  
Canon in Bi-  
vix & fustis  
sue orationibus  
& facerdotum  
monasteria spe-  
libantur. Mat.  
Paris. pag. 226

b Antiq. Brit.  
in Steph Lang-  
ton pag. 159.

Two grand ef-  
fects wrought  
by this Inter-  
diction.

King John  
innocence &  
the Pops in-  
justice in these  
proceedings.



*Simon Magus*, Others, and especially *H. Arch-Bishop of Dublin* then present, were both grieved, and angry thereat; as an intolerable affront to the King: and there wanted not those, who condemn'd his pride and hypocrisy, knowing *Pandulphus* to be a most greedy griper (as appeared by his unconscionable oppression, in the Bishoprick of *Norwich*, which was afterwards bestowed upon him.) And perchance he trampled on it, not as being money, but because no greater summe thereof. Five dayes (namely *Ascension-day*, and four dayes after) *Pandulphus* kept the Crown in his possession, and then restored it to King *John*, again. A long eclipse of Royall lustre; and strange it is, that no bold Monk in his blundering *Chronicles*, did not adventure to place King *Innocent*, with his five dayes reigne, in the Catalogue of English Kings, seeing they have written what amounts to as much in this matter.

16. Now all the dispute was, whether *Peter of Wakefield* had acquitted himself a true prophet, or no: The Romiz'd faction were zealous in his behalf; *John* after that day not being King in the same sense, and Sovereignty as before; not free, but feodary; not absolute, but dependent on the Pope, whose Legate posses'd the Crown for the time being, so that his prediction was true, in that lawfull latitude justly allowed to all Prophecies. Others, because the King was neither naturally, nor civilly dead, condemn'd him of forgery; for which, by the Kings command, he was dragg'd at the horse-tail from *Corf-Castle*, and with his sonne hang'd in the Town of *Wareham*. A punishment not undeserved, if he foretold (as some report) that none of the line, or lineage of King *John*, should after be crowned in *England*, of whose off-spring some shall flourish, in free and full power on the English Throne, when the Chair of *Pesilence* shall be burnt to ashes: and neither Triple-Crown left at *Rome* to be worn, nor any head there, which shall dare to wear it.

17. Next year the Interdiction was taken off of the Kingdom, and a generall Jubilee of joy all over the Land. Banish'd Bishops being restored to their Sees; Service, and Sacraments being administred in the Church as before. But, small reason had King *John* to rejoyce, being come out of *Gals Blissing*, (of whom, before he immediately held the Crown) into the *warm Swane*, or rather, *scorching heat* of the Popes protection, which proved little beneficiall unto him.

18. A brawl happened betwixt him, and the banished Bishops (now returned home) about satisfaction for their Arrears, and reparation of their damages, during the Interdiction; all which terme the King had retained their revenues in his hands. To moderate this matter, *Nicolas*, a *Tusculane Cardinal* and Legat, was employed by the Pope: who after many meetings, and Synods to audit their Accounts, reduced all at last to the gross summe of forty thousand Marks, the restoring whereof by the King unto them, was thus divided into three payments.

1. Twelve thousand Marks *Pandulphus* carried over with him into *France*, and delivered them to the Bishops, before their return.

2. Fifteen thousand were paid down at the late meeting in *Reading*.

3. For the thirteen thousand remaining, they had the Kings Oath, Bond, and other Sureties.

But then in came the whole crye of the rest of the Clergy, who stayed all the while in the Land, bringing in the Bills of their severall sufferings, and losses sustained, occasioned by the Interdiction. Yea, some had so much avarice, and little conscience, they could have been contented, the Interdiction had still remained, untill all the accidentall damages were repaired. But *Cardinal Nicolas* averred them to amount to an incredible summe, impossible to be paid, and unreasonable to be demanded; adding withall, that in generall grievances, private men may be glad, if the main be made good unto them, not descending to petty particulars, which are to be cast out of course, as inconsiderable in a common calamity. Hereupon, and on some other occasions,

*Peter the prophet*, hanged, whether unjustly, disputed.

a *Mat. Paris* Ut print.

The Interdiction of *England* relaxed.

The Popes Legate arbitrates the affairs betwixt the King and Clergy.

Anno Domini 1213.  
Anno Regni Joh. 14.

ons, much grudging, and jutting there was, betwixt *Stephen*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Legat, as one in his judgement, and carriage, too propitious; and partiall to the Kings cause.

19. The remnant of this Kings Reign, afforded little Ecclesiastical Story; but what is so complicated with the Interest of State, that it is more proper for the *Chronicles of the Common-wealth*. But this is the brief thereof. The *Barons of England* demanded of King *John*, to desist from that arbitrary and tyrannical power he exercised; and to restore King *Edwards* Laws, which his great Grand-father King *Henry* the first had confirmed to the Church and State, for the general good of his Subjects; yea, and which he himself, when lately absolved from the sentence of Excommunication by *Stephen*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, had solemnly promised to observe. But King *John*, though at the first he condescended to their requests, afterwards repented of his promise, and refused the performance thereof. Hereupon the Barons took up Arms against him, and called in *Lewis* Prince of *France*, son to *Philip Augustus*, to their assistance, promising him the Crown of *England* for his reward.

20. Yet the Pope endeavoured what lay in his power, to dissuade Prince *Lewis* from this design, to which at first he encouraged him, and now forbade him in vain. For, where a Crown is the Game hunted after, such bounds are easier laid on, then either rated, or hollowed off. Yea, ambition had brought this Prince into this Dilemma; that, if he invaded *England*, he was accursed by the Pope; if he invaded it not, forsworn of himself, having promised upon oath, by such a time to be at *London*. Over comes *Lewis* into *England*, and there hath the principal learning of the Land, the Clergie; the strength thereof, the Barons; the wealth of the same, the Londoners, to joyn with him: Who but ill requir'd King *John*, for his late bounty to their City, in first giving them a Mayor for their governour. *Gualo* the Popes new Legat, sent on purpose, bestir'd himself with Book, Bell, and Candle; Excommunicating the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, with all the Nobility opposing King *John*, now in protection of his Holiness. But the commons of these curses, caused them to be contemned; so that they were a fright to few, a mock to many, and an hurt to none.

21. King *John* thus distressed, sent a base, degenerate, and unchristian-like embassage, to *Admiral Marmeluz* a Mahometan King of *Morocco*, then very puissant, and possessing a great part of *Spain*: offering him, on condition he would lend him succour, to hold the Kingdom of *England* as a vassal from him, and to receive the Law of *Mahomet*. The *Moor*, marvelously offended with his offer, told the Embassadors, that he lately had read *Pauls* Epistles, which for the matter liked him very well, save only that *Paul* once renounced that faith wherein he was born, and the Jewish profession. Wherefore he neglected King *John*, as devoid both of piety and policy, who would love his liberty, and disclaim his Religion. A strange tender, if true. Here, whilst some alledge in behalf of King *John*, that cases of extremity excuse counsels of extremity (when liberty is not left to chuse what is best, but to snatch what is next, neglecting future safety for present subsistence) we only listen to the saying of *Solomon*: Oppression maketh a wise man mad. In a fit of which fury, oppressed on all sides with enemies, King *John*, scarce compos sui, may be presumed to have pitched on this project.

22. King *John* having thus tried *Turk* and *Pope* (and both with bad success) sought at last to escape those his enemies, whom he could not resist, by a far, and fast march into the North-eastern Counties. Where turning mischievous instead of valiant, he cruelly burnt all the stacks of Corn, of such as he conceived disaffected unto him: doing therein most spite to the rich for the present, but in fine more spoil to the poor, the prices of grain falling heavy on those, who were least able to bear them. Coming to *Lin*, he rewarded the fidelity of that Town unto him, with bestowing on that Corporation

The Barons rebel against King *John*.

*Lewis* Prince of *France* invited by the Barons to invade *England*.

a Granted to the City, Anno Dom. 1209. *Grafton*, fol. 59.

An unworthy Embassage of King *John* to the King of *Morocco*.

b *Mat. Paris* pag. 245. placeth this two years sooner, viz. An. 1213.

c *Eclis*. 7. 7.

The lamentable death of King *John*.

Anno Domini 1216.

a Camd. Brit.  
in Norfolk.

b Wil. Caxton  
in his Chron.  
called *Prætor*  
temp. lib. 7.  
c Mat. Paris  
pag. 287.

d Compare  
Mr Foxe Mar-  
tyr, pag. 244.  
with *Prætor*  
pag. 194.

King John's  
character de-  
scribed in the  
dark.

Henry the  
third under  
Tutors and  
Governors.

e 2 Chron. 16. 7.

By what  
means King  
Henry so  
quickly re-  
covered his  
Kingdom.

tion his own sword; which had he himself but known how well to manage, he had not so soon been brought into so sad a condition. He gave also to the same place a faire silver Cup all gilded. But few dayes after a worle Cup was presented to King John, at *Swishbed Abbey* in *Lincoln-shire*; by one *Simon*, a Monk, of poisoned wine, whereof the King died. A murder so horrid that it concerned all Monks (who in that age had the Monopoly of writing Histories) to conceal it, and therefore give our sundry other causes of his death. Some report him heart-broken with grief, for the loss of his baggage, and treasure drowned in the passage over the washes: it being just with God, that he who had plagued others with fire, should be punished by water, a contrary, but as cruel an element. Others ascribe his death to a looseness, and scouring with bloud; others to a cold sweat; others to a burning heat, all effects not inconsistent with poyson: so that they in some manner may seem to set down the symptoms, and suppress his disease.

23. It is hard to give the true character of this Kings conditions. For, we only behold him through such light, as the Friars his foes show him in: who to hold the candle, that with the shadow thereof they darken his virtues, and present onely his vices. Yea, and as if they had also poisoned his memory, they cause his faults to swell to a prodigious greatness, making him with their pens more black in conditions, then the *Morocco-King* (whose aid he requested) could be in complexion. A murderer of his Nephew *Arthur*; a defiler of the wives and daughters of his Nobles; sacrilegious in the Church; profane in his discourse; wilful in his private resolutions; various in his publick promises; false in his faith to men, and wavering in his Religion to God. The favourablest expression of him falls from the pen of *Roger Hoveden*:

*Princeps quidem magnus erat, sed minus felix,  
Atq; ut Marins, utramque fortunam expertus.*

Perchance he had been esteemed more pious, if more prosperous; it being an usual (though uncharitable) error, to account mischances to be misdeeds. But we leave him quietly buried in *Worcester Church*, and proceed in our storie.

24. *Henry*, the third of that name, his Son, succeeded him, being but ten years old, and was Crowned at *Gloucester*, by a moiety of the Nobility and Clergie, the rest siding with the French *Lewis*. Now, what came not so well from the mouth of *Absjah* the son, concerning his father *Rhoboaam*, posterity may, no less truly, and more properly pronounce of this *Henry*, even when a man, *He was but a child, and tender-hearted*. But, what strength was wanting in the *Isaie* it self, was supplied by the Oaks, his supporters, his Tutors and Governours; first, *William Marshall*, Earl of *Pembroke*, and after his death, *Peter*, Bishop of *Winchester*. But, of these two Protectors successively, a sword-man, and a Church-man; the latter left the deeper impression on this our King *Henry*, appearing more Religious then resolute; devout then valiant. His Reign was not onely long for continuance, fifty six years, but also thick for remarkable mutations happening therein.

25. Within little more then a twelvemonth, he recovered the entire possession of his Kingdom, many things concurring to expedite so great an alteration. First, the insolvency of the French, disobliging the English by their cruelty, and wantonness. Secondly, the inconstancy of the English (if starting loyalties return to its lawful Sovereign may be so termed) who, as for their own turns they call'd in *Lewis*, so for their turns they cast him out. Thirdly, the innocence of Prince *Henry*, whose harmless age, as it attracted love to him on his own account, so he seemed also hereditarily to succeed to some pity, as the Son of a suffering Father. Fourthly, the wildom and valor

counsel

Anno Dom.  
1216.  
Anno Regi.  
7th.  
47.

Hen.  
3.  
Opp.  
3.

Anno  
Regis  
Hen. 3.  
1.

Anno  
Dom.  
1217.

counsel and courage of *William Earl of Pembroke*, his Protector; who, having got the French *Lewis* out of his covert of the City of *London*, that soon after the fatal battel of *Lincoln*, that soon after the said *Lewis* was slain, by the colour of a composition, to qualifie his retreat (not to say his flight) into the honour of a departure. Lastly, and chiefly, the Mercy of God to an injured Orphan, and his Justice that detained right, though late, yet at last, should return to its proper owner.

26. But it were not onely unciell, but injurious for us to meddle with these matters, proper to the pens of the civil Historians. We shall therefore confine our selves principally to take notice in this Kings Reign, as of the unconscionable extortions of the Court of *Rome*, on the one side, to the detriment of the King and Kingdom: so of the defence which the King, as well as he could, made against it. Defence, which, though too faint and feeble, fully to recover his right, from so potent oppression; yet did this good, to continue his claim, and preserve the title of his privileges, until his Son, and Successors, in after-ages, could more effectually redue the rights of their Crown, from Papal usurpation.

27. Indeed at this time many things imboldened the Pope (not over-bashful of himself) to be the more busie in the collecting of money. First, the troublefomness of the times, and best fishing for him in such waters. Secondly, the ignorance of most, and the obnoxiousness of some of the English Clergie. Now, such as had weak heads, must finde strong backs; and those that led their lives loose, durst not carry their purses tied, or grudge to pay dear for a convenience at their viciousness. Thirdly, the minority of King *Henry*, and (which was worse) his non-age after his full-age; such was his weakness of spirit, and lowliness of resolution. Lastly, the Pope conceiving that this King got his Crown under the countenance of his excommunicating his enemies, thought that either King *Henrie's* weakness could not see, or his goodness would winke at his intolerable extortions; which, how great soever, were but a large shiver of that loaf, which he had given into the Kings hand. Presuming on the premises, *Guilo* the Popes Legat, by his Inquisitors throughout *England*, collected a vast summe of money of the Clergie, for their misdemeanours; *Hugo* Bishop of *Lincoln*, paying no less for his share, then a thousand marks sterling to the Pope, and an hundred to this his Legat. Yet, when this *Guilo* departed, such as hated his dwelling here, grieved at his going hence, because fearing a worse in his room, chusing rather to be suck'd by full, then fresh flies; hoping that those already gorg'd, would be afterwards less greedy.

28. And being now to give the Reader a short account of the long Reign of this King; I shall alter my proceedings, embracing a new course which hitherto I have not, nor hereafter shall venture upon. Wherein I hope the variation may be not onely pleasant, but profitable to the Reader, as scientificall and satisfactory in it self; namely, I will for the present leave off consulting with the large and numerous Printed or Manuscript Authors of that Age, and betake my self only to the *Tower-Records*, all authentically attested under the hands of *William Ryley Narrey*, keeper of that precious Treasury.

29. When I have first exemplified them, I shall proceed to make such observations upon them, as, according to my weakness, I conceive of greatest concernment; being confident that few considerables in that Age (which was the crisis of Regal and Papal power in this Land) will escape our discovery herein.

30. Onely I desire a pardon for the premising of this Touch of State-matters. At this instant the Common-wealth had a great serenity, as lately cleared from such active spirits, who nick-named the *calme* and *quiet* of *Peace*, a *stob* of Government. Such *Falcatus* de *Brenty*, and

Our principal  
designe in writ-  
ing this Kings  
life.

Occasions of  
the Popes in-  
tolerable ex-  
tortions.

a Mat. Paris,  
pag. 299.

A new design.

Good Texts  
what are the  
Comments.

Serenity in  
the State.

and others, who had merited much in setting this *Henry* the third on the Throne; and it is dangerous when *Subjects* conferr too great benefits on their *Sovereigns*; for afterwards their mindes are onely made capable of receiving more *reward*, not doing more *duty*. These were offended, when such Lands and Castles, which by the *heat of War* had unjustly been given them, by *Peace* were justly took away from them, finding such uprightness in the King, that his *Power of Protection*, would not be made a *wrong doer*. But now the *old stock* of such male-contents, being either worne out with age, or ordered otherwise into Obedience, all things were in an univerſal tranquillity, within the first seven years of this Kings Reign.

Anno  
Dom.  
1214

Anno  
Regis  
Hen. 3  
7.

SECT.

Anno  
Regis

Anno  
Dom.

## THOMÆ HANSON.

Amico meo.

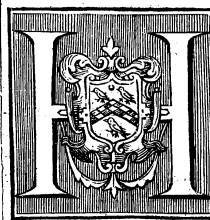
Displicet mihi modernus Scribendi Mos, quo *Monumenta* indies exarantur. *Literæ* enim sunt fugaces, ut quæ non *stabili manu* penitus *Membranis* infiguntur, sed *currente Calamo* summam earum *Cuticulam* vix leviter præstringunt. Hæc cum sæculum unum & alterum duraverint, vel *Linceis* oculis lectu erunt perdifficiles.

Haud ita olim *Archiva*, in *Turre Londinensi*, *Rotulis*, *Scaccario*, &c. deposita; in quibus ingens *Scribarum* cura, iusta *Membranarum* firmitas, *Atramentum* vere *Æthiopicum*, integra *Literarum* lineamenta, ut *Calamus Præli Æmulus* videatur. Ita adhuc vigent omnia, in illis quæ *trecentis* abhinc *Annis* notata, ut *Is*, cui *Characteris Antiquitas* minus cognita, *nuperrime* descripta iudicaret.

Ex his nonnulla decerpsi, ad Rem nostram facientia, & ea *Tibi* dedicanda curavi, quem omnes norunt *Antiquitatis Canicem* venerari: Quo, in *Ducatus Lancastrensis Chartulis* custodiendis, nemo *fidelior*, perlegendis, *oculator*, communicandis, *candidior*.

Henric.  
3.  
7

1214



Ere we begin with the Kings Precept to the Sheriff of *Buckinghamshire*, considerable for the Rarity thereof, though otherwise but a matter of private concernment.

*Vic. Bucks.* Precipimus tibi quod Emme de Pinkney ux. Laur. Pinkney, qui excommunicatus est, te quod predixi. Emman. affectione maritali non utaris, eid. Emme rationabil. Efflor. invenias, donec idem Laur. Vir suam tanquam suam tractaverit.

To the high Sheriff of *Buckinghamshire*. We command you concerning Emme de Pinkney, Wife of Laurence Pinkney, who is excommunicated, because he did not use the foresaid Emme with Affection befitting a Husband, that you find for the said Emme Efflower in reasonable proportion, untill the said Laurence her Husband shall use her as becometh his Wife.

A remarkable writ of the King to the Sheriff of Buckinghamshire.

Of this Laurence Pinkney I can say nothing: onely I find his Family ancient, and

I i

Ba-



a Camden.  
Brit. in  
Northamp-  
tonshire.

b Bradlon  
lib. 1. tract. 2.  
c. 18. num. 1.

A remarka-  
ble prohibi-  
tion of Papal  
appeals.

c Clunf. 3.  
Henr. 3.  
mon. c. 1.  
depo.

d Not di-  
phongas in  
old Records.

Barons of <sup>a</sup>Weldon in Northamptonshire. It seemeth strange he should be excom-  
municated for not loving usage of his Wife, no Incontinencie appearing (pro-  
municated for not loving usage of his Wife, no Incontinencie appearing (pro-  
ved against him) except his carriage was Cruell in a high degree. By *Essever*, in  
out *Forrest Towns*, we only understand, *A certain allowance of Wood*, though the  
in extent of the word be far larger, importing *Nourishment*, or *maintenance* in  
*Meat and Cloth*, as a learned <sup>b</sup>Lawyer hath observed. This it seems being denied  
by her husband, the King enjoyneth the *Sheriff*, that he should appoint the said  
*Emme Pinkney* reasonable *Alimony*, in proportion, no doubt, to her Portion  
and her Husbands estate.

2. Next we take notice of a Writing which the King sent over to the Arch-  
bishop of Dublin, and which deserveth the Readers serious perusal.

**R**ex <sup>c</sup>Dublin. Archiepiscopo, Justiciario Hibernie, Salutem.  
Ad ea que vobis nuper nostris dedimus in Mandatis, ut nobis re-  
sponderetis quatenus fuisset processum in causa Nicolai de Felda,  
qui contra Abbatem & Canonicos S<sup>ci</sup> Thomae Dublinensis in Curia  
nostra, coram Justiciariis nostris, petiit duas Carrucas Terræ  
nostræ, cum pertinentiis in Keldredery per assisam de morte Antecesso-  
ris, cui etiam coram eisdem Justiciariis objecta fuit Bastardia, pro-  
pter quod ab ipsis Justiciariis nostris ad vos fuit transmissus, ut in  
foro Ecclesiastico de ejus Bastardia sive Legitimitate agnosceretis,  
nobis per litteras vestras significatis; quod cum in foro Civili  
Terram predictam petere, per litteras nostras de morte Antecesso-  
ris versus memoratos Abbatem & Canonicos objecta ei fuit nota  
Bastardie, quare in foro eodem tunc non fuit ulterius processum.  
Memoratus etiam Nicolaus de mandato Justiciariorum nostrorum  
in foro Ecclesiastico coram nobis volens probare se esse Legitimum,  
testes produxit: & publicatis attestationibus suis, post diuturnum  
altercationes & disputationes tam ex parte Abbatis, quam ipsius  
Nicolai, cum ad calculum diffinitivæ Sententie procedere velle-  
tis, comparuerunt due Puellæ minoris etatis, filie Ricardi de la Felda,  
patris predicti Nicolai, & appellaverunt ne ad sententiam seren-  
dam procederetis, quia hoc in manifestum earum verteretur pre-  
judicium: Eo quod alias precluderetur eis vi petendi hereditatem  
petitam, nec possit eis subveniri per restitutionem in inte-  
grum. Unde de consilio vestrorum prudentum, ut dicitis, Appel-  
lationi deferentes causam, secundum quod coram nobis agitata  
est, DOMINO PAPER transmissistis instructam. De quo pluri-  
mum admirantes, non immerito movemur, cum de Legitimitate  
predicti Nicolai per vestrum productiones, & attestationem Pub-  
licationes, plene nobis constet; vos propter appellationem Puel-  
larum predictarum, contra quas non agebatur, vel etiam de qui-  
bus nulla fiebat mentio in assisa memorata, nec fuerunt alique  
partes illarum in causa predicta, sententiam diffinitivam pro eo  
distulistis pronuntiare, & male quasi nostrum declinantes exa-  
minem, & volentes ut quod per nostram determinandum esset iuris-

Anno  
Dom.  
1214  
Anno  
Regis  
Henr.  
3.  
1215

1215

Anno  
Dom.  
1215  
Anno  
Regis  
Henr.  
3.  
1215

ditionem, & dignitatem, ad alienam transferretur dignitatem;  
quod valde perniciosum esset exemplo. Cum etiam si adeptus  
esset prædictus Nicholaus possessionem terræ prædictæ, per assisam  
prædictam, beneficium Peticionis Hereditatis prædictis puellis  
plane suppeteret in Curia nostra, per Breve de Recto, maxime  
cum per litteras de morte Antecessoris agatur de possessione, &  
non de proprietate, & ex officio vestro in casu proposito nihil  
aliud ad vos pertinebat, nisi tantum de ipsius Nicholai Legitimitate  
probationes admittere, & ipsum cum litteris vestris Testimonia-  
libus ad Justiciarios nostros remittere. De consilio igitur Magna-  
tum & fidelium nobis assistentium, vobis mandamus firmiter in-  
iungentes, quatenus non obstante appellatione præmissa, non  
differatis pro eo sentenciare, ipsum ad Justiciarios nostros remit-  
tentes, cum litteris vestris testimonialibus, ut eis de loquela post-  
modum agitata, postmodum possint secundum legem & consue-  
tudinem terræ nostræ Hibernie Justiciariæ plenitudinem exhibere.  
Teste Rege apud Glocester 19. die Novembris.

3. The summe of this Instrument is this. One Nicholas de Felda suing for a  
portion of ground detained from him by the Abbot of St. Thomas in Dublin,  
(founded and plentifully endowed in memory of Thomas Becker) had *Bastar-  
dy* objected against him. The clearing hereof was by the Kings Judges remitted  
to the Courts Ecclesiasticall, where the said Nicholas produced effectual proofs  
for his Legitimation. But upon the appeal of two minor-daughters of the Fa-  
ther of the said Nicholas, who never before appeared, and who (if wronged)  
had their remedy at Common-Law, by a *Vrit of Right*, the matter was by the  
Arch-bishop of Dublin transferred to the Court of Rome.

4. The King saith in this his Letter, that he did much admire thereat, and  
(though all Interests expresse themselves to their own advantage) intimates  
the Act not usual. And whereas he saith, that the example would be pernicious;  
it seems, if this were a leading case, the Kings desire was it should have none to  
follow it, peremptorily injoyning the Arch-bishop (notwithstanding the a-  
foresaid Appeal to the Pope) to proceed to give Sentence on the behalf of the  
said Nicholas, & notto derive the Kings undoubted right to a foreign Power.

5. Indeed the Kings of England were so *Crest-fallen*, or rather *Crown-fallen*  
in this Age, that the forbidding of such an Appeal, appeareth in him a *daring*  
*deed*. *Est aliquid prodire tenus; Effrayes* in such nature were remarkable, con-  
sidering the inundation of the Papall Power. Green Leaves in the depth of  
Winter, may be more then full Flowers from the same root in the Spring. It  
seems some Royall Sap still remained in the English Sceptre, that it durst op-  
pose the Pope in so high a degree.

19 1235 6. In this year 1235. the CAURSINES first came into England, proving  
the *Pests of the Land*, and Bane of the people therein. These were *Italians* by  
*Birib*, terming themselves the *Pope's Merchants*, driving no other Trade then  
*Letting out money*, great Banks whereof they brought over into England, dis-  
serving little from the *Jews*, save that they were more mercilefs to their Debtors.  
Now because the *Pope's Legate* was all for ready money, when any Tax by  
*Levy*, *Commutation of Vows*, *Tenhs*, *Dispensations*, &c. were due to the *Pope*,  
from *Prelate*, *Convents*, *Priests*, or *Lay persons*, these CAURSINES instant-  
ly furnished them with *present Coin* upon their solemn Bonds and Obligations:  
one form whereof we have inserted.

The effect  
of the In-  
strument.

Appeal to  
the Pope pro-  
hibited.

The time  
makes it the  
more remar-  
kable.

Considers what  
they were.



To all that shall see the present Writing, *Thomas the Prior & the Convent of Barnwell* is ill health in the *Lord*. Know that we have borrowed and received at *London*, for our selves, profitably to be expended for the Affairs of our *Church*, from *Francisco and Gregorio*, for them and their Partners, *Citizens and Merchants of Millam*, a hundred and four Marks of lawfull Money Sterling, thirteen shillings four pence Sterling being counted to every Mark. Which said one hundred and four Marks we promise to pay back on the *Fest of St. Peter ad Vincula*, being the first day of *August*, at the *New Temple in London*, in the year 1235. And if the said money be not thoroughly paid, at the time and place aforesaid, we bind our selves to pay to the foresaid Merchants, or any one of them, or their certain Attorney, for every ten Marks, forborn two months, one Mark of money for recompence of the Damages, which the foresaid Merchants may incur by the non-payment of the money into them, so that both *Principall Damages*, and *Expences*, as above expressed, with the *Expences* of one Merchant with his Horse and Man, untill such time as the aforesaid money be fully satisfied. For Payment of *Principall, Interest, Damages and Expences*, we oblige our selves, and our *Church and Successors*, all help of *CANON and CIVILL LAW*, our Privileges, and *Clarkship*, the *Epistle of St. Adrian*, all *Customes*, all *Statutes, Lectures, Indulgences, Privileges*, obtained for the *King of England*, from the *See Apostolick*: as also we renounce the Benefit of all *Appeals*, or *Inhibition* from the *King of England*, with all other *Exceptions real or Personal*, which may be objected against the *Validity* of this *Instrument*. All these things we promise faithfully to observe: In witness whereof we have set to the Seal of our *Convent*. Dated at *London*, die quinto Elphegi, in the year of *Grace* 1235.

*Sure bind, sure find*. Here were *Cords* enough to hold *Sampson* himself, an order taken they should never be cut or untied, the Debtors depriving himself of any relief save by full payment.

7. It will not be amiss, to make some brief Notes on the former Obligation, it being better to write out, then to be written in it, as the Debtors concerned therein.

One hundred and four Marks] the od four seem added for Interest. *Fest of St. Peter ad Vincula*] The *Pope's* Tradition faith that *Endoxia* the *Empress*, Wife to *Theodosius* the Younger, brought two great Chains, where-with *Herod* imprisoned *St. Peter*, from *Jerusalem* to *Rome*, where they are reported seen at this day, and a *Solemn Festival* kept on the first of *August* (the quarter-pay day of *Romes Revenues*) in Memorials thereof. But the Name of *LAMMAS* hath put out *St. Peter's Chains* in our *English Almanack*.

*New Temple at London*] in *Fleet-street*, founded by the *Knights Templers*, and dedicated by *Heracles Pasniarch* of *Jerusalem* 1185. Called *New* in relation to ancient *Temple*, (less and less convenient) they had formerly in *Oldburn*.

And our certain Attorney;] *Nuncios* in the *Latine*, being one imployed to solicit their Suit.

All the Goods of our Church moveable and immovable] Hence oftentimes they were forced to sell their *Chalices* and *Altar-plate*, to pay the *Rend*, and secure the rest of their Goods, for their Creditors.

CANON

Necessary  
abbreviate  
out.

*CANON and CIVILL LAW*] *Common Law* not mentioned herein, with which these *CAURSINES*, being *Forrainers*, would have nothing to do.

*Epistle of St. Adrian*] This seems to be some Indulgence granted by *Pope Adrian*, the fourth perchance, whereby Churches indebted found some favour against their Creditors.

*Die quinto Elphegi*] I am not *Dutary* enough to understand this. I know *Elphegi* to be Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and *Martyr*, and his day began the nineteenth of *April*: so that the money was borrowed but for three months; so soon did the Payment, or heavy Forfeiture in default thereof, return.

8. These *CAURSINES* were generally hated for their Extorsions. Some will have them called *CAURSINES quasi CAUSA URSINI*, so *Bear's* band cruel in their causes: others, *CAURSINI quasi CORRASINI*, from scraping all together. But these are but barbarous Allusions, though best becoming such base practices.

9. Mean time the *CAURSINES* cared not what they were called, being a-kin to the cunning Creature, which faileth best when cursed, and were indeed Lords of the Land according to *Scripture rule*, the Borrower is servant to the Lender. Many of the *Luity*, more of the *Clergy and Convents*, and the King himself, being deeply indebted unto them. Indeed *Roger Black* that *Valiant, Learned*, and *Pious Bishop* of *London*, once excommunicated these *CAURSINES* for their Oppression; but they appealing to the *Pope* (their good friends,) forced him, after much molestation, to desist.

10. These *CAURSINES* were more commonly known by the Name of *LOMBARDS*, from *Lombardy* the place of their *Nativity*, in *Italy*. And although they deserted *England* on the decaying of the *Pope's* power and profit therein; yet a double memoriall remaineth of them. One of their Habitation, in *Lumbard-street* in *London*: the other of their Employment, A *LOMBARD* unto this day signifying a *Bank for Usury*, or *Pawns*, still continued in the *Low-Countries* and elsewhere.

11. Mean time one may lawfully smile at the *Pope's* Hypocrisy, forbidding *Usury* as a sin so detestable under such heavy penalties in his *Canon Law*, whilst his own Instruments were the most unconscionable Practisers thereof without any control.

12. *Orbo*, Cardinal, Deacon of *St. Nicholas*, was sent the *Pope's* Legate into *England*, and going to *Oxford*, took up his Lodging in the *Abbey of Osney*. To him the *Scholars* in *Oxford* sent a *Present* of *Victuals* before dinner, and after dinner, came to render their attendance unto him. The *Porter* being an *Italian*, demanded their business: who answered him, that they came to wait on the *Lord Legate*, promising themselves a courteous Reception, having read in *Scripture*, A man's gift maketh room for him: though here contrary to expectation they were not received. Call it not *Clownishness* in the *Porter* (because bred in the Courts of *Rome*;) but carefulness for the safety of his *Master*.

13. But whilst the *Porter* held the *Door* in a dubious posture, betwixt open and shut, the *Scholars* forced their entrance. In this juncture of time, it unluckily happened that a poor *trish Priest* begged an *Almes*, in whose face the *Clark* of the *Kitchen* cast scalding-water taken out of the *Caldron*. A *Welsh* Clerk beholding this, bent his *Bow* (by this time the *Scholars* had got *VVespons*) and shot the *Clark* of the *Kitchen* stark dead on the place.

14. This *Man* thus killed, was much more then his plain place promised him to be, as no meaner then the *Brother* of the *Legate* himself; who being suspicious (O how jealous is guiltiness!) that he might find *Italy* in *England*, and fearing to be poisoned, appointed his *Brother* to oversee all food for his own eating. And now the three Nations of *Irish*, *Welsh*, and *English*, fell down-right on the *Italians*. The *Legate* fearing (as they came from the same

11 3

VVombe

Canst  
whence to  
called.Foreslap  
and happi-  
ness.Canst  
and  
Lombards  
the same.Deep Hypo-  
cricy.The Prefect  
of the Oxford  
Scholars to the  
Legate,  
a M. Paris in  
Anno 1238.  
Ran. Clifren-  
tis, l. ii. c. 14.  
G. T. Wal-  
inghamia  
Hypocritae  
Nemine  
b. Trop. l. 16.  
Ill required.The Legate's  
Brother kill'd  
by the Schol-  
ars of Osney.

*VVombe*) to be sent to the same *Grave* with his *Brother*, secured himself fast locked up in the *Tower of Ofsney Church*, and there sat *still* and *quiet*, all attired in his *Canonicall Cope*.

red in his *Canonick Cope*.  
 15. But he, it seems, trusted not so much to his *Canonick Cope*, as the *Sable Mantle* of Night; under the *Protection* whereof he got out, with a *Guide*, to make his escape; not without danger of drowning in the dark, being five times to crosse the *River* then swelling with late rain, as much as the *Scholars* with anger. He made *Fordes* where he found none, all known passages being *way-laid*; and heard the *Scholars* following after, railing on, and calling him *Vsurer*, *Simoniack*, *Deceiver* of the *Prince*, *Oppressor* of the people, &c. whilst the *Legate* wisely turned his *Tongue* into *Heeles*, spurring with might and main to *Abington*, where the *Court* then lay. Hither he came being out of all breath and *Patience*; so that entering the *King's* presence, his *Tears* and *Sighs* were faine to relieve his *Tongue*, nor able otherwise to expresse his *Miseries*: whom the *King* did most affectionately compassionate.

16. And now woe to the poor Clergy of Oxford, when both *temporall* and *spirituall Armes* are prepared against them. Next day the King sent the *Earle Warren* with Forces against them, and a *double Commission*, *Eripere & arripere*: to deliver the remainder of the *Italians* (little better then befieged in *Osney Abbey*) and to seize on the *Scholars*, of whom *thirty*, with one *Osbo Legista* (forward it seems in the Fray against the *Legate his Name-fake*) were taken *Prisoners*, and sent like *Felons*, bound in *Carts*, to *Vallingford-prison*, and other places of *Restraint*.

17. Nor was the *Legate* lazy the while, but summoning such Bishops as were nearest him, interdicted the *Univerſity* of Oxford, and excommunicated all ſuch as were partakers in the Tumult; which were not the young *fry* of *Scholars*, but *Clerks* in *Order*, and many of them *Beneficed*, and now deprived of the *profit* of their *Living*s.

15 108. From *Abington* the *Legate* removed to *London*, lodging at *Durham-*  
house in the *Strand*: the King commanding the *Major* of *London* to keep him  
as the *Apple of his eye*, with watch and ward constantly about him. Hither  
he assembled the *Bishops of the Land*, to consider and consult about *Reparation*  
for so high an Affront.

19. The Bishops pleaded hard for the *University of Oxford* (as being the place wherein most of them had their Education.) They alleged it was *Secunda Ecclesia a Second Church*, being the *Nursery of Learning and Religion*. They pleaded also that the *Charltness of the Porter* let in this sad Accident, increased by the Indifference of those in his own Family: adding, also, that the *Clerks of Oxford* had deeply smarted, by their long *Durance and Sufferings*, for their fault therein.

20. Mollified with the *Premises*, the *Legate* at last was over-intreated to pardon the *Clergy of Oxford*, on their solemn *Submission*; which was thus performed. They went from St. Paul's in *London* to *Durham-house* in the *Strand*, no *poor Italian*, but an *English long Mile*, all on *foot*; the *Bishops of England*, of the *more State* of the *Business*, accompanying them, as partly accessory to their fault for pleading in their behalf. When they came to the *Bishop of Carlisle's* ('now *Worcester*') house, the *Scholars* went the rest of their way bare-foot, *fine Capis & Mantles*, which some understand, *without Copes or Cloaks*. And thus the great *Legate* at last was really reconciled unto them.

21. The mention of the house of the Bishop of *Carlisle*, minds me how, anciently, every Bishop (as all principall *Abbots*) had a *House* belonging to them. See (commonly called their *time*) for them to lodge in when their occasions summoned them to *London*. Not to mention those which still retain their *Names*, as *Vinchester*, *Durham*, *Ely*, &c. We will only observe such, which are swallowed up into other *Houses*, conceiving it charitable to *rescue* their *Memory* from *Oblivion*.

House

The Legate  
Aries to the  
King.

**Oxford in a  
sad condi-  
tion.**

Interdicted  
by the Legate

Who returns  
to *London*.

The Bishops  
intercede for  
the Univer-  
sity.

All are re-  
conciled.

Bishops anciently in London.

Anno Regis. Hen. 3.	Anno Dom. 1238	House.	Place.	Built by	Turned into
22		Salisbury	Fleet-street		Dorset House
		St. Davids	North of Bride-wel		Small Tenements
		Chichester	Chancery lane	{ Ralph Nevil, Bi- shop of Chichester.	Lincoln Inne
		Exeter	By Temple-bar	{ Walter Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter.	Effex House
		Bath and Wells	Strand		Arundel House
		Landaf	Strand		Somerfet House
		VVorcestre	Strand		Somerfet House
		Lichf. & Covent.	Strand	{ Walter Laucton, Bishop of Chelster.	Somerfet House
		Carlisle	Strand		VVorcestre House
		Norwich	Strand		Tork House
		York	VVestminster		YWhite-hall
		Hereford	Old Fish-streets bill	{ Ralph deMayden- cton, Bp. of Heref.	A Sugar-maker's House

I question whether the *Bishop of Rochester* (whose *Country-House* at *Brumlay* is so high) had ever a *House* in the *City*. Let others recover the rest from Oblivion; a hard task, I believe, they are so drowned in private *Houses*. O let us secure to our selves *everlasting habitations, seeing here no abiding mansion.*

22. Come we now to present the Reader with another offer of the Kings, (I fear it was not much more,) to repress Papal oppression.

6 Rex dilecto sibi in Christo Archidiacono Glouc. Salutem. Significavimus, & etiam vobis voce expressimus Magistro P. Rubeo, Nuncio Domini Papæ, quod non est intentionis nostra, nec etiam volumus aliquatenus sustinere, quod vel viros Religiosos vel Clericum aliquem ad contributionem faciendam ad opus Domini Papæ compellant: Et ideo vobis mandamus inhibentes districte, ne ad mandatum ipsius Magistri Petri vel suorum, viros religiosos seu Clericos ad contributionem predictam faciendam aliqua censura Ecclesiastica compellant. Sciatis quod si feceritis, nos contra vos tanquam perturbatores Pacis Ecclesiasticæ, quam conservare tenemur, modis quibus expedire viderimus, procedemus. Teste Rege apud Glouc. 11. die Iunii.

By the way, a *Nuncio* differed from a *Legate*, almost as a *Lieger* from an extraordinary *Ambassador*, who, though not so ample in his power, was as active in his propping, to advance the profit of the Pope his Master.

23. This Instrument acquainteth us with the Method used by him in managing his money matters. Such as refused to pay his demands, were proceeded against by Church Censures, suspension, excommunication, &c. The cunning Italian (to decline the odium) employing the Archdeacons to denounce the same in their respective Jurisdictions. Yet this went under the notion of a voluntary

Con-

**A valiant  
officer.**

b Pat. 25. of  
Henry the  
third, mem. 6.

A free-forced gift.

Spoken like  
a King.Say and do,  
best.A Pension  
given by the  
Pope to an  
English Esquire.

contribution, as free as fire from Flint, forced with Steel and strength out of it.

24. Whereas the King counted himself bound to preserve the Peace of the Church, the words will become his mouth. They seem to me to look like DEFENDER OF THE FAITH as yet but in the Bud, and which in due time might grow up to amount to as much. For though every Christian in his calling must keep the peace of the Church, Kings have a coercive power over the disturbers thereof.

25. This Royal resolution, to resist the oppressing of his Subjects, was good as propounded, better if performed. I find no visible effect thereof: but we may believe, it made the Popes sit the slower, though it did not wholly hinder his grinding the faces of the Clergy. This Patent is dated from Gloucester, more loved of King Henry than London it self, as a strong and loyal City, where he was first crowned, and afterwards did often reside.

26. Amongst the thousands of pounds which the Pope carried out of England, I meet only with three hundred Marks yearly, which came back again as a private Boon, bestowed on an English Knight, Sir Reginald Mohun, by Pope Innocent the fourth, then keeping his Court at Lyons in France. And because these are vestigia sola terrorum, it will not be amiss to insert the whole Story thereof, as it is in an ancient French Manuscript, pertaining to the Family of the Mohuns.

Quant Sire Reinalda voit Ceofsaiz  
il passa a la Court de Rome que adon-  
ques fuist a Lions, pur confirmer & ra-  
viser la nouvelle Abbay a grand honor  
de lui a touz jous & fuist en la Courte  
le denierne en quareme quant len-  
cheance loffice del messe Latere Ierusa-  
lem al quen jour lusage de la Court este  
en la poistolle doa a plus valiant & a  
plus honorable home qui puit estre trovez  
en la destre Courte une Rose ou une flo-  
rette de fin or donquez ilz sercherent  
tote le Courte et troverent Cesti Reinald  
pur le plus noble de toute la Courte a oui  
le Pape Innocent donna Celle rose ou  
florette dor & la Papa lui Damanda quil  
home il fuist en son pais il respondi sim-  
ple bachelier, bean fitz setz la pape  
Celle rose ou florette unquez ne fuist  
donez fors an Rois ou an Dukes an a  
Countee pour ceo nous voluns que vous  
sors le Countee de Est Ceofest Semefer  
Reinald respondi & Aist OSaintes pierre  
ieo may dont le mom meinteyner l'apost-  
sille donques lui dona ducent maris per  
annum recevoir sur Cantee sainte Paule  
de Londres de ces denieres d'Engleterre  
pour son honor mainteyner de quen don-  
na il reporta Bulles que enquire auvent  
en plomps, &c. en semblent odue mol-  
tes dis autres bulles confirmatione de la  
nouvelle Abbay de Newham a pres  
quen jour il porta la rose ou florette en  
les armes.

It is as needless, as difficult to translate this Bull verbatim, being of base, obsolete, and ill-pointed French; suffice it, that this is the summe thereof. The Pope used on the Lords day called, Laitare Jerusalem, solemnly to bestow a consecrated Rose, on the most Honorable persons, present at Masse with his Holiness. Enquiry being made, the Rose was conferred on Sir Reginald Mohun, as the best extracted in the present Congregation.

But seeing that Rose used always to be given to Kings, Dukes, and Earles at least (the lowest form of Coronetted Nobility in that Age) his Holiness understanding the same Sir Reginald to be but a plain Knight Bachelor, created him the Earle of Eff, that is, (saith this Bull) of Semefer; and for the better support of his Honour, he allowed him three hundred Marks out of the pence of England (understand the Peter-Pence) as the most certain Papal Revenue in the Land.

By

Anno  
Regis  
Henrici  
3.  
1241Anno  
Dom.  
1241

By this Bull the same Sir Reinald was made a Count Apostolic, whereby he had the Privileges to appoint public Notaries, and to legitimate Bastards on some Conditions. King Henry the third was so far from excepting against this Act, that he highly honoured him. And yet Master Camden, sometimes a acknowledged, sometimes denieth him for an English Earle. Not that I accuse him as inconsistent to himself, but suspect my self not well attaining his meaning therein.

27. Now though the said Sir Reginald did modestly decline the Pope's Honour for want of Maintenance, yet had he at that time no fewer than forty three Knights Fees held of his Castle of Dunstun. I have nothing else to add herein, save that the ancient Armes of the Mohuns, viz. a hand in a Maunch holding a Flower de luce (in that Age more fashionable then a Rose, in Heraldry) seems to relate to this occasion; which their Family afterward changed into a Sable Croffe, in the Achievements in the Holy land, born at this day by the truly honourable the Lord Mohun, Baron of Oakehampton, as descended from this Family.

28. This year died Robert Grosthead, Bishop of Lincoln, born at Stodebrook in Suffolk, Natalibus pudendis faim<sup>e</sup> Author, of Shamefull extraction, intimating suspicion of Bastardy: though the parents, rather then the child, have caused a blush thereat. He got his Surname from the greatness of his head, having large Stodge to receive, and store of Braines to fill it: bred for a time in Oxford, then in France: a great and general Scholar, (Bale reckoning up no fewer then two hundred books of his making) and a great opposer of the Popes oppression, which now grew intolerable.

29. For it appeared by inquisition made the last year, that the Ecclesiasticall Revenues of Italians in England (whereof many were Boyes, more Blackheads, all Aliens) amounted per annum unto threecore and ten thousand Marks: whereas the Kings Income at the same time was hardly a twenty thousand. Bishop Grosthead offended thereat, wrote Pope Innocent the fourth such a Juniper Letter, taxing him with extortion, and other vitious practices, that his Holiness brake out into this expression; VVhat meaneth this doing old man, furdus & absurdus, thus boldly to controll our actions? By Peter and Paul, did not our innate ingenuity restrain us, I would confound him, and make him a prodigie to the whole world. Is not the King of England our Vassall, yea our Slave, to imprison and destroy what persons we please to appoint?

30. The Pope being in this pelt, Agidius a Spanish Cardinall thus interposed his gravitie. It is not expedient, my Lord, to use any harshness to this Bishop. We must confesse the truths which he saith. He is a holy man, of a more Religious life then any of us, yea Christendome hath not his equall; a great Philosopher, skilled in Latine and Greek, a constant reader in the Schools, Preacher in the Pulpit, lover of Chastity, and loather of Simony.

31. Thus the Pope took wit in his anger, and Grosthead escaped for the present though Bale reporteth that he died excommunicate and deprived of his Bishoprick. Popish<sup>e</sup> Authors confidently report a strange vision, or rather a passion of Pope Innocent the fourth, whom Grosthead (appearing after his death) to beat with many blows (it seems he had a heavy hand as well as a great head) that the Pope died thereof soon after. No wonder therefore if his successours would not Canonize this Robert, who notwithstanding was a Saint, though not in the Popes, yet in the peoples Calendar; many miracles being ascribed unto him; and particularly, that a sweet oyl after his death issued out of his monument: which if false in the literal, may be true in a mystical meaning, Solomon observing that a good name is as oylment poured out.

32. England began now to surfeit of more then thirty yeares Peace and Plenty, which produced no better effects then ingratitude to God, and murmuring at their King. Many active spirits, whose minds were above their means, offended that others beneath them (as they thought) in Merit, were above them

A In his Brit.  
in Somerset-  
shire.B In his Eliz.  
in the case of  
Count Arun-  
del.There are  
rich who  
make them-  
selves poor.The death of  
Bishop Gros-  
thead.  
C Bishop God-  
win in Cata-  
logue of Linc.  
Bish.The Popes  
fume against  
this good  
Bishop.d Matthew  
Parisius Anno  
1552.quenched by  
a Spanish  
Cardinall.Grosthead  
the peoples,  
though not  
the Popes  
Saint.  
e John Butig  
Mat. Paris,  
Mat. West-  
minster,  
Mr. Fabian.f Godwin,  
in his Cata-  
logue of Bi-  
shops.  
Discontents  
begin in Eng-  
land.

K k

in

Grounded on  
too much  
occasion.

a Roger  
Wendover.

A Title with-  
out power  
only left to  
the King.

The Pope  
freely gives  
his curties  
for money.

Sad case  
when the  
Royall Root  
is no better  
then a sucker

No part of  
Church-  
work.

Bettered by  
affliction.

Charta Magna  
first fully  
practised.

in Employment, cavilled at many errors in the Kings Government, being State Donatists, maintaining, the perfection of a Commonwealth might, and ought to be attained. A thing casie in the Theory, impossible in the Practice, to conform the actions of mens corrupted natures to the exact Ideas in mens Imaginations.

33. Indeed they had too much matter whereon justly to ground their Discontents: partly because the King (distrusting his Natives) employed for many French Forrainers in places of power and profit; partly because he had used such indirect courtes to recruit his Treasures, especially by annihilating all Patents granted in his Minority (though indeed he was never more in his Full-age then when in his Non-age, as guided then by the best counsell) and forcing his Subjects to take out new ones on what Terms his Officers pleased. In a word, an \* Authour then living complaineth, that Justice was committed to men unjust, the Laws to such who themselves were Out-laws, and the keeping of the Peace to injurious people delighting in Disorders.

34. After many contests betwixt the King and his Subjects (which the Reader may learn from the Historians of the State) four and twenty prime persons were chosen by Parliament to have the supreme inspection of the Land: which soon after (to make them the more cordiall) passed a decoction, and were reduced to three, and they three in effect contracted to one, Simon Mounifort, Earle of Leicester, the Kings Brother in Law: The King himself standing by as a Cypher, yet signifying as much as his ambitious Subjects did desire. There, to make sure work, bound him with his solemn Oath to submit himself to their new-modelled Government.

35. Here the Pope (charitable to relieve all distressed Princes) interposed his power, absolving the King from that Oath, as unreasonable in it self, and forced upon him. His Holinesse was well paid for this great favour; the King hereafter conniving at his Horse-Leeches (Legates and Nununcios) sucking the blood of his Subjects with intolerable Taxations. Thus was it not altogether the Flexibility of King Henry, but partly the Flexion of his Condition, (I mean, the altering of his occasions) which made him sometimes withstand, and other-whiles comply with the Popes extortion. Thus always the Popes Curtesies are very deare; and the Storm it self is a better Shelter then the Bramble, fleeing such Sheep as fly under the shade thereof.

36. Mean time the King, having neither Coyn nor Credit, having pawn'd his Jewels, mortgag'd all his Land in France, and sold much of it in England, wanting wherewithall to subsist, lived on Abbeys and Prioreys; till his often coming and long staying there made what was welcome at the first, quickly to become wearisome. Though a Royall Guest, with often coming, his Royalty made not his Guestship the more accepted, but the notion of a Guest rendered his Royalty the lesse to be esteemed. Indeed his visits of Abbeys at first did wear the countenance of Devotion (on which account this King was very eminent:) but afterwards they appeared in their own likeness, the dimmest eye seeing them to proceed from pure Necessity.

37. Soon after began the Civill Warrs in England, with various successes, sometimes the King, and sometimes the Barons getting the better: till at last an indifferent Peace was concluded for their mutual good, as in the Historians of the Common-wealth doth plentifully appear.

38. The later part of the reign of King Henry was not onely eminent in it self, but might be exemplary to others. He reformed first his own naturall errors, then the disorders in his Court, the Expence whereof he measured by the just rule of his proper Revenue. The rigour and corruption of his Judges he examined, and redressed by strict commission, filled the seats of Judgement and Counsell with men nobly born, sate himself daily in Counsell, and disposed affairs of most weight in his own person.

39. And now the Charta Magna was very strictly observed, being made in the ninth year of this Kings reign, but the practice thereof much interrupted and

Anno  
Regis  
Henrici.  
38

Anno  
Dom.  
1254

46 1262

and disturbed with Civill Warrs, it is beheld by all judicious men as (like the aurea Bulla or golden Bull of Germany) the life of English Liberty, rescued by the blood and valour of four Aucessours from Tyrannical incroachment, giving the due bounds to Prerogative and Propriety, that neither should mutually intrench on the others lawfull Priviledges. And although some high Royalists look on it as the product of Subjects animosities, improving themselves on their Princes extremities; yet most certain it is, those Kings flourished the most both at home and abroad, who tyed themselves most conscientiously to the observation thereof.

40. Two Colleges in Oxford were founded in the Reign of this King: One, Bailiol College, by John Bailiol (and Dervorguill his Lady) of Bernardas Castle in the Bishoprick of Durham, banisht into England, and Father of Bailiol King of Scotland. Wonder not that an Exile should build a Colledge, Charity being oftentimes most active in the afflicted, willingly giving to others a little of that little they have: witness the Macedonians, whose deep poverty abounded to the riches of their Liberality.

41. True it is, the ancient revenues of this Colledge were not great, allowing but eight pence a week for every Scholar therein of his Foundation (whereas Merion Colledge had twelve pence): and yet, as one casteth up, their ancient revenues amounted unto ninety nine pounds seventeen shillings & ten pence; which in that Age, I will assure you, was a considerable Summe, enough to make us suspect, that at this day they enjoy not all the Originall lands of their foundation.

42. Indeed, I am informed that the aforesaid King Bailiol bestowed a large proportion of Land in Scotland on this his Fathers Foundation. The Master and Fellows whereof petitioned King James, (when the Marches of two Kingdomes were newly made the middle of one Monarchy) for the restitution of those Lands detained from them in the Civil Warrs betwixt the two Crowns. The King, though an affectionate lover of Learning, would not have his Bounty injurious to any (save sometimes to himself), and considering those Lands they desired, were long peaceably possessed with divers Owners, gave them notice to surcease their Suit. Thus not King James, but the inflexibility of the thing they petitioned for to be done with justice, gave the denyall to their Petition.

43. Being to present the Reader with the Catalogues of this, and other worthy Foundations in Oxford, I am sorry that I can onely build bare Walls (erect empty Columns) and not fill them with any furniture: which the ingenious Reader I trust will pardon, when he considers, first, that I am no Oxford-man; secondly, that Oxford is not that Oxford, wherewith ten years since I was acquainted. Wherefore I humbly request the Antiquaries of their respective Foundations (best skill'd in their own worthy Natives) to insert their own observations: which if they would return unto me against the next Edition of this work, if I live, & it be thought worthy thereof, God shall have the Glory, they the publick thanks, and the world the benefit of their contribution to my endeavours.

44. The Catalogue of Masters we have taken with an implicit faith, out of M<sup>r</sup>. Brian Twine (who may be presumed knowing in that subject) untill the year 1608. where his work doth determine. (Since which time we have supplied them as well as we may, though too often at a losse for their Christian names.) If M<sup>r</sup>. Twine his Register be imperfect, yet he writes right who writes wrong, if following his Copy.

45. The List of Bishops hath been collected out of Francis Godwine Bishop of Hereford, whose judicious paines are to be beneficiall to the English Church. Yet Godwinus non vidit omnia, and many no doubt have been omitted by him.

46. As for the Roll of Benefactors, I, who hope to have made the other Catalogues true, hope I have made this not true; upon desire and confidence that they have more then I have, or can reckon up, though following herein

Kk 2

I. Scot

Bailiol Col-  
ledge built  
by a banisht  
Prince.

22 Cor. 3. 2.

Great reve-  
nues for that  
Age.  
b Roger  
Walden, in  
his History.  
c Bri. Twine,  
enig. Acad.  
Ox. in Ap-  
pendice.  
Endowed  
with more  
land then  
now it pos-  
sesseth.

The Au-  
thours re-  
quest to  
the learned  
in Oxford.

Four neces-  
sary things  
premitted.

Whence the  
Bishops are  
collected.

Whence the  
Benefactors.

Whence the  
learned  
writers.  
No willfall  
wrong done.

I. See his printed Tables, and the last Edition of *John Speed* his Chronicle.

47. The column of *learned Writers* I have endeavoured to extract out of *Bale* and *Pitts*. Whereof the later being a member of this University, was no lesse diligent then able to advance the Honour thereof.

48. Let none suspect that I will enrich my *Mother*, by robbing my *Aunt*. For besides that *Cambridge* is so confentionis, she will not be necessary to my *Felony* by receiving *stollen goods*;

*Tros, Tyrusque mihi nullo discrimine habetur:*

*A Trojan whether she*

*Or a Tyrian be,*

All is the same to me.

It matters not whether of *Cambridge* or *Oxford*, so God hath the Glory, the Church and State the Benefit of their learned endeavours.

49. However, I am sensible of many defects, and know that they may be supplied by the endeavours of others. Every man knows his own land better then either *Ortelius* or *Mercator*, though making the Maps of the whole world. And the members of respective Colledges must be more accurate in the particularities of their own Foundations, then the exactest Historian who shall write a general description thereof.

Add and  
mend.

3 See more of  
this in our de-  
dication to the  
second book.

Masters.	Bishops.	Benefactors.	Learned writ.
<i>Io. Foderinghay</i> <i>Robert Twaitis</i> <i>Io. Abdy</i> <i>Io. Wicklesse</i> <i>Rob. Burley</i> <i>Ric. Burningham</i> <i>Will. White</i> <i>Geo. Cootes</i> <i>Will. VVright</i> <i>Fran. Babington</i> <i>Rich. Stubbs</i> <i>Io. Gloucester</i> <i>Anth. Garnet</i> <i>Rob. Hooper</i> <i>Io. Brookes</i> <i>Io. Piers</i> <i>Adam Squier</i> <i>Edm. Lilly</i> <i>Rob. Abbots</i> <i>Doff. Parkhurst</i> <i>Doff. Lawrence</i> <i>Doff. Savadge</i>	<i>Roger VVhelpdale</i> , Fellow, Bishop of <i>Carlisle</i> . <i>Geor. Nevill</i> , Chancellour of the University at twenty yeares of Age, afterwards Arch-bishop of <i>Tork</i> , and Chancellour of <i>Engl.</i> <i>VVill. Gray</i> , Bishop of <i>Ely</i> . <i>Io. Bell</i> , Bishop of <i>VVorcester</i> . <i>Ioh. Piers</i> , Arch-bishop of <i>Tork</i> . <i>Rob. Abbots</i> , Bishop of <i>Salisbury</i> . <i>Geo. Abbot</i> , Fellow, Arch-bishop of <i>Canterbury</i> .	<i>Philip Somerville</i> , & <i>Marg.</i> his wife. <i>Ella de Longspee</i> , Countesse of <i>Salisbury</i> . <i>Rich. de Humfrigore</i> . <i>L. VVill. Fenton</i> . <i>Hugh de Vienna</i> , Knight. <i>Iohn Bell</i> , Bishop of <i>VVorcester</i> . <i>VVil. Hammond</i> , of <i>Gilford</i> , Esq. . <i>Peter Blundill</i> , of <i>Teverton</i> . <i>L. Eliz. Periam</i> , of the County of <i>Buck</i> . <i>Tho. Tisdale</i> , of <i>Glymton</i> , Com. <i>Oxon.</i> Esquire. <i>Mary Dunch</i> . <i>Iohn Brown</i> .	<i>Io. Duns Scotus</i> , first of this, then of <i>Merton Colledge</i> . <i>Humfrey Duke</i> of <i>Glocester</i> , commonly called the good. <i>VVill. VValton</i> , Fellow, Chancellour of the University. <i>Tho. Gascoign</i> , Fellow, Chancellour of the University. <i>a Iohn Tiptoft</i> , Earle of <i>VVorcester</i> . <i>Rob. Abbots</i> .

That *Iohn VVicklesse* here mentioned may be the great *VVicklesse*, though others justly suspect him not the same, because too ancient, if this Catalogue be compleat, to be the fourth Master of this House, except they were incredibly vivacious. Nothing else have I to observe of this Foundation, save that this

Anno  
Regis  
Hen. 3.  
1262  
46.

this day therein are maintained one Master, twelve Fellows, thirteen Scholars, four Exhibitioners, which, with Servants, Commoners, and other Students, lately made up one hundred thirty and six.

50. Nor must we forget that (besides others) two eminent Iudges of our Land were both Contemporaries and Students in this Foundation; the Lord chief Baron *Davenport*, and the Lord *Thomas Coventry*, Lord Chancellour of *England*, (whose Father also, a Iudge, was a Student herein.) So that two great Oracles, both of Law and Equity, had here their Education.

51. The other was *Univeristy Colledge*: whereof I find different Dates, and the founding thereof ascribed to severall Persons.

A pair of  
Learned  
Iudges.

*Univeristy* Col. found-  
ed.

Founder.	Time.	Authour.
1 <i>King Alfred</i> . 2 <i>VVilliam de S<sup>o</sup>. Carleile</i> , Bishop of <i>Durham</i> . 3 <i>VVilliam</i> , Bishop of <i>Durham</i> , though none at this time of the name. 4 <i>VVilliam</i> , Arch-deacon of <i>Durham</i> , whom others confidently call <i>VValter</i> .	<i>Anno</i> 882. 1081. the 12. of <i>King VVilliam the Conquerour</i> . 1217. in the first of <i>Henry the 3</i> . uncertain.	1 <i>Univerfall Tradition</i> . 2 <i>Stow</i> in his <i>Chronicle</i> Page 1061. to whom <i>Pitz. consenteth</i> . 3 <i>Iohn Speed</i> , in his <i>History</i> , pag. 317. 4 <i>Camd. Brit.</i> in <i>Oxfordshire</i> .

I dare interpose nothing in such great differences, onely observe that Master *Camden* (no lesse skilfull a *Herald* in ordering the antiquity of *Houses*, then martialling the precedencey of men) makes *Univeristy* the third in order after *Merton Colledge*: which makes me believe the founding thereof not so ancient as here it is inserted.

Masters.	Bishops.	Benefactors.	Learn. Writ.
1 <i>Roger Caldwell</i> 2 <i>Richard Winton</i> 3 <i>M. Kokeborough</i> 4 <i>Ranulph Hamsterley</i> 5 <i>Leonard Hutchinson</i> 6 <i>Iohn Craffurth</i> 7 <i>Richard Salvaine</i> 8 <i>George Ellison</i> 9 <i>Anthony Salvaine</i> 10 <i>James Dugdale</i> 11 <i>Thomas Key</i> 12 <i>William James</i> 13 <i>Anthony Gates</i> 14 <i>George Abbot</i> 15 <i>Iohn Bancroft</i> 16 <i>VValker</i> 17 <i>Holle</i> 18	<i>St. Edmund</i> <i>Archb. of Cant.</i>	<i>VValter Shirlow</i> , <i>Archdeacon</i> of <i>Durham</i> , <i>Henry Percy</i> , <i>Earle of Northumberland</i> , <i>R. Dudley Earle</i> of <i>Leicester</i> , <i>Iohn Freestone</i> , <i>Gunfley</i> , <i>Mistris Payn</i> , <i>M<sup>r</sup>. Aston</i> .	3 Fellowsh. 3 Fellowsh. 2 Exhibitions each 20. pounds. 2 Exhibitions, 20. pounds in all per Annum. 1 Exhibition, 8 pounds. Some charitable and able Antiquary fill up this vacancy.

Masters.	Bishops.	Benefactors.	Lear. wri.	Anno Dom.	Anno Regis Henr. 1.
	George Abbot, Arch. of Cant.	Sir Simon Bennet, who liath bequeathed goodlands (after the deccae of his Lady) to encrease the Fellows and Scholars.		1262	46
	John Bancroft, Bishop of Oxford.	Mr. Charles Greenwood, sometimes Fellow of this Colledge, and Proctour to the University, gave a thousand pounds to the building thereof.			

so that at this present are maintained therein one Master, eight Fellows, one Bible-Clark: which with Servants, Commoners, and other Students, amount to the number of threescore and nine.

52. Sure it is, at this time Oxford flourished with multitude of Students; King Henry conferring large favours upon them, and this amongst the rest. That no Jews living at Oxford should receive of Scholars above two-pence a week interest for the loan of twenty shillings, that is eight shillings eight-pence for the interest of a pound in the year. Hereby we may guesse how miserably poor people in other places were oppressed by the Jews, where no restraint did limite their Usury; so that the Interest amounted to the half of the Principall.

53. Secondly, whereas it was complained of, That Justice was obstructed, and Malefactours protected by the Citizens of Oxford, who being partiall to their own Corporation, connived at offenders who had done mischiefes to the Scholars: The King ordered, that hereafter, not onely the Citizens of Oxford, but also any Officers in the Vicinage should be employed in the apprehending of such who offered any wrong to the Students in the University.

54. Lastly, he enjoyed the Bailiffs of Oxford solemnly to acquaint the Chancellour thereof, of those times when Bread and other Viduals were weighed and prized. But in case the Chancellour had timely notice thereof, & refused to be present thereat, then the Bailiffs notwithstanding his absence might proceed in the foresaid matters of weight and measure.

55. We will conclude this Section with this civil and humble submission of the Dean and Chapter of S. Asaph, sent to the King in the vacancy (as it seems) of their Bishoprick; though dislocated, and some yeares set back in the date thereof.

Pat. 33. H. 3. M. 3.

Universis Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, Decanus & Capitulum de Sancto Asapho salutem in Domino. Consuetudini antique & dignitati quas Dominus Henricus illustris Rex Angl. & progenitores sui habuerunt in Ecclesia Anglicana, de petenda licentia eligendi vacantibus Episcopatum Sedibus,

Jews damnable extortioners. a Claus. 22. of Hen. 3. memb. 9. in dorp.

A second privilege.

The third privilege.

The submission of the Dean and Chapter of S. Asaph.

De recognitione Decani & Capituli de Sancto Asapho.

Anno Regis Henr. 3. 46

Anno Dom. 1262

Sedibus, & de requiring assensu Regio post factam electionem, obviare nolentes; protestamur & recognoscimus, nos, quotiens Ecclesia nostra Pastore vacaverit, ab illustri Domino Rege Angl. & Heredibus suis debere reverenter petere licentiam eligendi, & post electionem factam assensum eorum requirere. Et ne super hoc futuris temporibus dubitetur, presenti scripto Sigilla nostra fecimus apponi. Dat. apud Sanctum Asaph. Anno Domini M<sup>o</sup>.cc.xlix<sup>o</sup>. in Craffino Exaltationis Sancte Crucis.

The substance is this. That the Dean and Chapter promise to depend wholly on the Kings pleasure in the choice of the next Elect: so that now Cathedralles began to learn good manners. Notwithstanding the Pope usually obtruded whom he pleased upon them. Say not that S. Asaph was an inconsiderable Cathedral, being at great Distance & of small Revenue, which might make them more officious to comply with the King: seeing the poorest oft times prove the proudest, and peevishest to their Superiours. But although this qualm of Loyalty took this Church for the present, we must confesse that generally, Chapters ask the Kings leave, as Widows do their Fathers to marry; as a Complement not requisite thereunto: as conceiving it Civility to ask, but no Necessity to have his Approbation.

56. Two eminent Arch-bishops of Canterbury successively filled that See, during the most part of this Kings Reign. First, Edmond, Treasurer of Salisbury, born, say some, in London, and Christened in the same Font with Thomas Becket. My<sup>a</sup> Authour makes him educated in University Colledge in Oxford, a great Scholar, and lover of learned men, refusing to consecrate Richard Wendenover Bishop of Rochester, because of his want of Sufficiency for such a Function: hereupon he incurred the displeasure of Orso the Popes Legate siding with Wendenover (requiring no other Qualification save Money to make a Bishop) & was enforced to undertake a dangerous and expensive journey to Rome, to his great Damage, and greater Disgrace, being cast in his Cause, after the spending of a thousand Marks therein.

57. He took the boldnesse to tell the Pope of his Extortion; though little thereby was amended. After his return he fell into the Kings displeasure: so that overpowered with his Adversaries, and circumvented with their malice, weary of his Native Country (the miseries whereof he much bemoaned) he went into voluntary Banishment. He died and was buried in France: and six years after (which I assure you was very soon, and contrary to the modern Custom) was Sainted by Pope Innocent the fourth: Whose Body Lewes the fourth King of France solemnly removed, and sumptuously inshrined.

58. The other, Boniface by name, was onely eminent on the account of his high Extraction, as Uncle to the Queen, and son of Peter Earle of Savoy; a horrible scraper of money, generally hated, insomuch that he went his Visitation, having a Corslet on under his Episcopall habit: which it seems was no more then needs, the Londoners being so exasperated against him, that they threatened his Death, had not he secured himself by Flight. Only he is memorable to Posterity for paying two and twenty thousand Marks debt of his See (which his

Edmond Arch-bishop of Cant.

a Godwin in Catalogue of Bishops, pag. 130.

Sainted after his death.

Boniface a worthiesse Arch-bishop.

his Predecessours had contracted:) for building a fair Hall at *Canterbury*, and a stately *Hospital* at *Maidstone*, which it seems was indited and found guilty of, and executed for Superstition at the dissolution of *Abbeys* (when it was valued at above a hundred and fifty pounds of yearly Revenue) being aliened now to other uses.

Anno Dom.  
1262  
Anno Reg.  
Henr.  
3.  
46



SECT.

Anno Dom.  
1272  
Anno Reg.  
Henr.  
3.  
51

TO  
WILLIAM ROBINSON  
OF  
The Inward-Temple, Esq;

SIR Edward Coke was wont to say, that he never knew a Divine meddle with a matter of Law, but that therein he committed some great error, and discovered gross ignorance. I presume you Lawyers are better Divines, then we Divines are Lawyers; because indeed greater your concernment in your pretious soules, then ours in our poor estates. Having therefore just cause to suspect my own judgment in this Section, wherein so much of Law, I submit all to your Judgment to add, alter, expunge at pleasure; that if my weak endeavours shall appear worthy of a second Impression, they may come forth corrected with your Emendations.



Quiet King Henry the third, our English Nestor (not for depth of brains, but length of life) as who Reigned fifty six years, in which terme he buried all his Contemporary Princes in Christendom twice over. All the months in a year may in a manner be carved out of an April-day, Hot, cold, dry, moist, fair, soule weather, being oft presented therein. Such the character of this Kings life, certain onely in uncertainty. Sorrowful, successful, in plenty, in penury, in wealth, in want, Conquered, Conquerour.

Yet the Sun of his life did not set in a cloud, but went down in full lustre; a good token that the next day would be fair, and his Successor prove fortunate. He died at St Edmunds-Bury, and though a merciful Prince ended his

The vivacity of King Henry the third, and the variety of his life.

The serenity of his death and solemnity of his Burial.

his dayes in a necessary *all of justice*, severely punishing some *Citizens of Norwich*, for burning and pillaging the *Priory* therein. His corps were buried at *Weslingholme Church*, founded and almost built by him, with great solemnity, though *Prince Edward*, his Son, as beyond the Seas was not present thereat.

3. There cannot be a greater *Temptation to Ambition* to usurpe a *Crown*, then when it findeth a *vacancy on the Throne*, and the *true heir* thereof absent at a great distance. Such an advantage at this *instans*, had the *Adversaries of Prince Edward* (not as yet returned from *Palestine*) to put in, if so minded, for the *Kingdom of England*. And strange it was, that no *Arayers* of the former *Rebellion* were left, but all the reckonings thereof to fully discharged, that no *Corruption* did appear for the *Crown*; But a general concurrence of many things befriended *Prince Edward* herein.

1. His *Father* on his death-bed secured his *Sons Succession*, as much as might be, by swearing the *Principal Peers* unto him in his absence.
2. The most active and dangerous *Military men*, the *Prince* had politically carried away with him into *Palestine*.
3. *Prince Edward* his fame (present here in the absence of his person) preserved the *Crown* for him, as due to him, no less by desert then descent.

The premises meeting with the love and *Loyalty* of many *English hearts*, paved the way to *Prince Edward* his peaceable entrance without any opposition.

4. *King Edward* was a most worthy *Prince*, coming off with honour in all his achievements against *Turks*, and *Pope*, and *Jews*, and *Scots*, and against whomsoever he encountered. For the *Turks*, he had lately made a voyage against them, which being largely related in our *Holy War*, we intend not here to repeat. Onely I will add, that this *Foreign expedition* was politically undertaken, to rid the *Land* of many *Martialists*, wherewith the late *Barons Wars* had made it to abound. These *spirits* thus raised, though they could not presently be conjured down, were safely removed into another room. The fiercest *Mastiff-Dogs* never fight one with another, whilst they have either *Bull* or *Bear* before them to bait; the common foe employing that fury, which otherwise would be active against those of their own kinde. This diversion of the *English soldiery*, gave a vent to their animosities, which otherwise would have been mutually mispent amongst themselves.

5. Great at this present was the *Popes power* in *England*, improving himself on the late *tumultuous times*, and the easiness of *King Henry* his nature, inasmuch that with in these last seven years *ex plenitudine*, for rather *ex abundantia* & *superfluitate* potestatis, he had put in two *Arch-Bishops* of *Canterbury*, *Robert Kilmarby*, and *John Peccam*, against the mindes of the *Monks*, who had legally chosen others. Probably the *third time* would have created a *Right to the Pope*; and his *Holiness* hereafter prescribe it as his just due, had not *King Edward* iconsonably prevented his encroachments, by moderating his power in *England*, as hereafter shall appear. Mean time we are called away on a welcome occasion, to behold a grateful object; namely, the *Foundation of one of the first and fairest Collegies in Christendom*.

6. For in this year *Walter de Merton*, *Bishop of Rochester* and *Chancellor* of *England*, finished the *Colledge* of his own name in *Oxford*. This *Walter* was born at *Merton* in *Surrey*, and at *Maldon* in that County had built a *Colledge*, which on second thoughts (by Gods counsel no doubt) he removed to *Oxford*, as it seems for the more security; now if the *Barons Wars*, then (some fifteen

The advantages of absent Prince Edward.

His achievements against the Turks.

The Popes present power in England.

Merton Col. in Oxford founded.

1274.

Anno  
Regis  
Edit.  
5.

Anno  
Dom.  
1274.

fifteen years since) in height, and heat, were as it is probable, any motive of this *Translation*, it was one of the best effects which ever to had a cause produced; For otherwise, if not removed to *Oxford*, certainly this *Colledge* had been swept away, as *Rubbish of Superstition*, at the *Dissolution of Abbies*.

7. Amongst the many *Manors* which the first *Founder* bestowed on this *Colledge*, one lay in the *Parish of St Peters* and *West suburbs* of *Cambridge*, beyond the *Bridge*, anciently called *Phibagoras house*, since *Merton Hall*. To this belongeth much good Land thereabout (as also the *Mills* at *Granchester* mentioned in *Chaucer*) those of *Merton Colledge* keeping yearly a *Court Baron* here. Afterwards *King Henry* the sixth took away (for what default I finde not) this *Manor* from them, and bestowed it upon his own *Foundation of Kings Colledge in Cambridge*. But his successor, *Edward the fourth*, restored it to *Merton Colledge* again. It seemeth equally admirable to me, that *Holy King Henry* the sixth, should do any wrong, or *Harsh Edward* the fourth, do any Right to the *Majesty*, which maketh me to suspect that there is more in the matter then what is generally known, or doth publickly appear.

8. *St Henry* *Savill* the most learned *Warden* of this *Colledge*, three hundred and more years after *Mertons death*, plucked down his *old Tombe* in *Rochester Church*. (near the *North wall*, almost over against the *Bishops Chair*) and built a neat new *Monument* of *Tomb* and *Alabaster*, whereon after a large inscription in *Prose*, this *Epitaph* was engraven.

Magne senex titulus, Musarum sedes sacra  
Major, Mertondum maxime progenie  
Hec tibi gratantes post secula sera nepotes  
En votiva locant marmora sancte Parent.

And indeed malice it self cannot deny, that this *Colledge* (or little *University* rather) doth equal, if not exceed any one *Foundation* in *Christendom*, for the *Famous men* bred therein, as by the following *Catalogue* will appear.

## Wardens.

1. *Pet. Abyngdon.*
2. *Rich. Warblisdon.*
3. *Jo. de la More.*
4. *Jo. Wantinge.*
5. *Rgb. Trengre.*
6. *Gul. Durant.*
7. *Jo. Bloxham.*
8. *Jo. Wendover.*
9. *Ed. Beckingham.*
10. *Tho. Rodburne.*
11. *Rob. Gylbert.*
12. *Hen. Abingdon.*
13. *Elias Holcot.*
14. *Hen. Sever.*
15. *Jo. Gygnar.*
16. *Ric. Fitz-James.*
17. *Tho. Harper.*
18. *Rich. Rawlins.*
19. *Rowl. Philips.*
20. *Jo. Chamber.*

## Bishops.

- Rgb. Winchelsey,*  
Arch-Bishop of  
*Canterbury*, Anno.  
1294.  
*Simon Mepham,*  
Arch-Bishop of  
*Canterbury*, Anno.  
1327.  
*Simon Islip,* Arch-  
Bishop of *Can-*  
*terbury*, Anno  
1349.  
*John Kemp,* Arch-  
Bishop of *Can-*  
*terbury*, Anno  
1462.  
*Ralph Baldock,* Bi-  
shop of *London*,  
Anno 1305.

## Benefactors.

- John Williot* (bred  
in this Col.)  
*D. D. & Chan-*  
*cclour* of *Ox-*  
*ford*, founded  
the *Portionists*  
*Hall*, and exhi-  
bitions.  
*Will. Read* (an ex-  
cellent *Mathe-*  
*matician*) built  
the *Library*.  
*Thomas Rudburne,*  
*Warden*, built  
the *Tower* over  
the *Gate*.  
*Richard Fitz-*  
*James*, *Warden*,  
built the *War-*  
*dens Lodgings*.

## Learned Writers.

1. *ROGER BACON* a famous *Physician*.
2. *JOHN DUNCE* *Scotus*.
3. *WALTER BURLEY.*
4. *WILLIAM OCHAM.*
5. *THO. BRADWARDINE*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*.
6. *John Gatisden.*
7. *Dumbleton.*
8. *Nicholas Gorham.*
9. *William Gryfant*, Father to *Grimold Gryfant*.

A Manor in Cambridge given thereunto.

a Brian Tynny  
Ant. Acad. Oz.  
P. 319.

b'Calus Hifi.  
Cent. Acad.  
P. 68.

Merton his  
Monument  
renewed.



## Wardens.

21. Hen. Tindal.  
22. Tho. Raynolds.  
23. Jas. Geruise.  
24. Jo. Man.  
25. Tho. Bickley.  
26. Hen. Savill.  
27. St Nathaniel  
Brent.  
28. Dr Goddard.

## Bishops.

- Henry Gower, Bi-  
shop of St Da-  
vids, Ann. 1328.  
William Read, Bi-  
shop of Chiche-  
ster, Ann. 1369.  
Robert Gilbert, Bi-  
shop of London,  
Anno 1435.  
Thomas Rodeburn,  
Bishop of St Da-  
vids, Ann. 1440.  
John \* Chadworth,  
Bishop of Lin-  
coln, Ann. 1452.  
John Marshall Bi-  
shop of Landaff,  
Anno 1478.  
Rich. Fitz-James,  
Bishop of Lon-  
don, Ann. 1500.  
William Stracey, Bi-  
shop of Dur-  
ham, Ann. 1502.  
Richard Raulins,  
Bishop of St Da-  
vids, Ann. 1523.  
John Parkehurst, Bi-  
shop of Nor-  
wich, Ann. 1560.  
Thomas Bickley, Bi-  
shop of Chiche-  
ster, Ann. 1585.  
George Carleton,  
Bishop of Chi-  
chester, 1626.

## Benefactors.

- Henry Abingdon,  
Wardens gave  
Bells to the  
Church.  
Richard Rantins.  
waincoated the  
inside, and co-  
vered the roof  
thereof with  
Lead.  
Thomas Leach.  
St Tho. Bosley.  
Dr Willow.  
Mr John Chambers.  
sometime Fel-  
low of Eaton.  
Doctor Service.  
Doctor Jesepe.  
St Hen. Savil.

## Learned Writers.

- Pope Inno-  
cent, name of Arbane  
the 6th.  
11. Roger Bacon.  
12. John Wyclif.  
Henry Caffe, an a-  
ble Scholar, but  
unfortunate.  
St Tho. Bosley,  
who built Ox-  
ford Library.  
St Hen. Savil.  
St Isaac Wake Uni-  
versity Orator,  
and Embassa-  
dour to Venice.  
Henry Mason, who  
wrote *De Ministerio*  
*Anglicano*.  
John Greaves, an  
excellent Ma-  
thematician.  
Dr Peter Turner,  
active in com-  
posing the new  
Statutes of the  
University.

Anna  
Dowd.  
1274.

Anna  
Regin.  
1274.

\* He was pro-  
vost also of  
Kings Col. in  
Cambridge.

\* The Living  
passed over in  
silence.

\* I purposely Omit such as still, (and may they long) survive, whereof  
some (as Dr Edward Reynolds, Dr John Earles, Dr Francis Cheynel, Mr. Doughty,  
Mr Francis Rymse, &c.) have already given the world a Testimony of their  
great Learning and endowments. Others may in due time, as Dr Higgs,  
late Dean of Lichfield, Dr Corbet, &c. And surely Mr John Hales, formerly  
Greek Professor, will not envy Christian man-kinde, his *Treasury of Learning*;  
nor can conceive, that only a *Sermon* (owned under his name) can satisfy  
the just expectation from him, of the *Church and Common-wealth*.

\* There is a *By-Foundation of Postmasters* in this House, (a kinde of *Colledge*  
in the *Colledge*) and this Tradition goeth of their Original. Anciently there  
was over against *Merton Colledge*, a small un-endowed *Hall*, whose Scholars  
had

\* The Original  
of Post-  
masters.

had to run in arrears, that their opposite neighbours, out of charity took them  
into their Colledge, (then but nine in number) to wait on the Fellows. But  
since they are freed from any attendance and endowed with plentiful mainte-  
nances, Mr. Wille being the first Benefactor unto them in that nature, whose  
good example hath provoked many to follow his liberality. These most justly  
conceive themselves much honoured, in that Bishop Jewel was a *postmaster* be-  
fore removed hence to be Fellow of *Corpus Christi* Colledge. We take our  
farewell of this House, when we have told it consisted lately (*viz.* 1635.)  
of one *warden*, twenty one *Fellows*, fourteen \* *Scholars*, besides Officers and  
Servants, of the foundation, with other Students, the whole number being  
eighty.

Come we now to the Kings retrenching the Popes power, grown so  
exorbitant in England. A principal part whereof consisted in the multitude  
of Monasteries, daylie increasing in wealth, and all at the Popes absolute  
devotion. If posterity had continued at this rate, to build and endow *Religi-  
gious Houses*, all England would, in short time, have turned one entire and  
continued Monastery; and the inhabitants thereof become either *Friers*, or  
*Founders*. Where then should be any *Souldiers* to fight the Kings battles?  
*Seamen* to steer his ships? *Husbandmen* to plough the Kings land? or rather  
any land of his to be ploughed by husbandmen?

10. Besides, though these *Friers* had a *living-hand*, to take and receive  
from any; they had *Mortmaine*, a *dead-hand*, to restore and return any pro-  
fit to the King again. Yea, such *alienation of lands in Mortmaine*, settled on  
Monasteries (which as Corporations neither married nor died) afforded nei-  
ther *Wards*, *Marriages*, *Reliefs*, nor *Knights-service*, for the defence of the  
Realm; in a word, enriched their private coffers, impoverished the publick  
*Exchequer*. It was not therefore such a *dead-hand*, which could feed to many  
*living mouths*, as the King for his state and safety must maintain. Wherefore  
for the future he restrain'd such *unlimited Donatives to Religious Houses*.

11. Ignorance makes many men mistake mere transcripts for *Originals*.  
So here, the *short-sighted vulgar sort*, beheld the *Kings Ait* herein as new,  
strange, and unprecedented, whereas indeed former times, and forein Prin-  
ces had done the like on the same occasion. First, we finde some counte-  
nance for it in a Scripture, when *Moses* by proclamation bountied the  
overflowing bounty of the people to the *Tabernacle*. And in the Primitive  
times, *Theodosius* the Emperor (although most loving and favourable to the  
Clergie) made a Law of *A Mortification* or *Mortmain*, to moderate peo-  
ples bounty to the Church. Yet a great Father, *Jerome* by name, much dis-  
liked this Act, as appears by his complaint to *Nepotian* of that Law; *I am*  
*ashamed to say it, the Priests of Idols, Stage-players, Coach-men, and common Harlots,*  
*are made capable of inheritance, and receive Legacies, only Ministers of the Gospel,*  
*and Monks are barred by Law thus to do; and was not by Persecutors, but by Chri-*  
*stian Princes.* But that passionate Father comes off well at last; neither do I  
complain of the Law, but I am sorry we have deserved to have such a Law made  
against us.

12. b St Ambrose likewise expresth much anger on the same occasion,  
out of his general zeal for the Churches good. But, had the aforelaid Fathers  
(men rather *pious* then *politick*; good *Church-men*, no *States-men*) seen the  
Monasteries swollen in revenues from an *inch* in their dayes, to an *ell* (by  
peoples *fondness*, yea *dotage*, on the *four sorts of Friers*) in King Edwards Reign,  
they would, no doubt, instead of reproving, have commended his, and the  
neighbouring Kings care for their *Common-wealths*.

13. For the like laws for limiting mens liberality, were lately made in  
*Spain* and *France*, and now at last followed by King Edward, according to the  
renour ensuing;

\* The same I  
conceive with  
the Postma-  
sters.

The Church  
ready to eat  
up the Com-  
mon-wealth.

The mischief  
of Mortmain  
to the Crown.

This Law not  
new but re-  
newed.

a Exod 36.6.

Ambrose an-  
gry with  
Mortmaine,  
b in his 31.  
Epist.

The Statute  
of Mortmaine.

where

Where of late it was provided, that religious men should not enter into the fees of any without licence and will of the chief Lords of whom such fees be holden immediately: And notwithstanding such religious men have entered as well into their own fees, as in the fees of other men, appropriating and buying them, and sometimes receiving them of the gift of others, whereby the services that are due of such fees, and which as the beginning were provided for defence of the Realm, are wrongfully withdrawn, and the chief Lords do lose their Escheats of the same; we therefore to the profit of our Realm intending to provide convenient remedies, by the advice of our Prelates, Earls, Barons, and other our subjects, being of our Council, have provided, made, and ordained, That no person, Religious or others, whatsoever he be, that will buy or sell any Lands or Tenements, or under the colour of Gift or Lease, or that will receive by reason of any other title, whatsoever it be, Lands or Tenements, or by any other Craft or Engine will presume to give, Lands or Tenements, or by any other Craft or Engine will presume to appropriate to himself, under pain of forfeiture of the same, whereby such Lands or Tenements may any wise come into Mortmain: we have provided also, That if any person, religious or other, do presume either by Craft or Engine to offend against this Statute; it shall be lawful to us and other chief Lords of the Fee, immediately to enter in the land so aliened, within a year from the time of their alienation, and to hold it in fee, and as Inheritance. And, if time of their alienation, and will not enter into such Fee within the year, then it shall be lawful to the next chief Lord immediate of the same Fee, to enter in the said land within half a year next following; and to hold it as before is said; and so every Lord immediate may enter into such Land, if the next Lord be negligent in entering into the same Fee, as is aforesaid. And, if all the chief Lords of such Fees being of full age, within the four Seas, and out of prison, be negligent or slack in this behalf, we immediately after the year accomplished, from the time that such purchases, Gifts, or Appropriations hap to be made, shall take such tenements into our hand, and shall enfeoff others therein, by certain Services to be done to us, for the defence of our Realm, saving to the chief Lords of the same Fees, their warden and Escheats, and other Services thereunto due and accustomed. And therefore we command you, that ye cause the foresaid Statute to be read before you, and from henceforth to be kept firmly and observed.

Witness my self at Westminster, 8cc.

Date we from this day, the achme or vertical height of Abbeys, which henceforward began to stand still, & at last to decline. Formerly it was Endow Monasteries who would, hereafter, who could, having first obtained licence from the King. Yet this Law did not ruine, but regulate, not destroy, but direct well grounded liberality, that bounty to some, might not be injury to others. Here I leave it to Lawyers by profession, to shew how many years after, (viz. the eighteenth of Edward the third) Prelates impeached before the Kings Justices for purchasing land in Mortmain, shall be dismissed without further trouble, upon their producing a charter of licence, and process thereupon made, by an Inquest, ad quod damnum, or, (in case that cannot be shewed) by making a convenient Fine for the same.

14. The late mention of the Prelates advice, in passing a Law so maleficial unto them, giveth me just occasion to name some, the principal persons of the Clergie, present thereat; namely,

1. John Peckam, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, a stout man. He afterwards excommunicated the Prince of Wales, because he went a long journey to persuade him to peace with England, but could not prevail.

2. William

Annō  
Domini  
1279.  
Anno  
Regis  
Ed. I.  
7.  
Nov. 4.

Annō  
Regis  
Ed. I.  
11.  
Anno  
Domini  
1283.

2. William Wickwane, Arch-Bishop of York, accounted a great Scholar, (Author of a Book called *Memoriale*) and esteemed a pety-faint in that Age.
3. Anthony Beake, soon after Bishop of Durham; the richest and proudest; (alwayes good manners to except Cardinal Wolsey) of that place; Patriarch titular of Jerusalem; and Prince of the Isle of Man. Yet in my minde, Gilbert Sellinger, his contemporary, and Bishop of Chester, had a far better Title, as commonly called, the Father of Orphans, and Comforter of the widows.

These, with many more Bishops consented (though some of them reformedes suam bilem as inwardly angry) to the passing, (or confirming) of the Statute of Mortmain. To make them some amends, the King not long after favourably stated, what causes should be of spiritual cognizance.

15. For a Parliament was called at Westminster, eminent on this account, that it laid down the limits, and fixed the boundaries betwixt the Spiritual and Temporal Jurisdictions, *Hitherto shall you come and no farther*; though before and since, both powers have endeavoured to enlarge their own, and contract their Rivals authority. We will present first the Latin out of the Records, and then the English out of our printed Statutes, and make some necessary observations on both.

**R**EX talibus Judicibus Salutem.  
Circumspectis agatis de negotiis  
tangentibus Episcopum Normicensem,  
et eum Clerum, non putand. eos si pla-  
cuerint in Curia Christianis-  
tatis de his que mere sunt spiritualia,  
viz. de correctionibus quas Prelati faci-  
unt pro mortali peccato, viz. pro for-  
nicatione, adulterio et hujusmodi,  
pro quibus aliquando infligitur pena  
corporalis, aliquando pecuniaria, maxi-  
me si convictus fuerit de hujusmodi li-  
ber homo.

Item, Si Prelatus puniat pro ceme-  
rio non clauso, Ecclesia discooperta, vel  
non decenter ornata, in quibus casibus  
alia pena non potest infligi quam pec-  
uniaria.

Item, Si Rector petat versus paro-  
chianos oblationes, et decimas debitas  
vel confusivas, vel si Rector agat contra  
Rectorem de decimis majoribus, vel  
minoribus, dummodo non petatur quar-  
ta pars valoris Ecclesie.

Item, Si Rector petat mortuarium  
in paribus ubi mortuarium dari con-  
suevit.

Item, Si Prelatus alicujus Ecclesie,  
vel advocatus petat a Rectore pensionem  
si debitam, omnes hujusmodi petitiones  
sunt faciend. in foro Ecclesiastico. De  
violenta manuum injectione in Cleri-

**T**He KING to his Judges sendeth  
Greeting. Use your self circum-  
spectly in al matters concerning the Bi-  
shop of Normich, & his Clergie, not pu-  
nishing them, if they hold plea in Court  
Christian, of such things as be merely  
spiritual, that is to wit of penance en-  
joyed for deadly sin, as fornication, a-  
dultery, and such like; for the which  
many times, corporal penance or pec-  
uniary is enjoined, specially if a free  
man be convict of such things.

Also if Prelates do punish for lea-  
ving Church-yards unclosed, or for  
that the Church is uncovered, or not  
conveniently decked, in which cases  
none other penance can be enjoined  
but pecuniary.

Item, If a Parson demand of his pa-  
rishioners, oblations and tythes due  
and accustomed, or if any person plead  
against another for tythes, more or  
less, so that the fourth part of the va-  
lue of the Benefice be not demanded.

Item, If a Parson demand mortua-  
ries in places where a mortuarie hath  
used to have been given.

Item, If a Prelate of a Church, or  
if a Patron demand a pension due to  
themselves, all such demands are to  
be made in a Spiritual Court. And  
for laying violent hands on a Priest,

cum,

The Spiritual  
and Temporal  
Courts bound-  
ed by Parlia-  
ment.

Who the  
active Prelates  
of this age.

cum, & in causa diffamationis concessum fuit aliis, quod placitum inde teneatur in Curia Christianitatis, cum non petatur pecunia, sed agatur ad correctionem peccati, & similiter pro fidei lesione. In omnibus prædictis casibus habet iudex Ecclesiasticus cognoscere regia prohibitionem non obstantem.

and in cause of defamation, it hath been granted already, that it shall be tried in a Spiritual Court, when money is not demanded, but a thing done for punishment of sin, and likewise for breaking an oath. In all cases afore rehearsed, the Spiritual Judge shall have power to take knowledge notwithstanding the Kings prohibition.

Anno  
Regis  
Ed. 1.  
1283

Anno  
Dom.  
1283

Something must be premised about the validity of this writing, learned men much differing therein.

- Some make it
1. Onely a constitution made by the Prelates themselves, much too blame, if they cut not large pieces, being their own Carvers,
  2. A meer writ issued out from the King to his Judges.
  3. A solemn Act of Parliament, complicit in all the requisites thereof.

\* Mr Nab.  
Bacon in his  
Hist. Dif. of  
the Govern-  
ment of En-  
gland. lib. 1.  
pag. 233

Hear what \* a Bacon (but neither St Nicolas, nor St Francis, the two Oracles of Law) writes in this case; A writing somewhat like a Grant of Liberties, which before times were in controversy; and thus Grant (if it may be so called) hath by continuance *USURPED* the name of a Statute, but in its own nature is no other then a writ directed to the Judges. Presently after he saith, It is therefore no Grant, nor Release, but as it were a Covenant that the Clergie should hold peaceable possession of what they had, upon this ground. And in the next page more plainly; For my part therefore I shall not apprehend it of a higher nature then the Kings Writ, which in those dayes WENT FORTH AT RANDOM.

Judge Coke  
decision.  
a Second part  
of his Institut.  
pag. 487.

16. Come we now to the calme judgment of St Edward Cook, on whose decision we may safely rely; Though a some have said that this was no Statute, but made by the Prelates themselves; yet that this is an Act of Parliament, it is proved, not onely by our books, but also by an Act of Parliament.

17. The King to his Judges] Were it of concernment, it were not difficult to name the Prime Judges of England at this time:

1. In the Kings, or Upper-Bench, either Ralph de Hengbam, or (which is more probable) one Wymborne was Judge.
2. In the Common-Pleas, Thomas de Weyland, on that token that he was guilty of Bribery.
3. In the Exchequer, Adam de Stratton, as faulty as the former.

But by the Judges named in this writ, (for, as this was an Act of Parliament, so was there a writ also founded thereon, called *Circumspexit agatis*) we understand some peculiar Commissioners dispatch'd and employed on this particular business.

18. Concerning the Bishop of Norwich] It is needles to tell the Reader, that William Middleton was Bishop thereof at this time, b character'd to be, *Vir in Jure Civilis & Canonico peritissimus & elegantissimus*. But Norwich is here put onely for example, which equally extended to all the Bishops of the Realme.

19. Si

b Chronicon.  
Ofnerfe.

Anno  
Regis  
Ed. 1.  
1285

Anno  
Dom.  
1285

19. Si placitum tenerint, if they hold plea] Placitum, a plea (so called, saith my s. Author, per amiphrasit, quia non placet, none being pleased to go to Law save Barristers, who delight in brawling. But, what if it be called placitum, because the Plaintiff is pleased to submit his right in question to the pleasure of the Court to decide it?

20. In Court Christian] These words are left out in Linwood his Constitutions, where all the rest is registered. And; where the recording thereof amongst the Provincial Canons of Canterbury, gave the best countenance to their conjecture, who degrade this Act of Parliament into a meer Church-Confession. It is called the Court Christian, because therein the Laws of Christ do, or should bear the decisive sway, whilst the Statutes of Secular Princes regulate the proceedings in other Courts.

21. Such things as be merely spiritual] This furnisheth us with a necessary distinction of all matters;

Into { merely and purely } spiritual.  
          { mixtly and partly }

Of the former we shall finde very few, merely spiritual. For the Apostles sometimes conceived, that the very distribution of Almes to the poor, had something of worldly drossiness therein (called by them a serving of tables) as if onely the preaching of the word were a spiritual employment. Of the latter fort many things are mixtly spiritual. For, seeing man consists of two principles, soul and body, all his actions good or bad, as to the minde-moiety or soul-part thereof, must needs have at least a glasse of spiritual reflection. Here then the Quere will be in matters mixtly spiritual, whether the spiritualty of them shall refine the rest so as to exalt the same into Church-cognition; or the corporality, or earthliness of them, deprets them so as to subject them to civil consideration? the decision hereof dependeth on the practice and custom of the Land, as will appear hereafter.

22. For deadly sin] Distinguish we here betwix a sin deadly to the soul, drawing damnation without repentance, and a deadly (commonly called a capital) crime, deserving death by humane Laws. The former onely is here intended, the latter belonging wholly to the Common-Law. Nor did the punishment of every mortal sin (to use the language of that age) belong to Church-men, seeing if so (as Linwood no less Learnedly, then modestly confesseth) Sic periret temporalis gladius iurisdictionis, Thereby the power of the temporal sword will wholly be taken away. Long since had Doctors-Commons eaten up all the Laws of Court, if all things reducible to deadly sins had pertained to the Court-Christian. And therefore the Casuists themselves do qualifie and confine these words of indefinite extent, to such crimes, which de sui natura spectant ad Forum Ecclesiasticum.

23. As first fornication] Here, saith Linwood, thirteen cases are in specie recited, though I dare not reckon them up, fearing to make them (lying so confusedly) more or less. Fornication, that is (saith the Casuist) Solutio cum soluta, the uncleanness of a loose (understand unmarried) with a loose person.

24. Adultery] These two alone are specified, because lying in a middle distance, so the more conveniently to reach other sins of this kinde, of higher or lower guilt;

1. Higher } as Incest.  
2. Lower } Soliciting a womans chastity.

If any say that Adultery doth not belong to the Court-Christian, because Christ himself

c Linwood his  
Constit. lib. 2.  
tit. De Foro  
competenti.

a 7bn 8.4.11.

himself would not punish an *adulterers* taken in the *ab*, waxing it as an improper employment. It is answered, that our Saviour appearing in privacy and poverty, and coming not to act but to suffer, not to judge but to be judged, justly declined all *judicial power*. But we see afterward, how the Church of *Corinth*, by St Paul his command, proceeded against the *incestuous person*, and at this time Church-men clearly carried the *cognisance* of such offences. I say at this time, it plainly appearing, that in the *Conquerors* time, *Fornication* and *Adultery* were punishable in the *Kings Court*, and the *Leets* especially, (by the name of *LEATHERWITS*) and the fines of offenders assailed to the King, though now it merely belonged to the Church. As for a *Rape*, being *Adultery*, or, at leastwise, *fornication* offered with violence, the *Common-Law* hath justly reserved to itself the trial and punishment thereof.

25. And such like] Here is an *interpretative et-cetera* inserted in the body of a *Parliament AB* (and a *Writ* grounded thereon) causing some differences about the Dimensions thereof. For, if these words, *And such like*, relate only to the last foregoing, *Fornication* and *Adultery*, (in common construction most probable) then they only fetch in such offences which have some tincture of *Carnal uncleanness*. But, if they also refer to the mediate preceding words, *deadly sins*, behold a troop cometh, beyond our power exactly to number them. And here *Foreign Casuists* bring in a bundle of mortal sins, all grist for their own Mill, as of *Church-cognisance*; namely, *Sacrilege*, *Usury*, *Heretic*, *Simony*, *Perjury*, *Fortune-telling*, *consulting Astrologers*, *Drunkennes*, &c. But it matters not, how long and large their bills be from beyond the Seas, seeing our *Common-Law* brings their reckonings to a new account, defalking a great part of that measure, which they make to themselves in favour of *Church-Jurisdiction*.

b 2 Ctro.24.

26. For that the Church is uncovered] It belonged ever to the *Priests*, to provide for the decent reparation of *Gods-House*. Thus *Jehoiada* <sup>b</sup> was careful to amend the decayes of the Temple. But though it pertained to *Church-men* to see the thing done, yet several persons were to do it.

1. The *Steeple* with the *Body* of the Church, and all *Chappels* lying in common thereunto, are to be repaired at the *Joyn* cost of the *Parish*.
2. *Private Chappels* wherein particular persons claim a propriety of sepulture at their own charges.
3. The *Chancel* at the expence of the *Parson*.

However in all these, such respect is had to the *custom* of the place, *time out of minde*; that it often over-ruleth the premises. Quare, Whether the *Fences* of the *Church-yard* be to be made on the *Parish-charges*, or on the purse of the several persons whose ground furroundeth it, or abutteth on the same.

\* *Oblations* and *Tythes*] It is a question which I believe will never be decided to the contentment of both *Parties*, in what notion *Tythes* belong to the *Court-Christian*.

1. The *Canonists* maintain,

That Originally and *ex sua natura*, they are of *Ecclesiastical cognisance*, as commonly avouched, and generally believed due, *Jure Divino*. Besides, such the near relation of the Church and its maintenance, that to part the oyl from the lamp were to destroy it. They produce also

2. The *Common-Lawyers* defend.

That *Tythes* in their own nature are a *civil thing*, and therefore by *Britton* (who being *Bishop* of *Hereford*, and learned in the *Laws* of this Realm, was best qualified for an *unpartial* Judg herein) omitted, when treating of what things the Church hath *cognisance*. They \* affirm therefore that *Tythes* were annexed

Anno  
Dom.  
1285.  
Anno  
Regi.  
Ed.1.  
15.

Anno  
Regi.  
Ed.1.  
15.  
Anno  
Dom.  
1285.

the *Confession* in the *Statute* of the first of *Richard the second*. That *persecution* for *Tythes* ought, and of ancient time did pertain to the *Spiritual Court*.

annexed to the *Spirituality*. Thus they expound those passages in *Statutes of Tythes*, anciently belonging to *Court-Christians*, as intended by way of *concession*, and not otherwise.

But the *Canonists* are too sturdy to take that for a gift which they conceive is their due, lest thanks also be expected from them for enjoying the same, and so we leave the question where we found it.

27. *Mortuary*] Because something of *history* is folded up in this word, which may acquaint us with the practice of this age, we will enlarge a little hereon, and shew what a *Mortuary* was, when to be paid, by whom, to whom and in what consideration.

1. A *Mortuary* \* was the second best quick cattel whereof the party died possessed. If he had but two in all (such forsooth the *charity* of the Church) no *Mortuary* was due from him.
2. It was often bequeathed by the dying, but however alwayes paid by his *Executors* after his death, thence called a *Mortuary* or *Corse-present*.
3. By whom. No woman under *Covert-Baron* was lyable to pay it (and by proportion no children unmarried, living under their *Fathers* tuition) but *widows*, and all possessed of an *Estate*, were subject to the payment thereof.
4. To whom. It was paid to the *Priest* of the *Parish* where the party dying received the *Sacrament* (not where he repaired to prayers) and if his house at his death stood in two *Parishes*, the value of the *Mortuary* was to be divided betwixt them both.
5. It was given in lieu of small or personal *Tythes* (*Predial Tythes* are too great to be casually forgotten) which the party in his life-time had, though ignorance or negligence, not fully paid. But in case the aforesaid *Mortuary* fell far short of full satisfaction for such omissions, *Casuists* maintain the dying party obliged to a larger restitution.

a Linwood  
Constit. lib.1.  
fol.1. de Con-  
fessionibus.

So much of *Mortuaries*, as they were generally paid at the present, until the time of *Henry* the sixth, when learned *Linwood* wrote his *Comment* on that *Constitution*. How *Mortuaries* were after reduced to a new regulation by a *Statute*, in the twenty first of *Henry* the eighth, pertains not to our present purpose.

28. For laying violent hands on a *Priest*] The *Ecclesiastical* Judg might proceed *ex officio*, and pro salute anime, punish the offender who offered violence to a *Priest*; but damages on *Action* of *Battery* were onely recoverable at *Common-Law*: Note, that the *arresting* of a *Clergy-man* by *Process* of *Law*, is not to be counted a violence.

29. And in cause of *Defamation*] Where the matter defamatory is *Spiritual*, as to call one *Heretic*, or *Schismatic*, &c. the plea lay in *Court-Christian*. But defamations with mixture, any matter determinable in the *Common-Law*, as *Theif*, *Murderer*, &c. are to be traversed therein.

30. *Defamation* is hath been granted] From this word *granted*, *Common-Lawyers* collect (let them alone to husband their own right) that originally *defamations* pertained not to the *Court-Christian*. From the beginning it was not so, until the *Common-Law* by *ABs* of *Parliament*, granted and surrendered such suits to the *Spirituality*.

31. Thus by this *AB* and *Writ* of *Circumspeci* again, *King Edward* may seem like an expert Artist, to cleave an hair, betwixt the *Spiritual* and *temporal* jurisdiction, allowing the premises to the former, and leaving whatever is not

No end can  
end an ever-  
lasting diffi-  
culty.

M m 2

specified

\* *Bracton*, lib.  
5. fol. 401.

(specified in this *AB*, to the Cognizance of the Common-Law, according to the known and common *Maxime*, *Exceptio firmat regulam in non exceptis*. However, for many years after there was constant heaving and shoving betwixt the two *Courts*. And, as there are certain lands in the *Marches* of England and Scotland (whilest distinct Kingdoms) termed *Battle-grounds*, which may give for their *Motto*, not, *Dentur iustiori*, but, *Dentur fortiori*, for always the strongest sword for the present possessed them: So in *controverfial cases* to which *Court* they should belong; sometimes the *Spirituality*, sometimes the *Temporality*, alternately seized them into their Jurisdiction, as power and favour best befriended them. But generally the *Clergie* complained, that, as in the blending of liquors of several colours, few drops of red will give a tincture to a greater quantity of white, so the least mixture of *Civil* concernment in *Religious* matters, so discoloured the *Christian candor* and purity thereof, that they appeared in a *temporal hue*, and under that notion were challenged to the *Common-Law*. Sad, when *Courts* that should be *Judges*, turn themselves *Plaintiffs* and *Defendants*, about the bounds of their *Jurisdiction*.

See more hereof on *Anticall Cleric*, in the Reign of Edward the second.

Attention to the entire story of our English Jews.

Their principal residence in London.

a. *Sum* his Survey of London, pag. 288.

The Justicer of the Jews.

b. *Additamenta* *Matthai Parisii* 1. 1. 102.

The High Priest, or Presbyter of the Jews.

32. We long since mentioned the first coming in of the Jews into England (brought over by William the Conqueror) and now are come this year to their casting out of this Kingdom; having first premised some observables concerning their continuance therein. If hitherto we have not scattered our History with any discourse of the Jews, know it done by design: that as they were enjoyed by our Laws, to live alone in streets by themselves (not mixing in their dwellings with Christians) so we purposely singled out their story, and reserved it by it self, for this one entire relation thereof.

33. They were scattered all over England. In *Cambridge*, *Bury*, *Norwich*, *Lin*, *Stanford*, *Northampton*, *Lincoln*, *Tork*, and, where not? But their principal abode was in *London*, where they had their Arch-Synagogue at the North corner of the *Old-Jury*, as opening into *Lothbury*. After their expulsion, their Synagogue was turned into the *Covent of the Friars of the Sack*, or, *De Penitentia Jelu*; and after their suppression, it became successively the house, first of a Lord, then of a Merchant; since of any man for his money, being turned into a *Tavern*, with the sign of the *Wind-mill*. A proper sign to express the moveableness of that place, which with several gales of success, hath been turned about, from so many owners, and to so many uses.

34. As for the civil government of Jews in England, the King set over them one principal Officer, called the *Justicer of the Jews*, whose place in honor was next to the *Barons of the Exchequer*. His office was to be the Patron & Protector of the Jews in their just rights, to decide all suits betwixt Christians and them, and to keep the seal of the Jews their Corporation, with the keys of their Treasury; I conceive of such moneys as they paid as Tribute to the King: otherwise the Jews had age enough to keep the Keys of their own coffers themselves, and wit too much to trust them with others. *St Robert de Ho*, and *St Philip Lavel* (afterward Treasurer of England) men of signal Nobility, successively discharged this place. These Justicers often acted very high in defence of their Clients, the Jews; inasmuch as I find it b complained of by the English Clergy, as a great grievance; that, when a Jew was convicted before the Ecclesiastical Judge, for his misdemeanours (as Sacrilege, violence offered to some Priest, adultery with a Christian woman, &c.) their own Justicer would interpose, and, by a *Prohibition* obtained from the King, obstruct all legal proceedings against such a Jew, as only responsible in his own jurisdiction.

35. In their spiritual government they were all under one Pontifex, or High Priest. We find his name was *Elias*, who Anno 1254. had that office. He was also called the Presbyter of the Jews, whose place was usually confirmed at least, if not constituted by the King, who by his *Patent* granted the same, as may appear by this copic of King *Johns*, as followeth.

R E X

Anno Dom. 1285.  
Anno Regi. Ad. 13.

1290. 18.

Anno Regi. Ed. 16.  
Anno Dom. 1290.

R E X "omnibus fidelibus suis, & omnibus Judeis, & Anglis salutem. Sciatis Nos concessisse, & presentis Charta nostra confirmasse Jacobo Judge de Londoniis Presbyterum Judeorum. Presbyteratum omnium Judeorum totius Anglie, habendum & tenendum quamdiu vixerit, libere & quiete; & honorifice, & integre, in quod nemo ei super hoc molestiam aliquam, aut gravamen inferre presumat: Quare volumus, & firmiter precipimus, quod eidem Jacobo quoad vixerit Presbyteratum Judeorum per totam Angliam, garantemus, manu teneatis, & pacifice defendatis; & si quis ei super eo forisfacere presumpserit, id ei sine dilatione (salva nobis emenda nostra) de forisfactura nostra emendari faciat, tanquam Dominico Judeo nostro quem specialiter in servitio nostro retinimus. Prohibemus etiam ne de aliquo ad se pertinente ponatur in placium, nisi coram Nobis, aut coram Capitali Justitia nostra, sicut Charta Regis Richardi, fratris nostri, testatur. Teste S. Bathoniensi Episcopo &c. Dat. per manum H. Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Chancellarii nostri apud Rothomagum 31. die Julii, Anno Regni nostri primo.

a. *Reg. Cor.*  
b. *Reg. Joh.*  
c. *Reg. Joh.*  
d. *Reg. Joh.*  
e. *Reg. Joh.*  
f. *Reg. Joh.*  
g. *Reg. Joh.*  
h. *Reg. Joh.*  
i. *Reg. Joh.*  
j. *Reg. Joh.*  
k. *Reg. Joh.*  
l. *Reg. Joh.*  
m. *Reg. Joh.*  
n. *Reg. Joh.*  
o. *Reg. Joh.*  
p. *Reg. Joh.*  
q. *Reg. Joh.*  
r. *Reg. Joh.*  
s. *Reg. Joh.*  
t. *Reg. Joh.*  
u. *Reg. Joh.*  
v. *Reg. Joh.*  
w. *Reg. Joh.*  
x. *Reg. Joh.*  
y. *Reg. Joh.*  
z. *Reg. Joh.*

I have transcribed this Patent the rather for the rarity thereof, it being a strange sight, to see a Christian Arch-Bishop date an Instrument for a Jewish Presbyter.

36. Their livelihood was all on Usury. One Verse in *b Deuteronomy* (with their Comment thereon) was more beneficial unto them, than all the Old Testament besides. *Unto a stranger thou maiest lend upon usury, but unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon usury*. Now interpreting all *strangers* who (though neighbours at the next door) were not of their own nation, they became the universal Usurers of all England; and did our Kingdom this courtesy, that, because all hated the Jews for their usury sake; all also hated usury for the Jews sake, so that Christians generally disdained to be guilty thereof. Now, seeing there are two ways to wealth, one long and sure, by saving at home; the other short, but not so certain (because probably it may meet with detection and punishment) by oppressing abroad, no wonder if the Jews, using both ways, quickly arrived at vast estates.

37. For, first for their fare, it was coarse in the quality, and yet slender in the quantity thereof. Inasmuch, that they would, in a manner, make postage of a *flint*. *Swines-flesh* indeed they would not eat, but *dogs-meat* they would; I mean, *beef* and *mutton*, so poor, and lean, that the refuse of all Christians, was the Jews choice in the Shambles. Clothes they wore so poor, and patch'd, beggars would not take them up to have them. Attendants they kept none, every one waiting on himself. No wonder then, if easily they did over-grow others in wealth, who bafely did under-live themselves in all convenient accommodations. Nor were they less gripple in keeping, then greedy in catching of goods; who would as soon lose their fingers, as let go what they had clutched therein.

38. I was of the opinion (and perchance not without company in my mistake) that the Jews were not permitted to purchase Lands in England. I thought, only the ground of their graves (generally buried without *Cripple-gate*, in the Jews garden, on the West side of *St Giles's* Church-yard, now turned into Tenements in *Red-cross-street*) could be termed theirs. But since I am informed, that *Bepomy* & *Mittan*, a Jew (as certainly many more besides him) was possessed of much Land, and many houses in several parishes in London. Surely their purchases were limited within some restrictions. But the Jews generally more fancied letting-out of money, then buying in of Land, as which made their estates less subject to discovery, more plentiful in their encreasing, and more portable in the removing thereof.

39. It was an usual punishment legally inflicted on these Jews, for their offences not capital, to Excommunicate them. Thus such Jews should be Excommunicated, who, contrary to the Laws, kept *Christian-nurses* in their houses; or, who cast off that *badg*, or *cognizance*, which they ought to

Jews giving Usurers.  
b. *Deut.* 23. 20.

Their rapaciousness, and tenaciousness.

Jews might purchase houses.

c. *Stew's Survey*, pag. 288; and 289.

Lay-excommunication, what it was, a *Additamenta* *Matthai Parisii* pag. 202.

to have worn over their upper garment, to be distinguished from Christians. Surely *such Excommunication* was no Ecclesiastical censure, needles to keep the Jews out of our Churches, who hated all coming into them. Rather it was a civil penalty (equivalent to the Universities *discomfounding* a Townsman in *Cambridge*) whereby the Jews were debarred all commerce with Christians (worse to them then all the plagues of *Egypt*) and so the mart of their profit marred, dearer unto them then life itself.

40. Endless it were to reckon up the indignities offered unto these Jews, on occasion sometimes given, but often taken. Apprentices now adayes do not throw sticks at *Cocks* on Shrove-meday so commonly, as then on that day they used clubs on the Jews, if appearing out of their houses. A people equally unhappy at *feasts*, and at *frays*. For, whensoever the Christians at any *revels* made great entertainments, the Jews were made to pay the *reckoning*. And wheresoever any *braule* began, in *London*, it ended always in the *Old-Jury*, with pillaging of the people therein. What good heart can without grief, recount the injuries offered to those, who once were the only people of God? These were they who preferred *Barabbas*, before *Christ* their *Saviour*, which *Barabbas* was a *robber*, a *raiser* of *insurrection*, and a *murderer*. And ever since that time, in all insurrections against them (when they desired, and sought safety, and deliverance) it hath been their constant portion, to be robbed and murdered.

b. John 18.40.  
c. Mark 15.7.

A first Jewish  
jubilee.

41. But the most terrible persecution fell upon them at the Coronation of King *Richard* the first, which, according to the Jewish computation was their jubile; and then busie in the observance thereof, though (alas) they had not one merry day in the compass of the whole year. They were forbidden, for fear of their enchantments, to approach the Kings Coronation, upon heavy penalties denounced. Now, their curiosity was so far above their covetousness, or rather, their wilfulness so far above their curiosity herein, that, out of their old spirit of contradiction, some appeared there, which caused the killing of many, robbing of moe Jews in *London*. On the same account, within few dayes after (how quickly can cruelty ride post seven score and ten miles :) five hundred Jews besieged in a Tower at *Tork*, left beheaded their own wives and children, and then burnt themselves, to escape more cruel torments.

London-wall  
built with  
Jewish stones.  
d. Stow's Survey  
of London,  
pag. 288.

Henry the  
third cruel to  
the Jews.

e. Mat. Paris  
pag. 605.

f. Stow's Sur-  
vey, p. 192.

42. In the seventeenth year of the Reign of King *John*, the Barons brake into the Jews houses, and rifled their coffers, and with the stone of their houses, repaired the gates, and *d* walls of *London*. Surely such stones must be presumed very hard, like the Jews, their owners, from whom they were taken, and yet they soon mouldred away with winde and weather. Indeed plundered stone never make strong walls. And I impute it as a partial cause of the weakness of *London*-walls (which no enemy ever since assaulted, but he entered them) that a great part of them (enough to infect all the rest) was built with materials got by oppression.

43. But, of all our English Kings, none ground the Jews with exacti-  
ons, like King *Henry* the third. Only herein the Jews might, and did com-  
fort themselves, that the English, his Native Subjects, also smarted foundly  
under his oppression. He not onely flaid the skin, but raked the flesh, and  
scarified the bones of all the Jews estates in *England*; *ut vivere salubrem*,  
that it was irksome for them to live. *c* Gold he would receive of every Jewish  
man, or woman, alwayes with his own hand, but consigned other officers to  
receive the *silver* from them. One offensive act he wilfully did to their confi-  
dence, in giving them leave, at their own cost and charges, to build them a new  
Synagogue, and when they had finish'd it, He commanded them to dedicate  
it to the Virgin *Mary*, whereby they utterly lost the use thereof; and after-  
wards the King gave it to be a *Cell* of *St. Anthony* of *Vienna*. A vexatious deed,  
merely to delight them, who are (since their smarting for Idolatry in the  
captivity of *Babylon*) pertinacious worshippers of one God, and nothing more

Anno  
Dom.  
1250.  
Anno  
Regis  
Ed. 1.  
18.

more retardeth their conversion to Christianity, then the scandal given daylie unto them, by the Popish *Saint-ships* to their *images*.

44. It may justly seem admirable, whence these Jews so often pillaged to their bare skins, so suddenly recruited themselves with wealth. What I have heard affirmed of some ground in *Glocester-shire*, that in a kindly spring, bite it bare over night, next morning the grafs will be grown to *hide a waste* therein, is most certainly true in application to the Jews, so full and fast did wealth flow in upon them. Let their eggs not onely be taken away, but their nests be pluck'd down; yet within few years we shall finde them hatching a new brood of wealth therein. This made many suspect them, for clipping and coyning of money. But, to lessen the wonder of these Jews their speedy recovery, know, that (besides some of their invisible hoardes elcaping their plunderers hands) the Jews in other places (where the persecution for the present) furnished them to set up trading again. Indeed commendable was the Jews charity to their own Country-men, save that necessity commanded them to love one another, being hated of all other nations.

The wonder  
of the Jews  
speedy re-  
cruiting their  
estates.

45. To avoid these miseries, they had but one shift (and, as used by some of them, it was but a shift indeed) to pretend themselves Christian Converts, and to tender themselves to be baptized. To such persons, in a temporal respect, *Baptism washed away all sin*; they being cleared and quitted from all ante-facts how hainous soever, by their entrance into Christianity. Thus Anno 1259. *Elias Bishop*, a *London-Jew*, charged with many horrible crimes; and, amongst others, that with poisoned drinke he had caused the death of many English Gentlemen, escaped all punishment by being baptized. For the farther encouragement of their conversion, King *Henry* the third erected a small house in *Chancery-Lane* (where the office of the *Rolls* is now kept) for Convert-Jews to dwell in, allowing a daylie salary to them for their maintenance. It is to be feared many lived therein who were Jews inwardly, but not in the Apostles *a* acception thereof, *in the spirit, but in the letter, whose praise is not of men, but of God*; but I mean such, who still retained the dregs of Judaism under the fained profession of Christianity. Sure I am, King *Edward* at this time was so incensed against the Jewish Nation, that now he resolved the total and final extirpation of them, and theirs, out of his Dominions.

Grounds of  
counterfeit  
converts.  
\* Mat. Paris  
pag. 582.

a Rom. 2. 29.

46. Many misdemeanours were laid to their charge, amongst which these following were the principal. First, *Enchantments*. This was an old sin of the Jews, whereof the Prophets alwayes complained, *b* the multitude of thy sorceries, and the great abundance of thine enchantments. And it seems they still retained their old wicked wont. Secondly, *Poisoning*. To give the Jews their due, this was none of their faults, whilest living in their own land, not meeting with the word in the whole Bible. It seems they learnt this sin after their dispersion in other Nations, and since are grown exquisite in that art of wickedness. Thirdly, *Clipping of money*. Fourthly, *Counterfeiting of Christians hands and seals*. Fifthly, *Extortion*. A few occasioned a mutiny in *London*, by demanding from a poor Christian, above two shillings for the use of twenty shillings for one week, being (by proportion) no less then five hundred and twenty pounds *per annum* for every hundred. Sixthly, *Crucifying of the children of Christians* (to keep their hands in ure) *always about Easter*. So that the time pointed at their intents directly in derision of our Saviour. How sufficiently these crimes were witnessed against them, I know not. In such cases weak proofs are of proof against rich offenders. We may well believe, if their persons were guilty of some of these faults, their estates were guilty of all the rest.

Misdemean-  
ours charged  
on the Jews.  
b Isai. 47. 9.

47. Now although it passeth for an uncontrolled truth, that the Jews were by the King violently cast out of the Land, yet a great Lawyer states the case much otherwise (viz.) that the King did not directly expel them, but only prohibit them to put money

Jews say o-  
thers not call  
out, but cra-  
ved leave to  
depart.  
\* Six Ed. Coke.

money to use; which produced a petition from them to the King, that they might have leave to depart the Land; a request easily granted unto them: some will say it is all in effect, whether one be starved or stabbed, death inevitably following from both, as here the Jews were famished, on the matter, out of England; *usury* being their meat and drink, without which they were unable longer to subsist: However this took much (from the Odium of the act, that they were not immediately, but only indirectly and consequentially banished the Realm, or rather permitted a free departure on their own petition for the same. As for the sad accident that some hundreds of them being purposely shipped out of a spiteful design, in a leaking vessel, were all drowned in the Sea, if true, it cannot but command compassion in any Christian heart.

The King gets incredible wealth fortified by the Jews.

a Polydore Virgil.

King Edward's shift nor he twist Bailiol and Bruce.

He proveth malice's Scourge.

I. G. Buchanan Rites Scot. lib. 1. p. 444.

48. It is hardly to be believed, what vast sums of wealth accrewed to the King, by this (call it ejection, or amotion, or) decepcion of the Jews: He allowed them only baze *viaticum* to bear their charges, and feiled on all the rest of their citates. Infomuch, that now the King needed not to listen to the counsell of *William Marb*, Bishop of Bath and wells, and Treasurer of England (but therein speaking more like a Treasurer then a Bishop) advising him, if in necessity, to take all the plate and money of Churches and Monasteries, therewith to pay his *fooleries*. The poor Jews durst not go into France (whence lately they had been solemnly banished) but generally dispoled themselves in Germany, and Italy, especially in the Popes territories therein, where profit from Jews and *Stiers*, much advance the constant revenues of his Holiness.

49. King Edward having done with the Jews, began with the Scots, and effectually humbled them, and their country. This the occasion. Two Competitors appearing for the Crown of Scotland, [*John Bailiol*, and *Robert Bruce*] and, both referring their title to King Edward's decision, he adjudged the same to *Bailiol*, or rather to himself in *Bailiol*. For he enjoyed him to do homage unto him, and that hereafter the Scottish Crown should be held in fealty of the English. *Bailiol*, or his necessity rather (his person being in King Edward's power) accepted the condition, owning in England one above himself, that so he might be above all in Scotland. But, no sooner was he returned into his own Kingdom, and peaceably possessed thereof, but instantly in a Letter of defiance, he disclaimeth all former promises to King Edward, appealing to the Christian world, whether his own *inforced* obedience were more to be pitied, or King Edward's insolence (improving it self on a Princes present extremities) more to be condemned.

50. Offended hereat, King Edward advanceth into Scotland, with the forces he formerly intended for France. Power and policy make a good melody, and the one fareth the better for the other. King Edward to strengthen himself, thought fit to take in the title of *Robert Bruce*, (*Bailiol's* corival), hitherto living privately in Scotland) pretending to settle him in the Kingdom. Hereupon the Scots; to lessen their losses, and the English victories, affirm, that in this expedition their own Country-men were chiefly conquered by their own Country-men, the *Brucian* party assisting the English. Sure it is that King Edward took *Barnick*, *Dunbar*, *Sterling*, *Edenburgh*, the Crown, Scepter, and (out of *Scotie*) the Royal Chair, and propheticall Marble therein. And though commonly it be observed, that English valour hopefully budding and blossoming on this side of *Edenburgh-Frith*, is frost-bitten on the North thereof; yet our victorious Edward, crossing that sea, took *Montross*, and the best Counties thereabout. In a word, he conquered almost all the *Garden of Scotland*, and left the *wilderness* thereof to conquer it self. Then having settled *warren*, Earl of *Surry*, Vice-Roy thereof, and made all the Scottish Nobility (*Doughty Douglas* alone excepted, who was committed to prison for his singular recalcancy) swear homage unto him, and taking *John Bailiol* captive along with him, he returned triumphantly into England.

The End of the Thirteenth CENTURY.

Anno Dom. 1290. Anno Regis Ed. I. 18.

1293 21.

1294 22.

1295 23.

1297 25.

Anno Regis Anno Dom.

## CENT. XIV.

TO  
CLEMENT THROCKMORTON, the Elder,  
OF  
Haseley in Warwick-shire, Esq;

Let others boast of their French blond, whilst your English family may vie Gentry with any of the Norman Extraction. 1. For Antiquity, four Monosyllables being, by common pronuntiation, crowded into your name; THE, ROCK, MORE, TOWN. 2. For Numerosity, being branched into so many Counties. 3. For Ingenuity, charactered by Camden to be FRUITFUL OF FINE WITS, whereof several instances might be produced.

But a principal consideration, which doth, and ever shall command my respect unto your person, is, your faithful and cordial friendship, in matters of highest concernment, (whatever be the success thereof) to the best of my Relations, which I conceived myself obliged publicly to confess.

+ Brit. in Warwick-shire.

Ed. I. 1301. 19.



Midst these cruel Wars, betwixt the English and Scots, Pope Boniface the eighth, sent his Letters to King Edward, requiring him to quit his claim, and cease his Wars, and release his prisoners, of the Scotch Nation, as a people exempt, and properly pertaining to his own Chappel. Perchance the Popes right to the Crown of Scotland is written on the back-side of *Constantines* Donation. And it is strange, that if Scotland be the Popes peculiar Demeeans, it should be so far distant from Rome, his chief Mansion house; he grounded his Title thereunto, because a Scotland was first converted, by the reliques of St Peter, to the unity of the Catholick faith. But it seemes, not so much ambition in his Holiness, made him at this present to start this pretence,

The Pope challenges Scotland as peculiar to himself.

a Fox & As & Monuments, lib. 1. p. 444, and 445.

N n

but



but the secret solicitation of the Scots themselves, who now to avoid the storme of the English, ran under this Busb, and put themselves in the Popes protection.

2. Hereupon King Edward called a Councel of his Lords at Lincoln, where perusing the contents of the Popes prescript, he returned a large answer, wherein he endeavoured by evident reasons, and ancient precedents, to prove his propriety in the Kingdom of Scotland. This was seconded by another from the English Peerage, subscribed with all their hands, the whole a tenor whereof deserves to be inserted, but this passage must not be omitted, being directed to no meaner then his Holiness himself.

Wherefore, after treaty had, and diligent deliberation of the contents of your foresaid Letters, this was the common agreement, and consent with one minde, and shall be without fail, in time to come, by Gods grace, that our foresaid Lord the King ought by no means to answer in judgment in any case, or should bring his foresaid rights into doubt, nor ought not to send any Proctors or messengers to your presence. Especially seeing that the promises tend manifestly to the disheriting of the Crown of England, and the plain overthrow of the State of the said Realm, and also hurt of the Liberties, Customs, and Laws of our Fathers; for the keeping and defence of which, we are bound, by the duty of the Oath made, and we will maintain them with all power, and will defend them (by Gods help) with all our strength.

The Pope perceived he had met with men, which understood themselves, and that King Edward was no King John, to be frightened or flattered out of his Right, he therefore was loath to clath his Keys against the others sword, to trie which was made of the hardest metall; but foreseeing the Perdit would go against him, wicly non-suited himself. Whereas had this unjust challenger, met with a timorous Defendant, it had been enough to have created an undeniable title to him and his successors. The best is, *Nullum tempus occurrat* Pope, no process of time doth prejudice the Popes due; but whensoever he pleased to prosecute his right, Scotland lieth still in the same place where it did before.

3. About this time a subject brought in a Bull of Excommunication against another subject of this Realm, and published it to the Lord Treasurer of England, and this was by the ancient Common-Law of England adjudged Treason against the Kings, his Crown and dignity, for the which, the offender should have been drawn and hanged, but at the great instance of the chancelour and Treasurer, he was onely abjured the Realm for ever. And this case is the more remarkable, because he was condemned by the Common-Law of England, before any particular Statute was enacted in that behalf.

4. But the courage of King Edward most appeared in *hambling* and ordering Robert Wincesley, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury. He was an insolent man, hated even of the Clergie, because, though their champion to preserve them from Civil and Secular burdens, yet the Popes Broker, to reserve them for his unreasonable exactions, as if keeping Church-men to be wrong'd by none, but himself. Long had the King looked on him with an angry eye, as opposite to his proceedings, and now at the last had him at his mercy, for plotting a Treason with some others of the Nobility, against him, projecting to depose him, and set up his Son Edward in his Room.

5. The Arch-Bishop throwing himself prostrate at the Kings feet, with tears and lamentation, confessed his fault in a posture of cowardly desolation, defending now as much beneath himself, as formerly he had arrogantly insulted over others; some are loath to allow him guilty of the crime objected, others

Anno  
Dom.  
1301.  
29.

1302 30.

1305 33.

others conceive him onely to have done this, presuming on the Kings noble disposition for pardon. But such must yield him a Traitor either to the Kings Crown, or to his own innocence by his unworthy acknowledging his offence. Thus that man who confesseth a debt, which he knows not due, hoping his Creditor will thereupon give him an acquittance, scarce deserves pity for his folly, if presently sent to prison for non-payment thereof. Then he called the King his Master, a terme, wherewith formerly his tongue was unacquainted, (whom neither by word or letter he would ever acknowledge under that notion) tendering himself to be disposed at his pleasure.

6. No, Quoth the King, I will not be both party and judge, and proceed against you as I might by the Common-Law of the Land. I fear more respect to your order, whereof you are as unworthy as of my favour: having formerly had experience of your malice in smaller matters, when you so rigorously used my Chaplains attending on me in their ordinary service beyond the Seas; so that though I sent my Letters unto you, you as lightly regarded what I wrote, as what they pleaded in their own behalf. Wincesley having but one guard for all blows, perished in his submission, deciding (a president unparallel'd) that the King would give him his blessing: No, said the King, it is more proper that you should give me your blessing. But, well, I will remit you to your own great Master the Pope, to deal with you according to your desires. But the Arch-Bishop loath belike to go to Rome, and staying longer in England, then the Kings command, and (perchance) his own promise, lurk'd in a Convent, at Canterbury, till fourscore b Monks were by the Kings command thrust out of their places for relieving him out of their charity; and were not restored till the aforesaid Arch-Bishop was banished the Kingdom.

7. Not long after he appeared before Pope Clement the fifth, at Burdeaux, where having been so great a stickler for his Holiness, (inasmuch that his present disfavour with the King was originally caused by his activity for the Pope) he might rationally have expected some courtesy. But though he had used both his hands to scrape treasure for the Church of Rome; the Pope would not lend his least finger to his support, but suspended him from office and benefit of his place, till he should clear himself from the crime of Treason wherewith he was charged. Whether do to procure reputation to the Justice of the Court of Rome; where, in publick causes, men, otherwise privately well deserving, should finde, no more favour there, then they brought innocence thither; Or because (which is most probable) the Pope loved the Arch-Bishoprick, better then the Arch-Bishop; and knew during his suspension, both to increase his profit, and improve his power in England, by such cunning Factors, as he employed in the business; namely, William de Telsa, and Peter Amaline, both strangers, to whom the Pope committed the sequestration of Canterbury, whilest the cause of Wincesley did as yet depend undetermined.

8. Thise by Papal Authority, summoned before them John Salmon Bishop of Norwich, for exacting the first-fruits of vacant Benefices, from the Clergie of his Diocese. The case was this. Some sixty years since, Pandulph, an Italian, and Popes Legat (a perfect Artift in proggres for money) being Bishop of Norwich, pretending his Church to be in debt, obtained of his Holiness the first-fruits of vacant Benefices in Norfolk, and Suffolk, to discharge that engagement. This Grant to him, being but personal, local, and temporary, was improved by his Successors to a constant revenue; yea (covetousness being an apt Scholar, and profit an easie lesson) this example was followed by other English Bishops in their respective Diocesses. Behold here a piece of exemplary Justice. Who could have look'd for less (the illegality of these payments appearing) but that the Clergie should be eased of them? Whereas these forein sequestrators did order, that generally throughout England, the first-fruits of all spiritual promotions falling void next, for three years should be paid over to the Popes Chamber at Rome; onely d Cathedral, and Conventual Churches were excepted herein. No reason is rendered, why the burden fell on Parish-Churches; except any will say, that the AIs must bear

N n 2

The remarkable Dialogue between the King and Arch-Bish. Antiquitates Britanice p. 115.

b Annot. Eccl. Angl. Cant.

Wincesley finds no justice done from the Pope, and why.

A signal piece of justice done by forein Sequestrators.

c Harpsfield High Eccl. Ang. in Sculo 13. cap. 15.

d Antiquitates Britan. p. 208.

the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury humbled by the King, d Annot. Eccl. Angl. Cant. Guillelmus makes proud mention of. e Antiqu. Britan. p. 208. ex Ten. W. Langham. f Harpsfield High Eccl. Ang. p. 208. 249. g W. Ridley see G. de J. in ecclesiis p. 145.

One condemned for a traitor for luring the Popes Bull. a Brook tit. p. 10. c 5 part of Sir Ed. Cokes Reports, de jure Reg. Eccl. fol. 12. The Arch-Bishop of Canterbury humbled by the King, d Annot. Eccl. Angl. Cant. Guillelmus makes proud mention of. e Antiqu. Britan. p. 208. ex Ten. W. Langham. f Harpsfield High Eccl. Ang. p. 208. 249. g W. Ridley see G. de J. in ecclesiis p. 145.

more then the Horſe; and the load is beſt laid on that beaſt, which hath leaſt mettle to kick it off, and throw it down: the poor *Parochial* Clergie being moſt unable to reſiſt the uſurpation of his Holineſs.

9. Afterwards, this *William Teſta*, who according to his name, came over an *empty ſhell*, but departed with the *kernel of the Engliſh wealth*, complained of, for his extortion <sup>a</sup> to the Parliament, was called home, and *Peter* a Spaniſh Cardinal ſent in his room; where he concluded and celebrated a marriage, betwixt *Prince Edward* and *Iſabel*, the King of France his *Daughter*. Towards the bearing of his charges, this Cardinal required twelve *mark* of all *Cathedrals*, and *Convents*; and of *Pariſh-Churches* eight pence out of every *mark* of their *yearlie revenue*. But the King made him content with the moiety of his demand.

10. Mean time intollerable were the taxes, which the Engliſh Clergie paid to *Rome*. The *Poets* ſaigne *Arehuſa*, a River in *Armenia*, to be ſwallowed up by the earth, and running many miles under the Ocean, in *Sicilie* (they ſay) it vents it ſelf up again. But (without any fiction) the *wealthy ſtreams*, flowing from a plentiful ſpring in *England*, did ſuddenly diſappear, and being inſenſibly conveyed in inviſible channels, not under, but over the Sea, were found far off to ariſe afreſh at *Rome*, in the *Popes* Treafury; where the *Italians*, though (being themſelves bred in a clear and ſubtile Climate) they ſcorn'd the dulneſs of the wits, and hated the groſs ayre of this Iſland, yet hugg'd the heavineſs of the gold thereof; this Kingdom being one of the beſt places for their profit. Although proud <sup>b</sup> *Harding* ſaith, that the *Popes* yearly gains out of *England* were but as a *Gnat* to an *Elephant*. Oh the over-grown Beaſt of *Romes* *Revenues*!

11. The death of King *Edward* the firſt, gave a great advancement to the *Popes* inroaching. A worthy *Prince* he was, fixed in his generation betwixt a weak Father, and ſon; as if made wife and valiant by their *Antipreſſaſis*. Equally fortunate in drawing, and ſheathing the ſword; in war, and peace: having taught the Engliſh loyalty, by them almoſt forgotten; and the *Welſh*, ſubjection, which they never learn'd before. In himſelf religiously diſpoſed; founded the famous <sup>c</sup> *Abbey of Val-royal* for the *Ciſtercians* in *Chelſhire*, and by Will bequeathing thirty thouſand pounds to the *Holy War*. Obedient, not ſervile to the *See of Rome*. A foe to the pride, and friend to the profeſſion of the Clergie: whom he watered with his bounty, but would not have to ſpread ſo broad, as to juſtice, or grow ſo high as to overtop the Regal Authority; Dying in due time for himſelf, almoſt ſeventy year old; but too ſoon for his Subjects, eſpecially for his Son, whoſe giddy youth lack'd a guide to direct him. In a word, As the Arm of King *Edward* the firſt was accounted the meaſure of a yard, generally received in *England*; ſo his actions are an excellent model, and a praiſe-worthy platform for ſucceeding Princes to imitate.

12. *Edward* his Son, by Letters to the *Pope*, requeſted, that *Robert Winceſſey* might be reſtored to his *Arch-Biſhoprick*, which was done accordingly, though he returned too late to Crown the King; which ſolemnity was performed by *Henry woodlock*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. Here let the peaceable Reader part two contrary reports from fighting together, both avowed by Authors of credit. <sup>d</sup> Some ſay, *Winceſſey*, after his return, receiv'd his profits main'd and mangled, ſcarce amounting to half; and that poor pittance he was fain to beſtow to repair his dilapidated Palace. Others report, his revenues not leſſened in quantity, and increas'd in the intireneſs, were paid him all in a lump; inſomuch, that hereby (having learn'd thrift in exile to live of a little) he ſpeedily became the richeſt of all his <sup>e</sup> Predeceſſors; ſo that he gained by loſſes; and it was his common *Proverb*, that, *There is no hurt in adverſity, where there hath been no iniquity*; and many make his future ſucceſs, an evidence of his former innocence.

*Englands* gold back: *Chun-geſa* will ſtie for an hungry vine. <sup>a</sup> *Citra* interpermen *Teſta* <sup>b</sup> *Antipreſſaſis* <sup>c</sup> *Antipreſſaſis* <sup>d</sup> *Antipreſſaſis* <sup>e</sup> *Antipreſſaſis* <sup>f</sup> *Antipreſſaſis* <sup>g</sup> *Antipreſſaſis* <sup>h</sup> *Antipreſſaſis* <sup>i</sup> *Antipreſſaſis* <sup>j</sup> *Antipreſſaſis* <sup>k</sup> *Antipreſſaſis* <sup>l</sup> *Antipreſſaſis* <sup>m</sup> *Antipreſſaſis* <sup>n</sup> *Antipreſſaſis* <sup>o</sup> *Antipreſſaſis* <sup>p</sup> *Antipreſſaſis* <sup>q</sup> *Antipreſſaſis* <sup>r</sup> *Antipreſſaſis* <sup>s</sup> *Antipreſſaſis* <sup>t</sup> *Antipreſſaſis* <sup>u</sup> *Antipreſſaſis* <sup>v</sup> *Antipreſſaſis* <sup>w</sup> *Antipreſſaſis* <sup>x</sup> *Antipreſſaſis* <sup>y</sup> *Antipreſſaſis* <sup>z</sup> *Antipreſſaſis*

*b In Conſtat. Aplog*

*The death & character of K. Edward the firſt.*

*c Camd. Brit. in Chelſhire.*

*Winceſſey at the request of K. Edward the ſecond reſtored to his Arch-Biſhoprick. d Harpfield Hill. Ecc. Ang pag. 446.*

*e Antiq. Brit pag. 206. ex Adam Alom maten.*

Anno Dom. 1305. Anno Regis Ed. 1. 33.

1307 35.

Ed. 1.

13. The calamitous Reign of King *Edward* the Second, afforded little hiſtory of the Church, though too much of the Common-wealth except it had been better. A debauched Prince this *Edward* was; His beauty being the beſt (not to ſay only) commendable thing about him: He had an handſome man-ſe, and better it had been empty with weakneſs, then (as it was) ill fill'd with viciousneſs. *Pierce Gavellon* firſt corrupted him, mangle all the good counſel that *Robert*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and all his good friends, could give him. And, when *Gavellon* was kill'd and taken away, the Kings badneſs was rather doubled, then diminiſhed; exchanging one *pardor* to vice for two, the two *Spencers*. In a word, the Court was turn'd *Tavernes*, *Stews*, *Stage*, *Play-houle*; wherein as many vain and wanton Comedies were acted before the King in his life time, ſo a ſad, and ſorrowful Tragedy was acted by him at his death.

14. *Robert Bruce*, King of *Scotland*, encouraged by the lazineſs of King *Edward*, thought this a fit time to recover his Country, and which the Engliſh detained from him. Whereupon he regained *Berwick*, inroaded *England*, invaded *Ireland*. King *Edward* in wrath advanceth againſt him, with an Army rather dancing then marching, fitter for a Maſque, then a Battel: their horſes rather trapped then armed: In all points it appeared a triumphant Army, ſave that no field as yet was fought by them. Thus, excluding all influence of Divine Providence, and concluding twas Fortunes duty to favour them, at *Sterling* they bid the Scots battel, wherein ten thouſand of our men are by our own Authors confeſſed to be ſlain. There fell the flower of the Engliſh Nobility, the King with a few, hardly ſaving himſelf by flight. Thus, as *Mallevs Scotorum*, the *Hammer*, or *mauliv* of the Scots, is written on the Tomb of King *Edward* the firſt, in *Weſtmiſter*: *Incus Scotorum*, the *Anvil* of the Scots, might as properly be written on the Monument (had he any) of *Edward* the ſecond.

15. But leaving theſe fights, we proceed to other *Polemical Digladiations*, more proper for our Pen; namely, the diſputes of *School-Men*, which in this Kings Reign were heightened to perfection; Formerly thoſe were termed *Scholastic*, who in the *Schools* were *Rhetoricians*, making therein *Declamatory Orationes*. Such Exercices ceasing in this Age, the Terme was Tranſlated to ſignifie thoſe who buſied themſelves in *Controverſial Divinity*, though ſome will have them ſo called, from *Scotton* a Commentary, their ſtudies being generally nothing elſe then illuſtrations of the text of *Peter Lombard*, the Maſter of the Sentences. Take them here together at one view, intending to reſume them again in their ſeveral Characters.

The character of K. Edward the ſecond.

The fatal defeat of the Engliſh in Scotland.

Nine Eminent School-men of the Engliſh Nation.

Name.

Anno  
Dom. 1314.  
Anno  
Regis Ed. 2.  
7.

Name.	Flourished.	Title.	Order.
1. <i>Alexander Hales.</i>	1240. <i>Henry the third.</i>	<i>Dr Irrefragabilis,</i> or, <i>Dr Doctorum.</i>	<i>Franciscan.</i>
2. <i>Roger Bacon.</i>	1280. <i>Edward the first.</i>	<i>Dr Mirabilis.</i>	<i>Franciscan.</i>
3. <i>Richard Middleton,</i> or, <i>De Media Villa.</i>	1290. <i>Edward the first.</i>	<i>Dr Fundatissimus.</i>	<i>Franciscan.</i>
4. <i>John Duns Scotus.</i>	1308. <i>Edward the second.</i>	<i>Dr Subtilis.</i>	<i>Franciscan.</i>
5. <i>Gualter Burley.</i>	1337. <i>Edward the third.</i>	<i>Dr Approbatus.</i>	<i>Secular Priest.</i>
6. <i>John Baconthorpe.</i>	1346. <i>Edward the third.</i>	<i>Dr Resolutus.</i>	<i>Carmelite.</i>
7. <i>William Ocham.</i>	1347. <i>Edward the third.</i>	<i>Dr Singularis,</i> or, <i>Pater Nominalium.</i>	<i>Franciscan.</i>
8. <i>Robert Holcot.</i>	1349. <i>Edward the third.</i>	<i>Dr</i>	<i>Dominican.</i>
9. <i>Thomas Bradwardine.</i>	1350. <i>Edward the third.</i>	<i>Dr Profundus.</i>	<i>Secular Priest.</i>

Born at,

Anno  
Regis Ed. 2.  
7.Anno  
Dom. 1314.

Born at,	Bred in,	Buried in,
Or nigh <i>Hales</i> in <i>Glocester-shire.</i>	<i>Hales, ibidem.</i>	The Franciscan Church in <i>Paris.</i>
	<i>Oxford, in Merton Col.</i>	<i>Oxford.</i>
Uncertain whether at <i>Middleton-Stony</i> in <i>Ox-</i> <i>ford-shire,</i> or <i>Middleton</i> <i>Cheney</i> in <i>Northampton-</i> <i>shire.</i>	<i>Oxford,</i> or, <i>Paris.</i>	<i>Paris.</i>
<i>Dunstan</i> (contracted <i>Duns</i> ) in <i>Emildon Pa-</i> <i>rish</i> in <i>Northumb.</i>	<i>Merton Colledg</i> in <i>Oxford.</i>	<i>Colen.</i>
	<i>Merton Colledg</i> in <i>Oxford.</i>	<i>Paris.</i>
<i>Baconthorpe</i> in <i>Norfolk.</i>	<i>Blackney Abbey</i> in <i>Norfolke.</i>	The Church of his Or- der in <i>London.</i>
<i>Ocham</i> in <i>Surrey.</i>	<i>Merton Colledg.</i>	<i>Munchin</i> in <i>Bavaria.</i>
<i>Holcot</i> in <i>Northampton-</i> <i>shire.</i>	<i>Oxford.</i>	<i>Northampton,</i> where he died of the Plague.
<i>Bradwardine</i> in <i>Hereford-</i> <i>shire.</i>	<i>Merton Colledg</i> in <i>Oxford.</i>	<i>St Anselme's Chappel</i> in <i>Canterbury.</i>

Besides

a Alexander  
Miranianus in  
Epistola.

Alter. Hales  
their Father  
and Founder.

\* Pius descript.  
Ang.

Bacon accused  
for a Conjur-  
ter.

Many Bacons  
in one, male  
a confusion.

b Sir Isaac  
Wake in his  
Re. Plannetia,  
pag. 2. 5. 218.

Duns Scotus,  
why so cal-  
led.  
c Sixtus Se-  
nensis.  
d Seneca in  
Epil.

Besides, many other School-men of inferior note, which we pass by in silence; Now we may safely dare all Christendome besides to shew to many Eminent School-Divines, bred within the compass of so few years; inasmuch that it is a truth what a forrein writer saith, *Scholastica Theologia, ab Anglis, & in Anglia, sumptis exordium, fecit incrementum, pervenit ad perfectionem.* And although Italy tallly boasteth that Britain had her Christianity first from Rome; England may truly maintain, that from her (immediately by France) Italy first received her School-Divinity.

16. Of these School-men, *Alexander Hales* goeth the first, Master to *Thomas Aquinas*, and *Bonaventure*, whose *livery* in some sort, the rest of the School-men may be said to wear, insinuating in his foot-steps. At the command of Pope *Innocent* the fourth, he wrote the body of all School-Divinity in four Volumes. He was the first Franciscan who ever took the degree of Doctor in the University (who formerly counted the height of a degree inconsistent with the humility of their order) as appeareth by the close of his Epitaph.

*Egenorum sit primus Doctor eorum.*

So great an honor of the Virgin *Mary*, that he never \* denied such who sued to him in her name: As since our *Mr Fox* is said never to have denied any who begged of him for *Jesus Christ*.

17. *Roger Bacon* succeeds, O what a sin is it to be more learned than ones Neighbours in a barbarous age! being excellently skilled in the Mathematicks (a wonder-working Art, especially to ignorant eyes) he is accused for a Conjuror by *Hieronymus de Esculo*, Minister general of his Order, and afterwards Pope, by the name of *Nicholas the fourth*. The best is, this *Hieronymus* before he was a Pope was not *Infalible*, and therefore our *Bacon* might be scandalized by him; however he was committed to Prison at Rome, by Pope *Clement* the fourth, and remained in durance a considerable time, before his own innocency, with his friends endeavours, could procure his enlargement.

18. For mine own part, I behold the name of *Bacon* in Oxford, not as of an Individual man, but Corporation of men; No single Cord, but a twisted Cable of many together. And as all the Acts of Strong men of that nature are attributed to *Ant Hercules*: All the predictions of Prophecyng women to a *Sibyll*; So I conceive all the achievements of the Oxonian Bacons in their liberal studies, are ascribed to ONE, as chief of the name. And this in effect is confessed by the most learned and ingenious Orator <sup>b</sup> of that University. Indeed we finde one *Robert Bacon* who died Anno, One thousand two hundred forty eight, a Learned Doctor, and *Trihemius* stileth *John Baconthorpe*, plain *Bacon*, which addeth to the probability of the former assertion. However this confounding to many Bacons in one, hath caused *Anticronismes* in many Relations. For how could this *Bacon* ever be a reader of Philosophy in *Brasen-Nose Colledge*, Founded more then one Hundred years after his death; so that his *Brasen head* (so much spoken of, to speak) must make time pass to be again, or else these inconsistencies will not be reconciled. Except any will save it with the *Prolepsis* of *Brasen-Nose Hall*, formerly in the place where the Colledge is now erected. I have done with the Oxford Bacons, only let me add, that those of Cambridge, Father and Son, *Nicholas* and *Francis*, the one of *Bennet*, and the other of *Trinity Colledge*, do hold [absit invidia] the Scales of desert, even against all of their name in all the world besides.

19. *John Duns Scotus* succeeds, who some will have called *Scotus*, ob c profundissimam dicendi obscuritatem, from his profound obscurity in writing: Indeed there was one *Horacellus*, to whom cognomen *Scotivon* d fecit orationis obscuritas, but others conceive him so called, either from Scotland his Country, or *John Scott* his father. Nor was he called *Dung*, as some will have

Anno Dom.  
1314.  
Ed. 2.  
7.

Anno Dom.  
1314.  
Ed. 2.  
7.

have it contractedly from *Dominus*, but from the place of his Nativity, though three Kingdoms earnestly engage to claim him for their Country-man.

### England.

It is thus written at the end of his Manuscript works in *Merton Colledge* in Oxford, whereof he was Fellow; *Explicit a Lectura Subtilis in Universitate Parisiensi Doctoris Joannis Duns, nati in quadam villula parochie de Emildon, vocata Dunsfont, in Comitatu Northumbrie, pertinente Domui Scholarium de Merton-hall in Oxonia.*

### Scotland.

Although *John Scott* disembled himself an English-man, to finde the more favour in *Merton Colledge*, living in an age wherein cruel Wars betwixt England and Scotland; yet his Tomb erected at *Colen* is bold to tell the truth, whereon this Epitaph, <sup>b</sup>

*Scotia me genuit, Anglia suscepit,  
Gallia edocuit, Germania tenet.*

Besides, the very name of *Scotus*, avoweth him to be a Scotch-man.

### Ireland.

He is called *Joannes Dung*, by abbreviation for *Dunensis*, that is born at \* *Dun*, an Episcopal See in Ireland, where *Patricius*, *Dubricus*, and *St Columba* lie interred. And it is notoriously known to Critics, that *Scotus* signifieth an Irish-man in the most ancient exception thereof.

Three Kingdoms lay claim to his birth.

a Camd. Brit. in Northumberland.

b Arch. Epist. Spoussed in his History of the Church of Scotland.

\* Hugh Cave. in vita Scotti.

I doubt not but the Reader will give his verdict, that the very *Society of Scotus* belongeth to England as his Native Country, who being born in Northumberland, which Kingdom in the Saxon Heptarchie extended from *Humber* to *Edenburgh Firth*; it was a facile mistake for Foreiners to write him a Scotch-man on his Monument. As for the name of *Scotus*, it is of no validity to prove him that Country-man; as a common-Sir-name amongst us, as some four years since, when the Scotch were enjoined to depart this Land, one *Mr English* in London, was then the most considerable Merchant of the Scotch Nation. The sad manner of *Scotus* his death is sufficiently known, who being in a fit of a strong Apoplexie, was by the cruel kindness of his over-officious friends, buried whilst yet alive, and recovering in the grave, dashed out his brains against the Coffin, affording a large field to such wanton wits in their Epigrams, who could make sport to themselves on the sad accident of others.

20. I had almost over-seen *John Baconthorpe*, being so low in stature, as but one remove from a Dwarf, of whom one laith,

*Ingenio c magnus, corpore parvus erat.*

His wit was Tall, in body small.

Infomuch that *Corpus non tulisset, quod ingenium protulit*, his body could not bear the Books which his brain had brought forth. Coming to Rome (being sent for by the Pope) he was once hiffed <sup>d</sup> at in a Publick Disputation, for the badness of his Latin and pronunciation; but indeed because he opposed the Popes power in dispensing with Marriages, contrary to the Law of God, whose <sup>e</sup> judgment was afterwards made use of by the defenders of the divorce of King *Henry* the eight.

O o

21 William

Low, but learned Baconthorpe.

c Johannes Trifsa Aemansensis in libro de vitiis illustribus.

d Balus in ejus vita.

e Jacobus Calciopapensis.

Ocam a little  
imperialist.

21. William Ocam sided with Lewis of Bavaria against the Pope, maintaining the Temporal power above the Spiritual; he was fain to flie to the Emperour for his safety, saying unto him,

*Defende me gladio, & ego te defendam verbo.*

Defend me with thy sword, and I will defend thee with my word.

This Ocam was Luthers chief (if not sole) School-man, who had his works at it is fingers end; loving him no doubt the better for his opposition to the Pope.

Holcot sud-  
den death.

22. Robert Holcot was not the meanest amongst them, who died of the Plague at Northampton, just as he was reading his Lectures on the tenth of Ecclesiasticus; wherein as many Canonical truths, as in any Apocrypha chapter; and although as yet in his publick reading he was not come to the last verse thereof (so proper for mortality) wee may charitably believe he had seriously commented thereon, in his private meditations. *Whatsoever thou takest in hand, remember the end, and thou shalt never do amiss.*

Holcot deserveth  
to be Confess'd.  
1485-434.

The just  
praise of Tho.  
Bradwardine.

23. Thomas Bradwardine bringeth up the rear, though in learning and piety (if not superiour) equal to any of the rest, witness his worthy book against Pelagianisme, to assert the freeness of Gods grace in mans conversion, which he justly intituleth, *De causa Dei*, of Gods cause; for as God is a Second in every good cause, so he is a Principal in this, wherein his own honour is so nearly concerned. And though the Psalmist saith, *plead thine own cause*; O Lord; yet in this age (wherein Miracles are ceased) God pleadeth his cause, not in his Person, but by the proxy of the tongues, and pens, hands, and hearts, of his Servants. This Bradwardine was afterwards Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and how highly esteemed, let Chaucer \* tell you.

\* In the Nuns  
Priests tale.

**But I ne cannot bould it to the ben,  
As can the holy Doctour & Austin,  
Dr. Boece, or the Bishop Bradwardin.**

This testimony of Chaucer by the exact computation of time, writen within forty years after Bradwardines death, which addeth much to his honour, that in so short a time his memory was in the peaceable possession of so general a veneration, as to be joynd in company with St Augustine and Boethius, two such eminent persons in their several capacities.

School-men  
huff'd in  
needless diffi-  
culties.

24. The School-men principally employed themselves in knotty and thorny Questions of Controversial Divinity; Indeed as such who live in London, and like populous places, having but little ground for their foundations to build houses on, may be said to enlarge the breadth of their houses in height (I mean increasing their room in many stories one above another; so the School-men in this age, lacking the latitude of general learning and languages, thought to enlarge their active mindes by mounting up. So improving their small bottom with towering Speculations, though some of things mystical, that might not, more of things difficult, that could not, most of things curious that need not be known unto us.

Excuses for  
their bad la-  
tin.

\* Upon opera-  
tions

25. Their Latin is generally barbarous, counting any thing Eloquent that is Expressive, going the nearest way to speak their own Notions, though sometimes trespassing on Grammer, abusing if not breaking \* Physicians head therein; Some impute this their bald and shred-bare language, to a design that no Vermin of Equivocation should be hid under the nap of their words; whilst

Anno  
Regis  
Ed. 2.  
7.

whilst others ascribe it to their want of change, and their poverty in learning, to procure better Expressions.

26. Yet these School-men agreed not amongst themselves in their judgments. For Barley being Scholar to Scotus, served him as Aristotle did Plato his Master, maintaining a contrary faction against him. Ocam his Scholar, father of the Nominals, opposed Scotus the founder of the Reals; which two factions divided the School-men betwixt them; Holcot being a Dominican, flitely resisted the Franciscans, about the conception of the Virgin Mary, which they would have without any original sin. However the Papists, when pressed that their Divisions Mar their Unity, (a mark of the Church whercof they boast so much) evade it, by pleading that these points are not de fide only, in the out skirts of Religion, and never concluded in any Council to be the Articles of faith.

There several  
divisions in  
judgment.

27. All of these School-men were Oxford, most Merion Colledge men. As the setting up of an eminent Artift in any place of a City, draws Chapmen unto him to buy his wares, and Apprentices to learn his Occupation. So after Roger Bacon had begun School-Divinity in Merion Colledge, the whole Gang and Genius of that house successively applied their studies thereunto; and many repaired thither from all parts of the Land for instruction in that nature. Mean-time Cambridge men were not Idle, but otherwise employed, more adding themselves to preaching, whercof though the world took not so much notice, positive Divinity not making so much noise as controversial (where men engage more earnestness) yet might be more to Gods glory, and the saving of the souls of men.

All Oxford,  
most Merion  
Colledge.

28. Some will wonder, seeing School-Divinity was so rife in Oxford in this Age, for some hundred years together (viz. from towards the end of Henries, to the end of Edwards Reign, both the third of their names) how the study thereof, should sink so sodainly in that University, which afterwards produced not such eminent men in that kinde. But hercof several reasons may be assigned:

Why School-  
Divinity not  
so used in Ox-  
ford after this  
Age.

1. The Wars betwixt York and Lancaster soon after began; a Controversie indeed, which silenced School-velitations, Students being much disheartened with those martial discords.
2. Once in an Age the appetite of an University alters, as to its diet in learning, which formerly filled (not to say surfeited) with such hard questions, for variety sake, sought out other employments.
3. The sparks of Scholars wits, in School-Divinity, went out for want of fuel in that subject, grown so vrite and shred-bare, nothing could be, but what had been said of the same before. Wherefore fine wits, found out other ways to busie themselves.
4. Oncely information of the brain, no benefit to the purse, accrued by such speculations, which made others in after ages, to divert their studies, to Questionibus, ad Quatum, from Metaphysical Queries, to Case-divinity, as more gainful, and profitable; best inabling them for hearing Confessions, and proportioning Penance accordingly.

Since the Reformation, School-Divinity in both the Universities, is not used (as anciently) for a sole-profession by it self, to ingross all a mans life therein, but only taken as a preparative quality to Divinity; Dilcreet men not drowning, but dipping their mindes in the study thereof.

28. Return we now to the Common-wealth which we left bad, and finde amended, as an old fore without a plaister in cold weather; King Ed-

The sad di-  
stemper of  
England at this  
time.

ward rather *willful* than *weak*, (if *willfulness* be not *weakness*, and sure the same effects are produced by both, *ruin* and *destruction*) slighted his Queens company, and such a *Bed*, it left (where *Beauty* without *Grace*) seldom standeth long empty. Queen *Isabel* blinded with fury, mistook the party who had wronged her, and revenged her husbands faults, on her own conscience, living incontinently with *R. Mortimer*; a man martial enough, and of much merit otherwise, save that an Harlot is a *deep pit*, therein invisibly to bury the best deserts. The two *Spencers* ruled all at pleasure, and the King was not more forward to bestow favours on them, as they were to deal affronts to others their superiours in birth and estate. Thus *men of yesterday*, have Pride too much to remember what they were the *day before*; and providence too little to fore-see what they may be to *morrow*. The Nobility (then petty Kings in their own Countreys) disdaind such *Mushrooms* should insult over them; and all the *Spencers* insolencies being scored on the Kings account, no wonder if he (unable to discharge his own engagements) was broken by furetilship for others.

King Edward  
accused for  
betraying his  
privileges to  
the Pope.

29. I finde it charged on this King, that he suffered the Pope to encroach on the dignity of the Crown, to the great damage, and more dishonour of the Nation. Indeed his father left him a fair stake, and a *winning hand*, (had a *good Gamester* had the *playing* thereof) having recovered some of his privileges from the Papal usurpation, which since it seems his Son had lost back again, though the particulars thereof in History do not so plainly appear. Onely it is plain, that to support himself, and supply his necessities, he complied with the Clergy (a potent party in that age) favourably measuring out the causes of their cognizances; for although in the Reign of his Father, an hedge was made by an Act in that nature, betwixt the Spiritual and Temporal Courts; yet now a Ditch (an new act) was added to the former fence. So that hereafter (except wilfully) they could not mutually trespass on each others Jurisdiccions.

Now

Anno  
Dom.  
1314.  
Regi  
Ed. 2  
7.

RICHADO SEYMERE,

Necessario meo.

**I**Nter Amicum meum & Necessarium hoc po-  
no discriminis, quod ille ad bene esse, Hic, ad  
meum esse quodammodo requiratur. Quo nomine Tu  
mihi es salutandus, qui sine te planè mancus mihi vi-  
deor. Tuà enim artificii dextrà, usus sum, per totum  
hoc opus in scutis Gentilitiis depingendis. Mañte,  
vir Ingenue, ac Natales tuos, Generosos satis, novo  
splendore illustriores reddito.

Anno  
Regis  
Ed.  
1316.  
Regi  
9



**C**ollages, yet, were few, and Students now many  
in Oxford: whereupon Walter Stapleton,  
(Bishop of Exeter) founded and endowed  
one therein, by the name of Stapletons Inn,  
since called Exeter Colledge. This Bishop  
was one of high Birth and large Boun-  
ty, being said to have expended a years re-  
venues of his (this rich) Bishoprick in the  
Solemnity of his installation. He also found-  
ed *Hart Hall* in Oxford. But oh the difference  
betwixt the Elder and Younger Bro-  
ther, though Sons to the same Father! the  
one carrying away the whole Inheritance, whilst the other sometimes hath  
little more than *himself* left unto *Him*, as, here, this *Hall* is altogether un-  
dowed.

Exeter Col-  
ledge founded  
by Bishop  
Stapleton.

Pp

2. This

Who afterwards was  
barbarously  
murdered.

Sir William  
Petre his  
bounty

Dr Hackwell  
built this  
Chappel.

Western men  
here most  
proper.

\* I am informed that Dr. *Prideaux* in a Dedication to one of his Sermons, hath reckoned all the Worthy Writers of this house, but as yet I have not seen it.

2. This worthy Bishop had an *unworthy* and untimely death some ten years after. For being *Lord Treasurer*, and left by the King in his absence to govern, the (then malicious) *city of London*, the Citizens, (not without incouragement from the *Queen*) furiously fell upon him, and in *Chesepide* most barbarously butchered him, and then (as hoping to *bury their murder with his body*) huddled him obscurely into a hole. But afterward to make his Ghost some reparation and stop the clamour of the *Clergy*, the *Queen* ordered the removing and interring of his Body and his Brothers (a valiant *Knight* slain on the same account) in the Cathedral of *Exeter*. One would wonder this Bishop was not made a *Martyr* and *Sainted* in that Age, save that his suffering was of civil concernment, and not relating to Religion.

3. This House hath since found two eminent Benefactors, first, Sir *William Petre* (born of honest Parentage in *Exeter*) principal Secretary to four successive King- and Queens. One who in *hisself* and turning *times*, did good to himself, (got a great estate) injurious to none, (that I ever heard, or read of) but courteous to many, and eminently to this *Colledge*, wherein he bestowed much building, and augmented it with eight Fellowships.

4. The other *George Hackwell* Doctor of Divinity, late Rector thereof, who though married, and having children, (mult it not be a *quick* and *large fountain*, which besides filling a *Pond*, had such an overflowing (stream *z*) bestowed more than one thousand pounds in building a beautiful *Chappel*. This is He who wrote the *World doth not decay*. Many begin the reading thereof with much *prejudice*, but few end it, without full *satisfaction*; converted to the *Authors* Opinion, by his unanswerable Arguments.

5. This Colledge consisteth chiefly of *Cornish* and *Devonshire* men, the *Gentry*, of which latter, *Queen Elizabeth* used to lay, were *Courtiers* by their birth. And as these *Welsh* men do bear away the Bell for *might* and *sleight* in *wrestling*, so the *Schollars* here have alwayes *acquitted* themselves with credit in *Palaestra literari*. The *Rectors* of this House anciently were *annual*, (therefore here omitted) fixed, but of latter years, to continue the term of their lives.

**Rectors,**

- 1 John Neale;
- 2 Tho. Glaſer.
- 3 Tho. Holland.
- 4 John Prideaux.
- 5 George Hackwel.
- 6 Conant.

*John Pridcaux* Bi-  
shop of Worce-  
cester.  
*Tho. Winniff* Bi-  
shop of Lincoln.

**Bishops.**

### Benefactors.

Edmund Stafford,  
Bishop of Exeter.  
Mr. John Piriam,  
Alderman of  
Exeter.  
Sir John Ackland  
Knight, expend-  
ing ( besides  
other Benefa-  
ctions ) 800  
pound in build-  
ing the Hall.

\* Learned Writers.

Judge Dod.  
DERIDGE.  
George Hackwell.  
John Prideaux.  
Sir Simon Barker-  
vil.  
Dr. Veluain.  
Nath. { Carpenter  
          { Norring-  
          { ton.  
George Kendal.

Anno  
Dom.  
1316

Anno  
Regis  
Ed.  
secun

Anno  
Regis  
Ed.  
secundum

on the  
his  
mo

17 1324

1

6. *Clergy-men* began now to complain, that the Lay- Judges entrenched on their Privileges, and therefore they presented a Petition to the King in his Parliament at *Lincoln*, requesting the redress of sixteen grievances. To most of them the King returned a satisfactory answer, and so qualified his denials to the rest; that they could not but content any reasonable disposition.

7. These *Concessions* of the King were digested into Laws, and are printed at large in the Statutes known by the title of *Articuli Cleri*. Whereon Sir Edward Coke in the second part of his *Institutes*, hath made no less learned than large Commentary. So that though the Law of *circumpellere agatis* had stated this difference; Yet it seems this Statute (as *Circumspicimus agatis*) was conceived very requisite.

8. Moreover, these Statutes did not so clearly decide the difference betwixt the *Spiritual* and *Temporal* Jurisdictions ; but that many contentions happened afterwards betwixt them, no longer ago then in the time of King *James*, when the Doctors of the Commons under *Richard Bancroft* (Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* their General) opposed the Judges about the indeterminable controverfies of *Prohibitions*. Adde hereunto, that the Clergy claimed to themselves the moſt favourable interpretation of all Statutes in their own behalf, whiſt the *Temporal* Judges (in the not fitting of Parliaments) challenged that privilege to themſelves.

9. The moft lafting Monument of the memory of wofull King Edward the fecond, was the building of *Oriel Colledge* in *Oxford*. Indeed fome make *Him*, and others *Adam Brown* his *Almoner* Founder thereof, and both per chance truly, the King allowing, his *Almoner* ifluing money for the building and endowing thereof. Others will have it, that his *Almoner* perfwaded him on confcientious Principles to this good work, pertinently alleading and prefling this inftance, to prove that the Kings nature not bad in it felf, but too yielding to the impreffions of others. Now whereas the other *Aims* of this King were perfifting, as relieving only poor for the prefent, thefe, as more lafting, have done good to many Generations.

10. I meet with no satisfactory reason of the name which some will have to contain something of *Easterness* therein : So fictitiously comparatively to some more eminent Foundation. Others deduce it from *Criolium* an eminent room in \* *Monasteries*, and I cannot but smile at such who will have *O Royal*, as a Pathetical admiration of Princely Magnificence.

ii. However, I do not deny, but that the Kings of England have been very indulgent to this Foundation. For besides, King Edward the second the Founder thereof, his Son King Edward gave unto them the Hospital of Saint Bartholomew nigh Oxford, with Lands to maintain eight poor people, subject to the government of the Provost and Fellows of this Colledge. Besides, King James being informed of some Legal defects in this Foundation, granted them a new Corporation *Cavill-proof* against all exceptions.

12. This Colledge being much decayed, *Anthony Blencow* late Provost, bequeathed twelve hundred pounds to the new building of a Front thereof: Which being done, left it should be a disgrace to the rest of the Fabrick, the whole Colledge is rebuilt in a most decent manner.

The Kings  
courteous an-  
swer to the  
Prelates com-  
plaints.

Made a Printed Statute under the title of *Articuli Cleri*.

Yet the controversy between the two Jurisdictions still continued.

Oriel College  
built by King  
Ed. the 2.

Quere about  
the name  
thercof.

\* *M. Paris* in  
vitis 23. Ab. 5  
*Albani* p. 100.  
Kings nursing  
Fathers to  
this house.

Lately re-  
built most  
decently,

So that lately therein were maintained, one *Rector*, twenty three *Fellows*, a *Bible-Clerk*, two *Pensioners*, *Servants*, *Commoners* and other *Students* to the number of *two hundred*.

### 6. Clergy-

P p 2

Provosts.



Anno  
Dom.  
1324.

Anno  
Regi  
Edw.  
secun  
do

**Provosts.**

*Adam Brown.*  
*William de Lever-*  
*ton.*  
*William de Hantef-*  
*worth.*  
*William Daventre.*  
*William Colynre.*  
*John Middelston.*  
*John Poffill.*  
*William Corff.*  
*Thomas Linlewad-*  
*den.*  
*Henry Kayle.*  
*Nicholas Barry.*  
*John Carpenter.*  
*Walter Lyhart.*  
*John Hales.*  
*Henry Sampson.*  
*Thomas Hawkins.*  
*John Taylwer.*  
*Thomas Cornish.*  
*Edmund Mylforde.*  
*James More.*  
*Thomas Ware.*  
*Henry Myn.*  
*William Haynes.*  
*John Smith.*  
*Roger Marbeck.*  
*John Bely.*  
*Anthony Blencowe.*  
*Dr. Lewes.*  
*Dr. Tolson.*  
*Dr. Sanders.*

**Benefactors.**

*John Franke gave*  
*four Fellow-*  
*ships.*  
*John Carpenter Bi-*  
*shop of Worces-*  
*ter, gave one*  
*Fellowship.*  
*William Smith Ei-*  
*bishop of Lincoln*  
*gave one Fel-*  
*ship.*  
*Richard Dudley*  
*D.D. gave two*  
*Fellowships, &*  
*two Exhibiti-*  
*ons,*

**Bishops.**

*John Carpenter Bi-*  
*shop of Worces-*  
*ter.*

**Learned  
writers.**

*William Allen,*  
*Cardinal.*

\* *S<sup>t</sup>. Walter Raw-*  
*leigh.*

*William Prin.*

So that lately were maintained therein, one Provost, eighteen Fellows, one Bible-Clerk, twelve Exhibitioners, with Commoners and Collodge Officers amounted to one hundred and sixty.

13. Let us cast our eye on the Commonwealth only, as it is the Ring wherein the Diamond of the Church is contained, and that now full of Cracks, caused by the severall state-factions. The two Spencers ruled all things till the Queen and her Son (who politiquely had got leave to go beyond the Seas) returned into England with a Navy and Army landing in Suffolk; She denounceth open war against her Husband, unless he would presently conform to her desires.

14. The King proclaimed that a thousand pound should be given to Him that brought the head of Roger Mortimer. The Queen proclaimed (such who had the better purse may give the greater price) that whosoever brought the head of the young Spencer (it seems his Father was not so considerable) should have two thousand pounds. The Queens party gave out that the King

\* Before or  
after of  
Christ church.

War between  
the Queen  
and King.

Counter-pro-  
clamations,  
and counter-  
rumours.

And begins Ed. secun 18

Ann Dom: 1326

of France had sent over a vast Army for her assistance, and the Kings-side An-  
ti-*honorour* (who could raise reports easier then *Armies*) that the Pope had  
excommunicated all such who sides against him: now though both reports  
were *false*, they made *true* impressions of hope in such hearts as be-  
leved them.

15. Three wayes were presented to King Edward, *Fight, Flight, and*  
*Conclement*, the first he was unable to doe, having no effectuall Forces,  
only able for a time to defend the Castle of *Brissol*, till many of his Complices  
were taken therein: A Tower therein (given out to be *undermined*) being in-  
deed *undermined* with bribes to the defenders thereof. Here the *elder Spencer*  
was taken and executed.

16. *Flight* was no lesse *unsafe* then *dishonourable*, For his Kingdome be-  
ing an Island, the Sea would quickly put a period thereunto. Indeed there  
was some thoughts of his flight into *Ireland*, which was no better then out of a  
*dirty way*, into a very *Bogge*, besides great the difficulty to recover the Sea, and  
greater to passe over it, all Ports and passages were so way-layed.

17. *Conclement* was at the last resolved on, not as the best; but *only*  
way of his *security*, for a time he lay hid amongst the *wells* (not able to help,  
but willing to pity him as a Native of their Country) concealed in the  
Abby of *Neath*, till men are sent down with money (no such *lights* as the  
*shine of silver* wherewith to discover a person enquired for) and soon after  
he was betrayed into their hands. The *younger Spencer* taken with him, is hung  
on a Gallows fittie foot high, and the *promised two thousand pounds* were duly  
paid, and equally parted betwixt severall persons employed in his appre-  
hension.

18. Many Persons of quality were sent down from the Parliament  
then sitting, to king Edward, to *Kenelworth Castle*, to *move* (*alias* to com-  
mand) him to resign the Crown, which at last he sadly surrendred. Sir *Wil-  
liam Truisset* a Lawyer of great [abused] abilities (being rather to *make* then  
*find* a *precedent* in this kinde) improved his wits in the formalities thereof.  
Soon after, *Prince Edward* his Son is Crowned *King*, whose Father is now no  
more then plain *Edward of Caerwarvon*, though his mother (whose title  
was *Relative* to, and a *Derivative* from her Husband the dethroned *King*)  
was now more *Queen Isabel* then ever before. Thus the *degradation* of a  
*Knight* (as some have informed me) extendeth not to his Wife, who by the  
*courtesie of England*, if once, is ever a Lady.

19. Edward late King, with many Letters Solicited to be admitted into  
the Queens company. All in vain, the found embraces at a lesse distance,  
dearer unto her, preferring the society of a *Lord*, who, in effect, had depose  
d a *King*, before a *King*, who had deposed himself: She made many excuses of  
*sickness*, and *indisposition* to enjoy him. So easily can that *Sex* make plausible  
pretences, that they cannot, what they will not do.

20. *Roger Mortimer*, whose lust and revenge was equally unsatiable,  
could not be quiet whilst King Edward was alive: he feared King Edward was  
might play an *after game* of affection in his Subjects, in order therefore to his  
death, he is removed from *Kenelworth* (where the Earl of *Leicester* his Kee-  
per was suspected too, sympathizing with his sorrow) unto *Berkley Castle*,  
where he was barbarously butchered, being struck into the *posiern* of his bo-  
dy with a hot spit, as it is generally reported.

21. Nothing now remaineth in this Kings reign, save to take notice,  
how the *Clergy* (understand such who were *Active* for *Newters*, shall passe  
for *none*) stand affected in this great *State-difference*. I find not enough to call  
a number of the *Bishops* cordial to the *King*. For besides *Walter Stapleton* Bi-  
shop of *Exeter* (of whom before) only *John Stratford* Bishop of *Winchester*  
heartily adhered unto him, and yet this *Stratford* was employed on a mes-  
sage from the *Parliament* to the *King* at *Kenelworth*, to perswade him to re-  
sign

The King un-  
able to fight.

And flee.

After a short  
concealment  
is taken,

King Edward  
resigneth his  
Crown.

He is rejected  
by his own  
wife,

And cruelly  
murdered,

A brace of  
loyal Sub-  
jects.

sign the *Crown*, though having no other *design*, then the *Kings* safety therein. He hoped that in this tempest the casting out of the *Lading*, would save the *Hulke* of the *Ship*; and the surrendering of the *Scepter*, secure the *Kings* person.

And a Loyal  
Priest-Chan-  
celour.

22. With *John Stratford* let me couple *Robert de Baldock* (though no *Bishop*, a *Bishops* mate) as a *Priest* and *Chancelour* of *England*. This man unable to *assist*, resolved to attend the *King*, and was taken with him in *Wales*. Hence was he brought up to *London*, and committed to *Adam Turlen* Bishop of *Hereford*. Here the shadow of *Turlen* *Miter*, (if pleased to put forth his power) might have secured this his *Guest-prisoner* from any danger, whereas on the contrary, it is more then suspicious that he gave a signal, to the tumultuous people to seize his person. For he was dragged to *Newgate*, and there payed his life for his *Loyalty*: yet was never heard to complain of the *dearwasse* of his *penyworth*. If any violence was secretly offered unto his person, he might endure it the more patiently, having read, \* that the *Disciple* is not above his *Master*, nor the *servant* better then his *Lord*. This *Baldock* was a good *Justice*, nor charged in our *Chronicles* with any *misdeemeanour*, save faithfulness to an unfortunate *Master*, and his *Memory* will *travellers* his *Innocence*, as confessing the *Fact*, but denying any *fault* therein.

\* *St. Mat. 10.*  
24.

*W. Reynolds* unthankful to the *King*.

23. But we have more then a good number of such *Bishops*, which ungratefully sided with the *Queen*, against her *Husband*, and their *Sovereign*. *Walter Reynolds* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* leads their *Van*, preferred to that *See*, at the *Kings* great importunity, and by the *Pope* his *power* of *Provision*. On the same token that, a far better *Man*, *Thomas Cobham* by name, *Deane* of *Salisbury*, (so learned and pious a person, that he was generally called the good *Clergy-man*) legally elected by the *Commons*, was put by the *Pope*, to make room for this *Reinolds*. He afterwards complied with the *Queen*, (his new *Mistress*) against his old *Master*, active to perform his desires. This some seek in vain to excuse, by pleading her *imperious spirit*, and this Arch-Bishops *fearfulness*, alledging, that cowardliness is rather a defect in nature, then default in *Morality*.

The nature of  
the *Popes*  
provisions.

24. A word by the way of the nature of the *Popes* provisions (lately mentioned) which now began to be a general grievance of our Nation. When any *Bishoprick*, *Abbots place*, *Dignity* or good *Living* (*Aquila non capis muscas*) was like to be void, the *Pope* (by a profitable *Prolepsis* to himself) pre-disposed such places to such successors as he pleased. By this devise he defeated (when so pleased) the *Legal* election of all *Convents*, and rightful presentation of all *Patrons*. He took up *Churches* before they fell, yea, before they ever *stumbled*: I mean, whilst as yet no *suspicion* of *sickness*, in *Incumbents* younger and healthier than his *Holiness* himself. Yea, sometimes no *Act* of *Provision*, was entered in *Scriptis* in the *Court*, only the *Pope* was pleased to say by word of mouth, (and who durst confute him?) he had done it. So that *Incumbents* to *Living*s, who otherwise had a rightful *Title* from their *Patrons*, were, (to purchase their peace) glad to buy of the *Popes* provisions. Yea, his *Holiness* sold them beforehand to several persons, so that not he who gave the *first*, but the *most* *Money*, carried away the *pre-ferment*.

Hen. Bishop  
of *Lincoln*  
bad.

25. Next we take notice of *Henry Burwash* Bishop of *Lincoln*, lately restored to the favour of *King Edward*, and by him lately esteemed. Yet no sooner did the *Queen* appear in the field, with an army, against him, but this *Bishop* was the first, and forwardest, who publicly repaired unto her. This *Burwash* was he, who by mere might, against all right and reason, took in the *Land* of many poor people, (without making also the least reparation) therewith to compleat his *Park* at *Tinghurst*. These wronged persons, though seeing their own *Bread*, *Beef*, and *Mutton*, turned into the *Bishops* *Venison*, durst not contest with him who was *Chancelour* of *England*, though neither

Law,

Anno  
Regis  
Ed.  
secum  
18

Anno  
Do.  
13 m

Law, nor equity in this his *Action*; only they loaded him with *curses* and *excommunications*. This minded me of a *Modern* accident, when, (some twenty years since) a *Knight* went about injuriously to inclose the *Commons* of a *Town*, and demanded of his *Balliffe* what the railing in of the same would amount to; to whom his servant answered, that if he would take in the *Commons*, the *Country* would find him railings, as here they did this injurious *Bishop*. Otherwise let me say, that inclosures made without oppression, are a grand *tricking* both to *private persons* and to the *Commonwealth*.

26. Here let the Reader smile or frown, I am resolved to write what I find recorded in a *Grave Author*, deriving it no doubt from good intelligence. This *Bishop Burwash* is said after his death, to have appeared to one of his former familiar friends, apparelled

Smile or  
frown.  
\* *Godwin* in  
the *Bishop*  
of *Lincoln*.

Like a Forester all in Green, a,

with his *Bow* and *Quiver* of *Arrows*, and his *Eagle horn* hanging by his side: to him he complained that for the injuries done by him to poor, whilst living, he was now condemned to this penance, to be the *Park-keeper* of that place, which he so wrongfully had enclosed. He therefore desired him to repair to the *Canons* of *Lincoln*, and in his name to request them, that they would take order, that all *bridges* being cut down, and *Ditches* filled up, all might be reduced to their property, and the poor men be restored to their inheritance. It is added moreover, that one *W. Batheler*, was employed by the *Canons* aforesaid, to see the premises performed, which was done accordingly.

27. This pretended *Apparition* seems inconsistent with the nature of *Purgatory*, as usually by *Papists* represented to people. Surely the *Immoke* thereof would have sooted his *Green suit*, and the Penance seems to slight and light for the offence, as having so much liberty and pleasure in a place of *Command*. Some Poets would have fancied him rather conceived himself turned *Aegeu-like*, into a *Deere*, to be daily hunted by his own *Hounds*; (guilt of *Conscience*) until he made restitution. But it seems there he degrades in *Purgatory*, and the *Bishop* not in the *Prison* itself, but only within the *Rules* thereof, privileged to go abroad, (whether on his *Parol*, or with his *Keeper*, uncertain) till he could procure *Suffrages* for his *Plenary* relaxation.

A grave foot-  
leery.

28. *Adam Turlen* Bishop of *Hereford*, is the last we will insist on, born in that *City*, where afterward he became *Bishop*, yet not *honoured*, but hated, and feared in the place of his *Nativity*. He was the grand *Engineer*, and contriver of all mischief against the *King*. Witness the *Sermon* preached by him at *Oxford*, before the *Queen* (then in hostile pursuit after her *Husband*) taking for this Text the words of the sick Son of the *Shunamite* My head, my head. Here his wit and malice endeavoured to reap, what Gods Spirit did never intentionally sow, and urged that a bad *King* (the distempered head of a State) is past *Physick*, or *Chirurgery* to be cured by *Retrets* or *Plasters*, but the only way is to cut it off from the *Body*.

A Divell  
preaching.

29. His writing was worse then his *Preaching*: For when such *Agents* set to keep *King Edward* in *Berkley Castle*, were (by secret Order from *R. Mortimer*) commanded to kill him, they by letters addressed themselves for advice to this *Bishop* (then not far off at *Hereford*) craving his Counsel, what they should do, in so difficult and dangerous a matter. He returned unto them a *Ridling Answer*, altogether unprompted, which carried in it *Life* and *Death*, yea, *Life* or *Death*, as variously construed, resolved to be guided and governed wholly by his direction, not to dispute, but do what from him was recommended unto them, as knowing him able both in *Conscience* and *Policy* to advise them.

And as bad  
writing.

Life.

## Life, and Death.

To kill King Edward you need not to fear it is good.

Life.

To kill King Edward you need not,  
to fear it is good.

Death.

To kill King Edward you need not to fear,  
it is good.

Arraigned  
for treason,  
he escapes the  
first time.

30. This Adam Tarlton was afterwards accused of Treason, in the beginning of the reign of King Edward the third, and arraigned by the Kings Officers, when in the presence of the King, he thus boldly uttered himself,

*My Lord the King, with all due respect unto your Majesty, I Adam, an humble Minister and member of the Church of God, and a consecrated Bishop, though unworthy, neither can, nor ought to answer unto so hard Questions, without the connivence, and consent of my Lord Arch-bishop of Canterbury, my immediate Judge under the Pope, and without the consent of other Bishops who are my Peers.*

Three Arch-Bishops were there present in the place, *Canterbury, York, and Dublin*, by whose intercession, *Tarlton* escaped at that time.

Arraigned  
again, and  
prosecuted by  
the Clergy.

31. Not long after, he was arraigned again at the *Kings Bench*, the news whereof so startled the Clergie, that the foresaid Arch-Bishops erected their Standards, I mean, set up their Crosses, and with ten Bishops more, attended with a numerous train of well-weaponed servants, advanced to the place of judicature. The Kings Officers frighted at the sight, fled away; leaving *Tarlton* the Prisoner alone at the Bar; whom the Arch-Bishops took home into their own custody, denouncing a curse on all such who should presume to lay violent hands upon him.

Cast the third  
time by a  
Lay-jury and  
prosecuted.

32. The King offended hereat, caused a jury of Lay-men to be impanelled, and to enquire according to form of Law, into the actions of the Bishop of *Heresford*. This was a leading case, and the first time that ever Lay-men passed their verdict on a Clergy-man. These Jurors found the Bishop guilty, whereupon the King presently seized on his Temporals, he proscribed the Bishop, and dispoiled him of all his moveables. However, afterwards he came off, and was reconciled to the King, and by the Pope made Bishop of *Winchester*, where he died, a thorough old man and blinded with age, many envying to quiet a death, to one who living had been so turbulent a person. But these things happened many years after.

SECT.

Anno  
Dom.  
1316

Anno  
Reg.  
Ed.  
secund.  
19.

SECT.

To Master

THOMAS WILLIAMS

And Master

WILLIAM VANBRUG

of London Merchants.

Astronomers affirm that some Planets; [Saturn, Jupiter, &c.] are by many degrees greater then the Moon itself; And this they can easily evidence by Demonstration. However the Moon is bigger, and shew's brighter to mens eyes, because of the Vicinity thereof; Whilst other Stars are dimmed, and diminished by their distance.

He is not the happiest man who has the Highest friends (too remote to assist him) whilst others lesser might be nearer at his need. My own experience can avouch the truth thereof, in relation to your Courties bestowed upon me.



Soon after his death, King Edward was much lamented by those of whom in his life-time he was never beloved. Whether this proceeded from the meer mutability of mens minds (weary to tarry long in the lazie posture of the same affection,) Or whether it proceeded from the pride of Mortimer, whose insolence grew intolerable. Or whither it was because his punishment was generally apprehended to be too heavey for his fault; So that Deposition without death, or (at the worst) death without such unhumane cruelty had been sufficient.

One of our English Poets Historians acquainteth us with a passage, which to my knowledge appeareth not in other Authors.

Deposuitus a-  
mabitur idem.

King Edward  
the second  
half-fainted.

Qq

at

King John  
Harding in  
the life of K.  
Ed. the se-  
cond.

At Gloucester entomb'd faire, and buried  
where some say God shew'd for him great grace  
Sith that time, with Miracles laudified  
Oft times, in diverse many case  
As is written there, in that same place,  
For which King Richard, call'd the second  
To translate him was purpos'd whole and found.

It is much that one but a small Saint whilst alive, should be so great an one when dead, as to be miraculously illustrious; But every man may believe his proportion.

A pair of  
Kings well  
matched.

2. Indeed great was the conformity betwixt this King Edward and that King Richard, both being *Secundi*, the second of their name: but not *Secundi*, happily in their success. And had King Richard the second known aforehand what casualty did attend him, no wonder if he secretly sympathized with his condition. Both sons of valiant and beloved Fathers, both of proper and amiable persons. Both debauched by the ill Counsel of their dissolute companions. Both deposed from their Crowns. Both murdered, whilst prisoners in a Clandestine (and as some report self same) way of Cruelty.

King Edward  
not active in  
his fathers  
deposing.

3. Ingenuous people are very loath to believe King Edward the third accessary to his Fathers death, otherwise then by accepting the Crown which he should have refused, and antedating his own Sovereignty. Which may be excus'd by his tender years, *thirteen* as some, *fifteen* as others compute them. Nor is it a weak argument of his innocence with impartial people, because he reigned above fifty years, and lived to be a *thorow old man*. An happiness promised by God to such who are obedient to their Parents. Besides, it is considerable, that this King having a numerous issue of active children of both Sexes none visibly appears a cross to him, for any notorious undutifulness.

His admirable  
success in his  
wars.

4. The former part of this Kings reign affords but little *Church-History*, as totally taken up with his achievements in *Scotland* and *France*, where his success by Sea and Land was above belief and even to admiration. He conquered both *before his face* and *behind his back*. *Whence he came and whither he went*. *North and South*, the one in his person, the other by his substitutes in his absence. In such manner that he got more then he knew what to do with, exhausting the Land to man, the Cities which he had gained. Herein he stands without a parallel, that he had both the Kings he fought against, *viz. John de Dalois of France*, and David the King of *Scotland* his prisoners at one time, not taken by any cowardly surprize, but by fair fight in open field.

And humili-  
ty.  
\* Others say  
in London  
Town.

5. It foundeth much to the commendation of his modesty and moderation, that intending to found an Order of *Knight-hood* at his Castle of *Windsor*, where he had these two Royall prisoners. In the institution thereof he neither had any insolent relation to his own conquest, nor opprobrious reflection on his enemies captivity, but began the innocent Order of the *Garter*, referring to any of his former achievements. *But more hereof in due time.*

England  
hitherto ig-  
norant in cu-  
rious Cloa-  
thing.

6. The King and State began now to grow sensible of the great gain he Netherlands got by our *English Wool*, in memory whereof the Duke of *Burgundy* not long after instituted the order of the *Golden Fleece*, wherein indeed the *Fleece* was ours, the *Golden* theirs, so vast their Emolument by the Trade of Clothing. Our King therefore resolv'd, if possible to reduce the Trade to

his

Anno  
Dom.  
1326  
Anno  
Regi.  
Ed.  
terci  
1.

Anno  
Regi.  
Ed.  
terci  
11

his own Country, who as yet were ignorant of that Art, as knowing no more what to do with their Wool, then the sheep that wear it, as to any Artificiall and curious *Dravry*, their best *Clothes* then being no better then *Freezes*, such their courtliness for want of skill in their making. But soon after followed a great alteration, and we shall enlarge our selves in the manner thereof.

7. The intercourse now being great betwixt the *English* and the *Netherland*, (increas'd of late since King Edward married the Daughter of the Earl of *Hainault*) unsuspected *Emissaries*, were employed by our King into those Countries, who wrought themselves into familiarity with such *Dutch men* as were Absolute *Masters of their Trade*, but not *Masters of themselves*, as either *Journeymen* or *Apprentices*. These bemoan'd the slavishness of these poore servants, whom their Masters used rather like *Heathens* then *Christians*, yea rather like *Horses* then *Men*. Early up and late in bed, and all day hard work, and harder fare (a few *Herrings* and mouldy *Cheese*) and all to enrich the *Charles* their *Masters* without any profit unto themselves.

The Kings  
Agents ten pe  
the Dutch ap-  
prentices.

8. But oh how happy should they be if they would but come over into *England*, bringing their *Mystery* with them, which would provide their welcome in all places. Here they should feed on *fat Beef* and *Mutton*, till nothing but their fulness should stint their stomachs: yea they should feed on the labours of their own hands, enjoying a proportionable profit of their pains to themselves, their *beds* should be good, and their *bedfellows* better; seeing the richest Yeomen in *England* would not disdain to marry their Daughters unto them, and such the *English* beauties, that the most envious *Forreigners* could not but commend them.

To come over  
into England.

9. Liberty is a Lesson quickly *connd by heart*, men having a principle within themselves to *prompt them* in case they forget it. Periwaded with the premises, many *Dutch servants* leave their Masters and make over for *England*. Their departure thence (being pickt here and there) made no sensible vacuity, but their meeting here altogether amounted to a considerable fulness. With themselves, they brought over their *Trade* and their *Tools*, namely, such which could not [as yet] be so conveniently made in *England*.

And obtain  
their desire.

10. Happy the *Yeomans* House into which one of these *Dutchmen* did enter, bringing industry and wealth along with them. Such who came in strangers within their doors, soon after went out *Bridegrooms*, and returned *Sons in laws*, having married the Daughters of their Landlords who first entertained them. Yea, those Yeomen in whose houses they harboured, soon proceeded Gentlemen, gaining great estates to themselves, *arms* and *worship* to their estates.

Their wel-  
come recep-  
tion.

11. The King having gotten this Treasury of *Forreigners*, thought not fit to continue them all in one place, left on discontent they might embrace a generall resolution to return, but bestowed them thorow all the parts of the Land, that Cloathing thereby might be the better dispersed. Here I say nothing of the *Colony* of old *Dutch*, who frighted out of their own Country with an *Inundation*, about the reign of King *Henry the first*, (possibly before that Nation had attained the cunning of *Cloath-making*) were feated only in *Pembroke-shire*. This new Generation of *Dutch* was now sprinkled every where, so that *England* (in relation, I mean to her own Counties) may bespeak these *Inmates* in the language of the Poet,

The King po-  
luckily dis-  
perish the  
Dutch.

*Que regio in terris vestri non plena laboris?*

though generally (where left to their own choice) they preferred a *Maritime Habitation*.

East.

## East.

1. Norfolk, Norwich Fullians.
2. Suffolk, Sudbury Bayes.
3. Essex, Colchester Sayes and Ser- ges.
4. Kent, Kentish Broad-clothes.

## West.

1. Devonshire Kir- ses.
2. Glouce- stershire } Cloth
3. Worcester- shire }
4. Wales, Welsh Friezes.

## North.

1. Westmerland, Ken- dall Cloth.
2. Lancashire, Man- chester Cotton.
3. Yorkshire, Hali- fax Clothes.
- 4.

## South.

1. Somersetshire, Taunton Ser- ges.
2. Ham- shire } Cloth.
3. Berk- shire }
4. Suffex }

Anno  
Dom.  
1336

Anno  
Regis  
Ed.  
tertii  
11.

I am informed that a prime Dutch Cloth-maker in Gloucestershire, had the Surname of *Weth* given him by King Edward there: a Family still famous for their manufacture, Observe we here that mid-England, Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, and Cambridge, having most of *Wool*, have least of *cloathing* therein.

12. Here the Dutchmen found *Fullers earth*, a precious Treasure, where- of England hath (if not more) *letter* then all Christendom besides: a great Commodity of the *Quorum* to the making of good Cloth, so that Nature may seem to point out our *land* for the *Staple* of *Drapery*, if the idleness of her inhabitants be not the only hinderance thereof. This *Fullers Earth* is clean contrary to our *resnites*, who are needlesse *Drugs*, yet still staying here though daily commanded to depart, whilst *Fullers earth*, a precious ware is daily *soured* hence, though by law forbidden to be transported.

13. And now was the *English Wool* improved to the highest profit, passing through so many hands, every one having a *piece* of the *fleece*, *Sorters*, *Kemblers*, *Carders*, *Spinners*, *Wesovers*, *Fullers*, *Diers*, *Pressers*, *Packers*, and these Manufactures have been heightened to a higher perfection since the cru- elty of the *Duke de Alva* drove over more *Dutch* into *England*. But enough of this subject, which let none condemn for a *deviation* from Church-history; First, because it would not grieve one to goe a little out of the way, if the way be good, as this digression is for the credit and profit of our Country. Secondly, it redemptively belongeth to the Church-History, seeing many poore people both young and old, formerly charging the parishes (as appeared by the accounts of the Church Officers) were hereby enabled to maintain them- selves.

14. The extortion of the Pope being now somewhat abated in *England*, the *Cawfines* or *Lombards* formerly the money Merchants of his Holiness, and the *grand Usurers* of *England*, did not drive so full a Trade as before. Were- upon they betake themselves to other Merchandize, and began to store *Eng- land* with forraign commodities, but at unreasonable rates, whilst *England* it self had as yet but little and bad shipping, and those lesse employed.

15. But now King Edward, to prevent the ingrossing of Trade into the hand of Forreigners, and to restore the same to his *native Subjects*, took order, that these Aliens should no longer prey on the *Radical measure* of this Land, but began to cherish Navigation in his own Subjects, and gave a check to such Commodities which Forreiners did import as in ancient Po-  
ems

Fullers earth  
\* precious  
commodity.

woollen cloth  
the *English*  
wealth.

The Popes  
Italian Usi-  
rers turn Mer-  
chants.

But at last  
are prohibi-  
ted by the  
King.

ems is largely described, whereof so much as concerneth our pur-  
pose,

We made a Statute for Lombards in this Land,  
That they should in no wise take on hand  
Here to inhabit, here to charge and discharge,  
But forty dayes no more time had they large,  
This good King by wit of such appetite  
Kept his Merchants and the sea from mischiefe.

But this was a work of time to perform, and took not full effect to the end of this Kings reign, yea the *Lombards* were not totally routed till the reign of King Richard the third.

16. About this time the *Clergie* were very bountifull in contributing to the Kings necessities, in proportion to their *Benefices*. Hereupon a *survey* was exactly taken of all their *Glebeland*, and the same (fairly ingrossed in parchment) was returned into the *Exchequer*, where it remaineth at this day, and is the most usefull Record for *Clergie men*, (and also for *Impropriators* as under their claim) to recover their right. Many a *stragling Acre*, wandering out of the way, had long since by *Sacrilegious Guides* been seduced into the possession of *false owners*, had not this Record directed them at last to their true propriety.

17. The worst is, whilst some *Diocesses* in this *Terror* were exactly done, and remain fairly legible at this day, others were so slightly flub- bered over that (though kept with equal carefulness) they are useless in effect, as not to be read. Thus I was informed, from a *Clerk* in that Office \* lately deceased, who when Living, was *elder* and as *able* as any therein. And thus Manuscripts (like those men who wrote them) though *starting* with their *equals*, hold not all out to the same length, their *humidum radi- cale*, (their *inke* I mean) not lasting alike in all *Originals*.

18. It was now generally complained of as a grand grievance, that the *Clergie* engrossed all places of Judicature in the Land. Nothing was left to Lay-men, but either *military* commands, as *General*, *Admiral*, &c. or such Judges places as concerned only the very *letter* of the *Common Law*: and those also scarcely referred to the Students thereof. As for Embassies into forraigne parts, *Noblemen* were employed therein, when *expence*, not *experience* was required thereunto, and Ceremony the substance of the service: otherwise when any difficulty in *civil-law*, then *Clergy-men* were ever entertained. The *Lord Chancellor* was ever a *Bishop*, (as if against *Equity* to employ any other therein) yea, that Court generally appeared as a *Synod of Divines*, where the *Clerks* were *Clerks*, as generally in *Orders*. The same was also true of the Lord Treasurer and Barons of the *Exchequer*.

19. Some imputed this to the pragmatikallness of the *Clergie*, active to insinuate themselves into all employment, how improper soever to their profession. Others ascribed it to the Kings necessities. The war engrossing the maine of his men of merit; so that he was necessitated to make use of *Clergie-men*. Others attributed it to the Kings *election* (no way weak in head or hand, plotting or performing) finding such the fittest to serve him; who being single persons, and having no design to raise a family, were as knowing as any in the *Mysteries of money*, \* and safest to be entrusted therein. But more hereof hereafter.

20. Robert Eglesfield Batchelour of Divinity, Chaplain to Queen Philippa, wife

Liber de casti-  
dia Maris ex-  
tant, in Haecl-  
its voyages,  
book 1, p. 194

A survey made  
of the *Cler-  
gies Glebeland*

Partly useless  
by ill engros-  
sing.

\* Wals. Hilla-  
ry.

*Clergie-men*  
engrossed all  
offices.

Several opi-  
nions of the  
causes there-  
of.

\* Matters of  
weight.

The founding  
of Q. Col. in  
Oxford by R.  
Eglesfield.

wife to King Edward the third, founded a Colledge on his own ground, by the name of *Queens Colledge* (commending the Patronage thereof to his Lady the Queen, and to the Queens of England successively) which he endowed with Lands and Revenewes for the maintenance of a Provost and twelve Fellows, which were to be augmented as the Revenewes increased.

21. Now though this was called *Queens*, from their *Honorable Patronesses*, it may be tiled *Princes Colledge* from those *paire of Students* therein. *Edward* the black Prince, who presently after this foundation had his Education therein, and *Henry* the fifth (as yet Prince of Wales) under *Henry Beaufort* Chancellor of this University and his Uncle, his Chamber was over the Colledge gate, where his picture at this day remaineth in bras with this inscription under it

In perpetuum rei memoriam.  
Imperator Britannie,  
Triumphator Gallie,  
Hostium Victor, & sui,  
Henricus quintus hujus Collegii,  
Et cubiculi (minuti satis)  
Olim magnus Incola.

which lodging hath for this sixteen years belonged to my worthy friend *Mr. Thomas Barlow*, that most able and judicious Philosopher and Divine, being a Library in himself, and keeper of another (that of *Sir Tho. Bodley's* erection) out of which he hath courteously communicated to me some rarities of this University.

22. Now according to the care and desire of the founder. The Queens of England have ever been Nursing Mothers to this Foundation. O what advantage they have when lying in the bosoms of their Royall Consorts, by whom they cannot be denyed what is equall, and of whom they will not desire what is otherwise. Thus Queen *Philippa* obtained of her Husband King *Edward* the third, the Hospital of *St. Julians* in *Southampton*, commonly called *Gods House*. Queen *Elizabeth*, wife to King *Edward* the Fourth procured of him the Priory of *Sherbourn* in *Hampshire*, and Queen *Mary* by her intercession prevailed with King *Charles* for the perpetual Patronage of certain Benefices in the same County.

23. Nor let not our Virgin Queen be forgotten, as in effect Refoundresse of this from the third year of her reign, being informed that the Title of the Foundation thereof, with the lands thereunto belonging, were in question, and subject to *eviction*; by Act of Parliament conferred a sure Estate of the same.

24. I meet in the Records of the Tower Rolls, with a passage concerning this Colledge, and though I do not perfectly understand, I will exemplify it. And\* a little after, upon divers matters moved between the said Arch-bishop, and the Arch-Bishop of York, upon certain privileges pretended by the said Arch-Bishop of York in the Colledge called *QUEEN-HALL* in the University of Oxford. The said Arch-Bishop of Canterbury in presence of the King and of the Lords promised, that if the said Arch-Bishop of York could sufficiently show any Privilege, or specially of Record, wherefore the said Arch-Bishop of Canterbury ought not to use his Visitation of the said Colledge, he would then abstain. Saving to himself all manner of the said Schollars abiding in the said Colledge, according to the judgement and decrees, made and given by *R. Richard* the second, and by our Lord *K. Henry* that now is, as in the Record thereof made, thereof more plainly is declared.

It seems hereby (so far as I can apprehend) this Colledge was so parted betwixt the two Metropolitans, that the dead Moiety, viz. the Lands and Revenues thereof belonged to the inspection of the Arch-Bishop of York, whilst the living half, namely the Schollars (especially in matters concerning their Religion) pertained to the Visitation of the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury.

Probois

Anno  
Dom. 1340.  
Ed. tertii  
15.

A paire of  
Princes bred  
therein,  
a Prince war  
wounded in  
Henricus quintus

Queens nur-  
sing Mothers  
to this Col-  
ledge.

Queen Eliza-  
beths singular  
bounty.

This Colledge  
parted be-  
tween two  
Arch-bishops,  
\* Ex Rot.  
Parl. Henrici  
quarti anno  
12.  
a Tho. Arundel  
b Henry Beaufort

\* See this re-  
corded as larg  
in the next  
Book, p. 154.

Anno  
Regis  
Ed. tertii  
15.

Anno  
Dom. 1340.

### Propoiss.

*Richard de Ket-  
ford.*  
*John de Eborac.*  
*Henry Wickfield.*  
*Thomas de Carle.*  
*Roger Walsdale.*  
*Walter Bell.*  
*Roland Byris.*  
*William Spencer.*  
*Thomas Langton.*  
*Christ. Bainbridge.*  
*Edward Kigge.*  
*John Panty.*  
*William Dwyg.*  
*Hugh Hodgefon.*  
*Thomas Francis.*  
*Lancelot Shaw.*  
*Alane Scot.*  
*Bartol. Bonessfield.*  
*Henry Robinson.*  
*Henry Aury.*  
*Barnabas Potter.*  
*Christopher Potter.*  
*Gerard Langbain.*

### Benefactors.

*Robert Langton.*  
*Thomas Langton.*  
*Edmund Grindal.*  
*Christo. Bainbridge.*  
*William Pettipace.*  
*Henry Robinson.*  
*Henry Aury.*

### Bishops.

*Henry Beaufort Bp.*  
*of Winchester*  
*and Cardinal*  
*of St. Eusebius.*  
*Christopher Bain-*  
*bridge Arch-*  
*Bishop of York,*  
*and Cardinal of*  
*St. Praxas.*

*Henry Robinson Bp.*  
*of Carle.*  
*Barnabas Potter,*  
*Bp. of Carle.*

### Learned Writers.

1 *John Wickliffe.*  
2 *John de Trevisa,*  
of whom  
hereafter, an-  
no 1397.

This house hath lately  
been happy in learned  
Lawyers, *Sir John*  
*Banks, Sir Ro. Berkeley,*  
*Sir Tho. Tempest* Attor-  
ney General of Ireland,  
*Judge Atkins* courteous  
to all men of any pro-  
fession, and my self  
especially.  
*Sr. Thomas Over-*  
*bury.*  
*Christopher Pos-*  
*ter* in his ex-  
cellent work  
of Charity  
Mistaken.  
\* *GERARD*  
*LANGBAIN.*  
*THOMAS BAR-*  
*LOVV.*

*Bailiol Met-*  
*ton and*  
*Queens col-*  
*leges claim*  
*him and all*  
*perchance*  
*rightly) at fe-*  
*veral times.*

\* Eminent  
for his reviv  
of the Coun-  
cil of Trent.

So that at this present are maintained therein, one Provost, fourteen Fellows, seven Schollars, two Chaplains, two Clerks, and other Students about 160.

25. In the mean time the Pope was not idle, but laid about him for his own profit. Knowing King *Edward* could not attend two things at once. And therefore whilst he was busied about his wars in France, his Holiness bestirred him in England, cropping the flowers of the best Livings in their bud before they were blown. Yea in a manner he may be said to *steethe the Kid in the Mothers milk*. So that before Livings were actually void, He provisionally pre-provided Incumbents for them, and those generally *Aliens* and his own Countrymen.

26. Though late, the King got leisure to look on his own Land, where he found a strange alteration, for as France lately was made English by his Valour, England was now turned Italian by the Popes Covetousness. In prevention therefore of future mischief, this Statute of Provision was made: whereby such forestalling of Livings to Forrainers was forbidden.

27. Our Authors assign another accidental cause of the Kings displeasure with the Pope, namely, That when his Holiness created twelve Cardinals at the request of the King of France. He denied to make one at the desire of this King of England. Surely it was not reasonable in proportion, that his Holiness giving the whole dozen to the King of France, might allow the advantage to the King of England. However betwixt both, this statute was made to the great enriching of the Kingdom, and contentment of the Subjects therein.

28. Yet this Law, of Provisions (as all others) did not at the first making meet with present and perfect obedience. The Papal party did struggle for a time, till at last they were patient per-force finding the Kings power predominant. True it is, this grievance did continue, and was complained of, all this, and most of the next Kings Reign, till the Statute of *præmunire* was made

The Pope  
makes use of  
the Kings ab-  
sence.

The Statute  
of provis. is  
reasonably  
made.

Mans anger  
worketh  
Gods plea-  
sure.

Statutes of  
Provisions  
not presently  
obeyed.

Papal power  
in England  
declines.

The Pope  
takes wit  
in  
his anger.

The institut-  
ion of the  
Knights of the  
Garter.

The qualifi-  
cation of  
these Knights

Their habits.

Their Oath.

Other Rites  
they are  
bound to ob-  
serve.

made, which *clinted* the naile which now was *driven* in. So that afterwards the Land was cleared from the *incumbrance* of such Provisions.

29. A good Author tells us, *Habent Imperia iuss Terminas, cum eum venerint, sifunt, retrocedunt, ruunt.* Emperors have their bounds, whither when they come, they stand still, they go back, they fall down. This is true in respect to the Papal power in England. It went forward untill the Statute of *Mort-maine* was made in the reign of King *Edward* the first. It went backward slowly when this Statute of provisions, *swiftly* when this Statute of *Præmunire* was made. It fell down when the Papacy was abolished in the reign of King *Henry* the eighth.

30. Three years after the *statute* against the *Popes* Provisions was made, the King presented unto him *Thomas* Haile to be Bishop of *Durham*, one who was the King's Secretary, and when this is, all is said that can be, in his commendation, as utterly devoid of all other *Episcopal* qualifications. However the Pope confirmed him without any dispute or delay; and being demanded why he consented to the preferment of so worthless a person, he answered, that *rebus sic stantibus*, if the King of England had preferred an *Ass* unto him, he would have confirmed him in the Bishoprick. Indeed as yet his Holiness was in hope, that either the K. would revoke the foresaid statute, or else moderate the execution thereof.

31. This year, Authors generally agree (some few making it later, viz. after *John* K. of France was taken prisoner) K. *Edward* instituted the Order of the Garter, consisting of

1. One Chief Guardian, or Sovereign, being the King of England.
2. Five and twenty Knights, whereof the first ten were termed Founders, and their Successors ever since called Fellows or Companions of the Order.
3. Fourteen Canonresidents being Secular Priests.
4. Thirteen Vicars, or Choral Priests.
5. Twelve Military Gentlemen of the meaner sort decayed in age, and estate, commonly called the poor Knights of *Winfor*.
6. One Prelate of the Garter, being always the Bishop of Winchester.
7. One Chancellor thereof, being antiently the Bishop of Salisbury (in whose Diocese *Winfor* is) but lately a Lay-*Person*. The truly Honourable and well experienced Statesman and Traveller Sir *Thomas* Row (if I mistake not) was the last Chancellor of the Garter.
8. One Register, being always the Dean of *Winfor*.
9. One Usher, who is one of the Ushers of the King his Chamber called the Black Rod.
10. A Chief Herald added for the more Solemnitie by K. *Henry* the 5. and called Garter. This Order the K. founded within his Castle of *Winfor*, to the honour of Almighty God, and the blessed *Virgin* Mary, and of the glorious Martyr *St. George*, and to the exaltation of the holy Catholick Faith.

32. Four Essentials are requisite in the Persons Eligible into this Order, that they be Gentlemen of Name and Arms by Fathers and Mothers side, for three descents. Secondly, that he be without spot or foule reproach, understand it not convicted of *Heresie*, or attainted of *Treason*. Thirdly, that he have a competent estate to maintain the dignity of the Order. Fourthly, that he never fled in the day of battle, his Sovereign Lord or his Lieutenant in being in the field.

33. Their habiliments are either ordinary, as a Blew Ribbon with the picture of *St. George* appendent, and the Sun in his Glory on the left shoulder of their Cloak (added as some say by King *Charles*) being for their daily wearing; or extraordinary, as their Collar of S. S. their Purple Mantle, their Gown, Kirtle, Chaperon, and chiefly their Garter. This being made of Blew is with, Honey Soit qui male pense in Golden Letters, enchaîned with precious stones, fastened with a Buckle of Gold, and worn on the left leg of the Fellows of this Order.

34. They take an Oath, that to their power, during the time that they are Fellows of the Order, they shall defend the honour, quarrel, rights, and Lordships of their Sovereign, that they shall endeavour to preserve the honour of the Order, and without fraud or Covin, well observe the Statutes thereof. This is taken absolutely by the *Natives* of this Kingdom, but by Forrainers relatively, and in part, with their reference to some former Order.

35. They oblige themselves, first, to be personally present, (without a just cause specified to, and accepted by the Sovereign or his Deputy) at *Winfor* on the Festival of *St. George*. Secondly, that if coming within two miles of that place, (except hindered by some

Anno  
Dom.  
1345:  
Ed.  
terti.  
6:

1346 21

1350 25

some important business) they repair thither, put on their Mantles, (lying constantly Lingers there) proceed to the Chappel and there make their Offering. Thirdly, that they be never openly seen without their *GEORGE*, which they shall neither engage, alien, sell, nor give away on any necessity whatsoever. Lastly, that they take order their Garter at their death, be safely and solemnly sent back to the Sovereign, to confer the same on one to succeed him in the Order.

36. I have done when I have told that their places may be vacated, on three occasions: First by death, which layeth this (as all other) honour in the dust. Secondly, by deprivation on the persons misdeameour or want of the foresaid qualifications. Thirdly, by effusion, or surrender, when a Forrainer Prince (entred into enmity with this Crown) is pleased to fend his Garter back again.

37. Excess in Apparel began now to be great in England, which made the State take order to retrench it. Some had a project, that mens Cloaths might bear their signs to shew their Birth, Degree, or Estate, so that the quality of an unknown person might at the first sight be expounded by his Apparel. But this was soon let fall as impossible. Statesmen in all Ages (notwithstanding their several laws to the contrary) being fain to connive at mens Riot in this kind, which maintaineth more poor people than their charity. However, the ensuing passage must not be omitted.

38. Item that the Clerks which have a degree in a Church, Cathedral, Collegial, or in Schools, and the Kings Clerks which have such an estate that requires Fur, do, and use according to the constitution of the same, and all other Clerks which have above two hundred marks rent per annum, use, and do as Knights of the same rent. And other Clerks under that rent, use as Squires of an hundred pound rent. And that all these, as well Knights as Clerks, which by this Ordinance may use Fur in Winter, by the same manner may use it in Summer.

39. Passe we now from soft Furr, to hard Steel, I mean a command from the King for the arming of all Clergy-men.

40. And besides this, the King commands, and requires all the Prelates there assembled, that in respect of the great danger and damage, which perhaps might happen to the Realm and Church of England, by reason of this war, in case his Adversary should enter the Kingdom to destroy and subvert the same, that they will put to their aid in defence of the Kingdom, and cause their Subjects to be arraigned, as well themselves, and their religious men, as Parsons, Vicars, and other men of holy Church whatsoever, to abate the malice of his Enemies, in case they should enter the Kingdom, which Prelates granted to do, this in aid and defence of the Realm and holy Church. And so to the Parliament ended.

Here we see, in hostes publicos omnes homo miles, none are dispenced with, to oppose an invading enemy. But where were these Forrainer Foers, France, and Scotland, being now both of them ordered into a defensive posture, whose invasion was expected? Possibly these dangers were represented thorough State-Multiplying Glasses, to quicken the care, and continue the Taxes on the English Nation.

41. The Lords and Commons in Parliament began now to find themselves much aggrieved, that the Clergy ingrossed all Secular Offices, and thereupon presented the ensuing Petition to the King, according to this effect insisting only in the substance thereof.

42. And because that in this present Parliament it was declared to our Lord the King, by all the Earls, Barons, and Commons of England, that the Government of the Kingdom, hath been performed for a long time, by the men of Holy Church, which are not justifiable in all cases, whereby great mischiefs and damages, have happened in times past, and more may happen in time

Order how  
voided,

Excess in  
apparel re-  
frained.

Rot. Tur. Lon.  
anno Ed. 37.

\* Fellows in the  
French Original,

Clergy men  
enjoyed to  
take up arms,

Rot. In Tur.  
Lond. anno  
Ed. tertii.

More forced  
then hurt,

A petition a-  
gainst Clergy  
mens employ-  
ment in Se-  
cular places.

Ex Rot. Parl.  
in Tur. Lond.  
in 45. Ed.  
tertii.  
\* Justifiable  
in the French  
Originals;  
quere, whether



whether not  
able to ju-  
stice, or not to  
be justified in  
their employ-  
ment, as im-  
proper for it.

The Answer  
(in effect) a  
denial.

Simon Me-  
pham Arch-  
Bishop of  
Canterbury.

John Stratford  
his successor.

His last his  
best dayes.

Tho. Bradwar-  
ne the third  
Arch-bishop.

\* time to come in *disberiting of the Crown* and great *prejudice of the Kingdom* for divers causes that a man may declare—that it will please our said *Lord the King*, that the *Laymen* of the said *Kingdom* which are *sufficient* and *able of estate*, may be chosen for this, and that no other *person* be hereafter made *Chancellor, Treasurer, Clerk of the Privy Seale, Barons of the Exchequer, Chamberlains of the Exchequer, Controller*, and all other great *Officers and Governours* of the said *Kingdom*, and that this thing be now in *such manner established* in form aforesaid, that by no way it may be defeated or anything done to the contrary in any time to come; Saving alwaies to our *Lord the King*, the Election and removing of such *Officers*, but that alwaies they be *Lay-men*, such as is above said.

43. To this Petition the King returned, that he would ordain upon this point as it shall best seem to him by the advice of his good Council. He therefore who considereth the present power of the Clergy, at the Council-Table, will not wonder, if all things remained in their former Condition, till the Nobility began more openly to favour John Wickliffe his Opinions, which the next Book, God willing, shall relate.

44. We will close this with a Catalogue of the Arch-Bishops of Canterbury, Contemporary with King Edward the third, and begin with Simon Mephram made Arch-Bishop in the first year of his reign, for that the Crown and the Mitre may seem in some sort to have started together, only here was the odds, the King was a young, (yea, scarce a) man, whereas the Arch-Bishop was well stricken in years. Hence their difference in holding out, the King surviving, to see him buried and fix more (whereof four Simons inclusively) heart-broken as they say with grief. For when John Grandison Bishop of Exeter (making much noise with his Name, but more with his Activity) refused to be visited by him, (the Pope siding with the Bishop) Mephram so resented it, that it cost him his life.

45. John Stratford was the second, Consecrated first Bishop of Winchester on the Lords day, whereon it was solemnly sung, many are the afflictions of the Righteous, whereof he was very apprehensive then, and more afterwards, when his own experience had proved a Comment thereon. Yet this might comfort him, whilst living, and make others honour his memory, that a good Conscience without any great crime, generally caused his molestation. For under King Edward the second, he suffered for being too loyal a Subject, (siding with the King against the Queen and her Son) and under King Edward the third, he was molested for being too faithful a Patriot, namely, in pitying his poor Countreymens taxations, for which he was accused for correspondence with the French, and complying with the Pope, (Pope and King of France then blowing in one Trumpet) whereat King Edward was highly incensed.

46. However Stratford did but say what thousands thought, viz. that a peace with France was for the profit of England, especially as proffered upon such honourable conditions. This the Arch-Bishop was zealous for, upon a threefold account. First, of Pietie, to save the effusion of more Christian blood. Secondly, of Policy, suspecting success, that the tide might turn, and what was suddenly gotten, might be as suddenly lost. Thirdly, on Charity, sympathizing with the sad condition of his fellow Subjects, groaning under the burthen of Taxes to maintain an unnecessary war. For England sent over her wealth into France, to pay their victorious Souldiers, and received back again honour in exchange, whereby our Nation became exceeding proud, and exceeding poor. However the end (as well as the beginning of the Psalm) was verified of this Arch-Bishop, the Lord delivereth them out of all, dying in great honour and good esteem with the King, a strong argument of his former innocence.

47. The third was Tho. Bradwardine, whose election was little lesse then miraculous. For Commonly the King refused whom the Monks chose: the

Pope

Anno  
Dom.  
1370  
Anno  
Regis.  
Ed.  
terci  
145.

Anno  
Regis  
Ed.  
terci  
45

Pope rejected whom the Monks and King did elect, whereas all interests met in the choise of Bradwardine. Yea, which was more, the Pope as yet not knowing that the Monks and the King had pre-elected him, of his own accord (as by supernatural instinct) appointed Bradwardine for that place, who little thought thereon. Thus Omne tulit punctum, and no wonder, seeing he mingled his profitable Doctrines with a sweet and amiable conversation: indeed he was skilled in School Learning, which one properly calleth Spinoza Theologia, and though some will say, can figgs grow on thorns, yet his thorny Divinity produced much sweet devotion.

48. He was Confessor to King Edward the third, whose miraculous victories in France, some impute more to this mans devout prayers: Then either to the Policy or Prowess of the English Nation. He died before he was inthronized few moneths after his consecration, though now advanced on a more Glorious and durable Throne in Heaven, where he hath received the Crown from God, who here defended the Cause of God. I behold him as the most pious man who from Anselm (not to say Augustine) to Cranmer, sat on that Seat. And a better St. Thomas (though not fainting by the Pope) then one of his predecessors commonly so called.

49. Simon Islip was the fourth, a parcimonious (but no avaricious) man, thrifty whilst living, therefore clandestinely Inthronized, and when dead, secretly interred without any solemnity: Yet his frugality may be excused (if not commended herein) because he revered his estate for good uses, founding Canterbury Colledge in Oxford: Thus generally Bishops founders of many Colledges therein, denominated them either from that Saint to whom they were dedicated, or from their See, (as Exeter, Canterbury, Durham, Lincoln) putting thereby a civil obligation on their Successors to be (as Visitors, so) Benefactors thereunto. This Canterbury Colledge is now swallowed up in Christ Church, which is no single Star as other Colledges, but a Constellation of many put together.

50. Simon Langham is the fifth, much meriting by his munificence to Westminster Abbie. He was made Cardinal of St. Praxer, and by the Pope Bishop of Preneffe in Italy, with a facultie to hold as many Ecclesiastical preferments as he could get. Hereupon he resigned his Arch-Bishoprick of Canterbury, lived for a time at Avenion in France, and there buried (according to his own directions) in a temporary Tombe in a Religious house of his own, till three years after removed to Westminster. William Whittlesee succeeded him, famous for freeing the University of Oxford, from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Lincoln, formerly the Diocesan thereof. As for Simon Sudbury, the last Arch-bishop of Canterbury, in the reign of King Edward the third, of him, God willing, hereafter.

Camden in  
Elic.

The best  
Arch-Bishop  
of that Sec.

\* He wrote de  
Causa Dei.

Simon Islip  
next Arch-  
Bishop.

Excipe Mer-  
ton Colledge.

Langham,  
Wittlesee, and  
Sudbury.

The end of the third Book.

THE  
Church-History  
OF  
BRITAIN.

The Fourth Book.

FROM THE FIRST APPEARING  
OF  
JOHN WICLIFFE.

Untill the Reign of  
KING HENRY  
The Eighth.



LONDON,  
Printed in the Year, M. DC. LV.

To the Right Honourable,

**JAMES HAY,**  
EARL of  
**CARLILE,**  
VISCOUNT  
**DONCASTER,**  
BARON of  
**SAVLEY and WALTHAM.**



*Read in \* Holy-writ, when  
the Israelites fled before the  
Philistines, who spoiled a field  
of Barley, how Eleazar the  
Son of Dodo, made them pay  
dear for their Trespas, so stop-  
ping them in the full speed of their Conquest, that he  
saved Israel by a great Deliverance.*

R r 2

Inspired

2-7 10.

Inspired Truths need not the Security of humane History, to passe them into our Beliefe. However, other writers afford Examples, how one man, in a manner, hath routed a whole Army, and turned the flight of his party, into an unexpected Victory.

Thus the \* Chronicles inform us, that when the Scots fled from the Danes (at a place called Long-Carry) one HAY an Husbandman, then at Plough (with his two Sons) snatching the Yoak into his hand (it is the man makes the weapons, not the weapons the man) not onely stopped the Enemies further pursuit, but beat them back with a great Overthrow. Whose valour, King KENETH the second, (seven hundred years since) rewarded, with as much ground of the best in Scotland, as a Falcon flew over at one flight before it did take a stand. And the memory hereof is continued in your Armes, who doth carry a Chronicle in your Coat, Crest, and Supporters.

Let none quarrel at your Supporters, being two men holding each an YOAK in his hand, seeing they are the Supporters general of all mankind, Solomon (being himself a King) observing that the King himself is maintained by husbandry. Besides, those Yokes procured the Scotch Liberty, who otherwise had been miserably enslaved to the Danish Infolence. And if the bearing of armes were so ancient amongst the Jews, as the

Rabbies

Rabbies will have it, it is proportionably probable that the Posterity of Shamgar gave the \* GOAD for the Hereditary Ensigns of their Family.

\* Judges 3.31.

Nor must your Motto be forgotten, CONSCIENTIA MILLE SCUTA, A good Conscience is a thousand shields, and every one of proof against the greatest peril. May your Honour therefore be careful to preserve it; facing lose the Shield, and lose the Field, so great the concernments thereof.

No Family in Christendome hath been Ennobled on a more Honourable Occasion, hath flourished for longer continuance, or been preserved in a more miraculous manner.

It is \* reported of the Roman FABII, no less numerous then valiant (three hundred and sixty Patricians flourishing of them at once) they were all slain in one Battle, one onely excepted, who being under Age to bear Armes, was preserved alive.

\* Titus Liv. in libro 2do.

A greater Fatality befell your Family, in a fight at Duplin-Castle (in the Reign of our Edward the first) when the whole Household of \* HAYES was finally extirpated, and not one of them visible in the whole World. Onely it hapned that the Chief of them left his Wife at home big with Childe, from whom your Name is recruited, all springing as it were from a dead Root, and thence deriving a Postume Pedigree.

\* Camd. Brit. in Scot. Strabo. c. 115. p. 6. 705.

This

*This puts me in hopes, that God who so strangely pre-  
served your Name in Scotland, will not suffer it so soon  
to be extinct in England, but give you Posterity by your  
Noble Confort, when it shall seem seasonable to his own  
will and pleasure.*

*All that I will add is this, that seeing your Ho-  
nour beareth three smaller Shields, or In-Escutchions,  
in your Armes, the shaddow of the least of them, with  
its favourable reflection, is sufficient effectually to pro-  
tect and defend the weak endeavours of*

Your most obliged Ser-

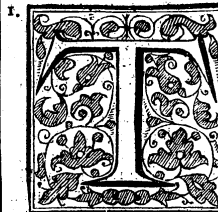
vant and Chaplain,

THOMAS FULLER.

Anno  
RegisAnno  
Dom.

THE  
CHVRCH-HISTORY  
OF  
BRITAINNE.

BOOK IV.

Ed. 1371.  
4.

1. He Romanists observe, that several advantages concurred to the speedy propagation of *Wicliffe's* opinions, as namely, the decrepit age of *Edward* the third, and infancy of *Richard* his successor, being but a childe, as his Grand-father was twice a childe, so that the reins of Authority were let loose. Secondly, the attractive nature of *Novely*, drawing followers unto it. Thirdly, the enmity which *John of Gaunt* bare unto the *Clergie*, which made him, out of opposition to favour the *Doctrine* and perion of *Wicliffe*.

Lastly, the envy which the <sup>a</sup> Pope had contracted by his exactions and collations of Ecclesiastical benefices. We deny not these helps were instrumentally active in their several degrees, but must attribute the main to Divine providence; blessing the *Gospel*, and to the nature of truth it self, which though for a time, violently suppress'd, will seasonably make its own free, and clear passage into the world.

2. And here we will acquaint the *Reader*, that being to write the History of *Wicliffe*, I intend neither to deny, dissemble, defend, or excuse any of his faults. *We have this treasure* (saith the <sup>b</sup> Apostle) *in earthen vessels*; and he that shall endeavour to prove a *pitcher of clay*, to be a *pot of gold*, will take great pains to small purpose. Yea, should I be over-officious to retain my self, to plead for *Wicliffe's* faults, that glorious *Saint* would sooner chide then thank me, unwilling that in favour of him, truth should suffer prejudice. He was a man, and so subject to errour, living in a dark Age, more obnoxious to stumble, vex'd with opposition, which makes men reel into violence,

S f

and

Several causes  
of the speedy  
spreading of  
*Wicliffe's* Do-  
ctrine.

<sup>a</sup> *Haypsfield* in  
his *Historia*  
*Wicliffiana* ca.  
1.

*Wicliffe* guilty  
of many er-  
rours,  
<sup>b</sup> 2 Cor. 4. 12.



	To.	Bo.	Art.	Chap.	Anno Dom. 1371.	Anno Regis Ed. 3. 45.
	1	2	3	38		
	1	2	3	48		
	1	2	3	54		
* Mat. 24. 15.	1	2	3	32		
	1	2	2	16		
a Ex verbo, opus, & incarnate Prælatorum.	1	2	3	57		
	1	2	3	71		
	1	2	3	60		
	3			68		
	2			128		
				61		
b Wallensis in several places of his book.						
	1	2		8		
	1	2	1	12		
	1	4	3	37		
	1	4	3	167		
	1	4	3	415		
	3			143		
	1	2	3	65		
	1	2	3	64		
	1	2	2	23		
	1	2	2	26		

7. That the Imperial and Kingly authority are above the Papal Power.
8. That the doctrine of the infallibility of the Church of Rome, in matters of faith, is the greatest blasphemy of Antichrist.
9. That he often calleth the Pope Antichrist.
10. That Christ mean't the Pope, by the \* abomination of Desolation, standing in the holy place.

## OF POPISH PRELATES.

11. That from the words, and works, and a silence of *Prelates* in Preaching, it seemeth probable, that they are Devils incarnate.
12. That Bishops Benedictions, Confirmations, Consecrations of Churches, Chalices, &c. be but tricks to get money.

## OF PRIESTS.

13. That plain *Deacons* and *Priests* may preach without licence of *Pope* or *Bishop*.
14. That in the time of the Apostles, there were onely two Orders, namely, *Priests* and *Deacons*, and that a *Bishop* doth not differ from a Priest.
15. That it is lawful for Lay-men to absolve no less, then for the *Priests*.
16. That it is lawful for Clergy-men to marry.
17. That *Priests* of bad life, cease any longer to be *Priests*.

## OF THE CHURCH.

18. That he defined the *Church* to consist, onely of persons predestinated.
19. That he divideth the *Church* into these three members, Clergy-men, Souldiers, and Labourers.
20. That the *Church* was not endowed with any immovable possessions, before *Constantine* the great.
21. That it is no Sacriledge to take away things, consecrated to the *Church*.
22. That all beautiful building of *Churches*, is blameworthy, and favours of hypocrisy.

## OF TYTHES.

23. That Parishioners by him were exhorted, not to pay *Tythes* to Priests of dissolute life.
24. That *Tythes* are pure almes, and that Pastours ought not to exact them by Ecclesiastical censures.

## OF THE SCRIPTURE.

25. That wise men leave that as Impertinent, which is not plainly exprest in Scripture.
26. That he slighted the authority of General Councils.

OF

	To.	Bo.	Art.	Chap.	Anno Regis Ed. 3. 45.	Anno Dom. 1371.
		2		81		
		3		23		
				25		
		3		11		
		3		21		
		3		8		
	1	2	3	71		
		3		45		
				46		
		2		99		
		2		108		
		2		98		
		2		26		
		2		55		
		1		109		
		3		147		
		2		130		
		2		163		
	2	2	2	15		

## OF HERETICKS.

27. That he called all Writers since the thousandth year of Christ, Hereticks.

## OF PRAYER.

28. That men are not bound to the observance of Vigils, or Canonical hours.
29. That it is vain for Lay-men to bargain with Priests for their prayers.
30. That to binde men to set and prescript forms of Prayers, doth derogate from that liberty God hath given them.
31. That to deprefs the benefit of other mens purchased Prayers, he recommended all men, to hope, and trust in their own rightcounsel.

## OF ALMES.

32. That we ought not to do any Alms to a sinner, whilest we know him to be so.

## OF THE SACRAMENTS.

33. That Chrisme, and other such ceremonies are not to be used in Baptisme.
34. That those are fools, and presumptuous, which affirm, such infants not to be saved, which dye without Baptisme: and also, That he denied, that all sins are abolished in Baptisme.
35. That Baptisme doth not confer, but onely signifie grace, which was given before.
36. That in the Sacrament of the Alter, the Host is not to be worshipped, and such as adore it are Idolaters.
37. That the substance of bread and wine, still remain in the Sacrament.
38. That God could not, though he would, make his body to be at the same time, in several places.
39. That the Sacrament of Confirmation is not much necessary to salvation.
40. That Confession, to a man truly contrite, is superfluous, used by Antichrist, to know the secrets, and gain the wealth of others.
41. That that is no due Marriage, which is contracted, without hope of having children.
42. That extreme Unction is needless, and no Sacrament.

## OF ORDERS.

43. That Religious Sects confound the unity of Christs Church, who instituted but one order of serving him.

44. That

a This is featured in several places of his book.



a *Waldensis* in  
several places  
laith this to  
his charge.

Much pity  
that *Wicliff's*  
own books are  
lost.

OF GOD.

135

Anno  
 Regis  
 Ed. 3.  
 45.

Anno  
 Dom.  
 1374

50. 1376

intention, and connexion of what he spake; together with the limitations, restrictions, distinctions, qualifications, of what he maintained. There we might see, what was the overplus of his passion, and what the just measure of his judgement. Many phrases, heretical in sound, would appear orthodox in sense. Yea; some of his poysonous passages, dreis'd with due caution, would prove not onely wholesome, but cordial truths; many of his expressions wanting, not *gracum ponderis*, but *salus*; no weight of truth, but some grains of discretion. But now alas! of the <sup>a</sup> two hundred books, which he wrote; being burnt, not a title is left, and we are iain to <sup>b</sup> borrow the bare titles of them from his adversaries; from whom also these his opinions are extracted, who *winnow* his works; <sup>c</sup> as *Satan* did *Peter*, not to finde the *corne*, but the *chaff* therein. And how candid some Papists are in interpreting the meaning of Protestants, appears by that cunning d Chymist, who hath diffilled the spirits of Turfisme, out of the books of *Caluino* himself.

8. Now a Synod was called by *Simon Sudbury*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, at *Paul's* in *London*: (the Parliament then sitting at *Westminster*), whither *Wicliffe* was summoned to appear; who came accordingly, but in a posture and equipage different from expectation. Four Fryers were to assist; the Lord *Piercy* to usher; *John Duke* of *Lancaster*, to accompany him: These Lords their enmity with the Prelates, was all *Wicliffe* acquaintance with them; whose eyes did countenance, hands support, and tongues encourage him, bidding him to dread nothing, nor to shrink at the company of the Bishops; for, they are *all unlearned* (said they) *in respect of you*. Great was the concourse of people; as in populous places, when a new light is to be seen, there never lack lookers on; and to see this man-baiting, all people of all kinds flock'd together.

9. The Lord *Piercy*, Lord *Marshall* of *England*, had much ado to break thorow the croud in the Church; so that the bustle he kept with the people, highly offended the Bishop of *London*, as profaning the place, and disturbing the Assembly. Whereon followed a fierce contention betwixt them; and left their interlocations should hinder the intrenels of out discourse, take them verbatim in a Dialogue, omitting onely their mutual railing; which, as it little became persons of honour to bring; so it was that against the profession of a Bishop to return; who, by the Apostles <sup>e</sup> precept, must be patient, not a brawler.

Bish. Courtney. Lord *Piercy*, if I had known before hand; what masteries you would have kept in the Church, I would have kept you out from coming hither.

Duke of Lancaster. He shall keep such masteries here, though you say nay.

Lord *Piercy*. Wicliffe, sit down, for, you have many things to answer, and you need to repose your self on a soft seat.

Bish. Courtney. It is unreasonable, that one, cited before his Ordinary, should sit down during his answer. He must, and shall stand.

Duke of Lancaster. The Lord *Piercy* his motion for *Wicliffe* is but reasonable. And as for you my Lord Bishop, who are grown so proud, and arrogant, I will bring down the pride, not of you alone, but of all the Prelacy in *England*.

Bish. Courtney. Do your worst Sir.

Duke of Lancaster. Thou bearest thy self so brag upon thy <sup>f</sup> parents, which shall not be able to help thee; they shall have enough to do to help themselves.

Bish. Courtney. My confidence is not in my Parents, nor in any man else, but onely in God in whom I trust, by whose assistance I will be bold to speak the truth.

Duke

a. Encot Syl-  
 vius Hist Bo-  
 hem. pag. 78.  
 b. So Jo. Bale  
 cont. l. 11. 12.  
 c. 6. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.  
 c. Luke 22. 3. 1.  
 d. See the  
 book called  
 Caluino. l. 1.  
 e. 1. Tim. 3. 3.

The brawle  
 betwixt the  
 Bishops, and  
 the Lords in  
 the Church.

e 1 Tim. 3. 3.

f His Father  
 Hugh Courtney  
 Earl of  
 Devonshire

a Fox Martyr.  
pag. 203. &  
Happid in  
Hist. Westsax-  
na cap. 5. pag.  
683.

Why the  
Arch-Bishop  
and Wicliffe  
silent the  
while.

Wicliffe opini-  
ons mur-  
derously spread,  
and why.

The death &  
character of  
King Edward  
the third.

*Duke of Lancaſt.* Rather then I will take theſe words at his hands, I de-  
pluck the Biſhop by the hair out of the Church.

Anno  
Dom.  
1376.  
Anno  
Regi.  
Ed.  
50.

Theſe laſt words, though but ſoftly whiſpered by the Duke, in the ear of one  
next unto him, were notwithſtanding overheard by the *Londoners*; who, in-  
raged that ſuch an affront ſhould be offered to their Biſhop, fell furiously on the  
Lords, who were ſain to depart for the preſent, and for a while by flight,  
and ſecreſie to ſecure themſelves; whileſt, what outrages were offered to  
the *Dukes* palace, and his ſervants, Hiſtorians of the State do relate.

10. Wonder not that two perſons, moſt concerned to be vocal, were  
wholly mute at this meeting; namely, *Simon* the Arch-Biſhop, and *Wicliffe*,  
himſelf. The former (rather acted, then active in this buſineſs) ſeeing the  
brawl happened in the Cathedral of *London*, left the Biſhop: thereof to  
meddle, whoſe ſtout ſtomach, and high birth, made him the meeſter match  
to undertake ſuch noble adverſaries. As for *Wicliffe*, well might the Client  
be ſilent, whileſt ſuch Council pleaded for him. And the Biſhops found  
themſelves in a dangerous Dilemma about him; it being no pity to permit,  
nor policy to puniſh, one protected with ſuch potent patrons. Yea, in the  
iſſue of this Synod, they onely commanded him to forbear hereafter, from  
preaching, or writing his doctrine; and, how far he promiſed conformity  
to their injunctions, doth not appear.

11. In all this Synod, though *Wicliffe* made but a dumb ſhew, rather ſeen  
then heard, yet the noiſe of his ſucces founded all over the Kingdom. For, when  
a ſuſpected perſon is ſolemnly ſummoned, and diſmiſſed without cenſure; vul-  
gar apprehenſions, not onely infer his innocence, but alſo conclude, either  
the ignorance, or injuſtice of his adverſaries. In publique aſſemblies, if the  
weaker party can ſo ſubſiſt, as not to be conquered, it conquers in reputa-  
tion, and a drawn battel is accounted a victory on, that ſide. If *Wicliffe* was  
guilty, why not puniſhed? if guiltleſs, why ſilenced? And it much advan-  
taged the propagating of his opinions, that at this very time happened a dan-  
gerous diſcord at *Rome*, long laſting, for above forty years, and fiercely  
followed; begun betwixt *Urban* the 6th, and *Clement* the 7th. One living  
at *Rome*, the other reſiding at *Avignon*. Thus *Peters Chair* was like to be  
broken, betwixt two ſitting down at once. Let *Wicliffe* alone to improve  
this advantage; pleading, that now the Romiſh Church, having two, had  
no legal head; that this monitrous apparition preſaged the ſhort life thereof;  
and theſe two Anti-Popes, made up one Anti-Chriſt. In a word, there was  
opened unto him a great door of utterance, made out of that crack, or cleſt, which  
then happened in this ſeaſonable ſchiſme at *Rome*.

12. *Edward*, the third of that name, ended his life, having reigned a Ju-  
bilee, ſul fifty years. A Prince no leſs ſucceſſul, then valiant; like an Am-  
phibion, He was equally active on water, and land. Witneſs his naval-  
victory nigh *Sluce*, and land-conqueſt at *Chreſce*, *Poitiers*, and elſewhere.  
Yet his achievements in *France*, were more for the credit, then commo-  
dity; honour, then profit of *England*. For, though the fair Provinces, he Con-  
quered therein, ſeem'd ſat enough to be ſtewed in their own liquor; I mean,  
rich enough to maintain themſelves; yet we finde them to have ſuck'd up  
much of our Engliſh ſauce, to have drain'd the money, and men of this land  
to defend them. This made King *Edward*, to endeavour to his power, to pre-  
ſerve his people from Popiſh extortions, as knowing, that his own taxes did  
burthen, and the addition of thoſe other would break the backs of his Sub-  
jects. He was himſelf not unlearned, and a great favourer of learned men;  
Colledges ſpringing by paires out of his marriage-bed; namely, *Kings-Hall*,  
founded by himſelf in *Cambridge*; and *Queens-Colledge*, by *Philippa* his wife in  
*Oxford*. He lived almoſt to the age, and altogether to the infirmities of King  
*David*, but had not, with him, a virgin-Abſjbag, a virgin-Concubine, to heat  
him:

1377 50

Anno  
Regi.  
Ed.  
51.

1378

him; but (which is worſe) in his decrepit age, kept *Alice Pierce*, a noted  
ſtrumpet, to his own diſgrace, and his peoples diſproſit. For, the (like a  
bad tenant, which, holding an expiring leafe without impeachment of *Wyle*,  
cares not what ſpoil he maketh thereon) ſenſible of what tickliſh termes the  
ſtood on, ſnatch'd all he could rape and rend, unto her ſelf. In a word,  
the bad beginning of this King, on the murder of his Father, muſt be charged  
on his Mothers, and *Mortimers* account. The failings at his end may be  
partly excuſed, by the infirmities of his age; the rather becauſe whileſt he  
was himſelf, he was like himſelf; and, whileſt maſter of his own actions,  
he appeared worthy of all commendations. *Richard* the ſecond, his  
Grand-child by *Edward* the Black Prince, ſucceeded him, being about  
twelve years of age, and lived under his Mothers and Uncles tuition.

13. A Parliament was called *Westmiſter*, wherein old bandying be-  
twixt the Laity, and the Clergie. The former moving, *a That no officer of  
the Holy Church ſhould take pecuniary ſums, more or leſs, of the people, for correction  
of ſins, but onely injoyne them ſpiritual penance, which would be more pleaſing to God,  
and profitable to the ſoul of the offender.* The Clergie tickled hereat, for, by  
this craft they got their gain; and, no greater penance can be laid on them,  
then the forbidding them to impole money-penance on others. But here the  
King interpoſ'd, *That Prelates ſhould proceed therein as formerly, according to the  
laws of the Holy Church, and not otherwiſe.* Yea, many things paſſed in this  
Parliament in favour of the Clergie; as that, *That all Prelates and Clerks  
ſhall from henceforth commence their ſuits againſt purveyers and buyers diſturb-  
ing them (though not by way of crime) by actions of treſpaſs, and recover treble  
damages.* Alſo, *That any of the Kings Miniſters, arreſting people of the Holy  
Church in doing Divine Service, ſhall have imprisonment, and thereof be raiſoned  
at the Kings will, and make gree to the parties ſo arreſted.*

14. About this time *Wicliffe* was ſummoned perſonally to appear before *Si-  
mon*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the reſt of the Biſhops, in his Chappel at  
*Lambeth*. He came accordingly, and now all expected he ſhould be de-  
voured, being brought into the *Lions Den*. When, in comes a Gentle-man,  
and Courtier, one *Lewis Clifford*, on the very day of examination, com-  
manding them, not to proceed to any definitive ſentence againſt the ſaid *Wi-  
cliffe*. Never before was the Biſhops ſerved with ſuch a prohibition: all  
agreed, the meſſenger durſt not be ſo ſtout, with a *Mandamus* in his mouth,  
but becauſe back'd with the power of the Prince that employed him. The Bi-  
ſhops ſtruck with a panick fear, proceeded no farther; the rather becauſe  
the meſſenger ſo rudely ruſhed into the Chappel, and the perſon of this *John  
Wicliffe* was ſo ſaved from heavey cenſure, as was once the doctrine of his god-  
ly name-ſake, for they feared the people. Onely the Arch-Biſhop ſummoned a  
Synod at *London*, himſelf preaching at the opening thereof. We finde no-  
thing of his Sermon, but his Text was excellent, *Watch and pray*. Four con-  
ſtitutions he made therein, a three whereof concerned Conſiſſion, grown  
now much into diſcredit, and diſuſe, by *Wicliffs* doctrine, and therefore con-  
ceived more needfull, to preſs the ſtrict obſervation thereof.

15. In the Parliament, kept at *Glouceſter* this ſame year, the Commons  
complained, that many Clergy-men, under the notion of *Sylvia cedua*, *hop-  
wood*, took tythes even of timber it ſelf: Requeſting, that, in ſuch caſes, pro-  
hibitions might be granted, to ſtop the proceedings of the Court-Chriſtian.  
It was moved alſo, that *Sylvia cedua* (though formerly accounted wood above  
twenty years old) might hereafter be declared that, which was above the  
growth of ten years, and the ſame to be made free from tythes. But this  
took no effect, the King remitting tythes to their ancient courſe. To cry  
quits with the Commons in their complaints, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*  
enveigh'd as bitterly, of the Franchiſes infringed, of the Abby-Church of  
*Westmiſter*: wherein *Robert de Hanley*, Eſquire, with a ſervant of that  
Church, were both deſpightfully, and horridly ſlain therein, at the high  
Altar,

Laity bandy-  
ing againſt  
the Clergie in  
Parliament.

a Ex Rotulis  
in Torre Lon-  
donſi primo  
Ricardi 2.

Wicliffe won-  
derfully pre-  
ſerved from  
proteſtation.

h Annis. Bit.  
pag. 258. &  
Fox p. 505.

c Mark 11. 32.

d Linwoods  
provinciales,  
lib. 5. fol. 183.

Transactions  
in the Parliam-  
ent of Glouceſ-  
ter.

e Ex Rot. in  
Torre Londin.  
2 Ricardi 2.  
part. prima,  
numero 45.

Synagogues  
introduced  
Shaken.

a Ex Rot. Tur.  
London. 2. Ric.  
2 part 2. ann.  
28.

b Ibid num 46.

Aliens debar-  
red from hold-  
ing benefi-  
ces.  
\* Lam 5.2.

c See the Ci-  
ralogue of the  
names and  
numbers  
in Mr Fog-  
pag. 562.

d John 10. 11.

The Rebel-  
lion of Wat  
Tyler, and Jack  
Straw.

Altar, even when the Priest was singing high Mass, and pathetically desired reparation for the same.

16. Some of the Lords rejoyned on their parts, that such sanctuaries were abused by the Clergie; to protect people from the payment of their due debts; the aforesaid *Hanley* being slain in a quarrel on that occasion. And, whereas upon the oaths, and examination of certain Doctors in Divinity, Canon, and Civil Law, it appeared, that immunity in the Holy Church were only to be given to such, who, upon crime, were to lose life or limb, the same was now extended to privileged people, in actions of account, to the prejudice of the creditor. They added moreover, that neither God himself (saving his perfection) nor the Pope (saving his Holiness) nor any Lay-Prince could grant such privilege to the Church: and the Church, which should be the favourer of virtue, and justice, ought not to accept the same, if granted. The Bishops desired a day to give in their answer, which was granted them: but I finde not this harsh string touch'd again all this Parliament; haply for fear, but to make bad musicke thereon. Complaints were also made against the extortion of Bishops Clerks; who, when they should take but *eight pence*, for the probate of a Will, they now exacted greater summes then ever before: to which, as to other abuses, some general reformation was promised.

17. In the next Parliament called at *Westminster*, one of the greatest grievances of the Land was redressed, namely, forciners holding of Ecclesiastical benefices. For, at this time the Church of *England* might say with *Israel*, \* *Our inheritance is turned to strangers, our houses to aliens*. Many Italians, who knew no more English, then the difference between a *teston* and a *shilling*, a golden *noble* and an *angel* in receiving their rents, had the fairest livings in *England* by the Pope collated upon them. Yea, many great Cardinals, resident at *Rome* (those hinges of the Church must be greased with English revenues) were possessed of the best Prebends, and Parsonages in the Land, whence many mischiefs did ensue. First, they never preached in their Parishes: Of such shepherds it could not properly be said, that, he *leaveth the sheep, and fleeth*; who (though taking the title of shepherd upon them) never saw their flock, nor set foot on English ground. Secondly, no hospitality was kept for relief of the poor: except they could fill their bellies on the hard names of their Pastours, which they could not pronounce; Lord Cardinal of *Agrifolio*, Lord Cardinal de *St Angelo*, Lord Cardinal *Venerino*, &c. Yea, the Italians generally farmed out their places to Proctors, their own Country-men; who, instead of filling the bellies, grinded the faces of poor people: So that, what betwixt the Italian hospitality, which none could ever see; and the Latin Service, which none could understand: the poor English were ill *fed*, and worse *taught*. Thirdly, the wealth of the Land leak'd out into foreign Countries, to the much impoverishing of the Common-wealth. It was high time therefore for the King, and Parliament, to take notice thereof; who now enacted, that no *aliens* should hereafter hold any such preferments, nor any send over unto them, the revenues of such Benefices. As in the Printed Statutes more largely doth appear.

18. Whiles at this time Clergy and Laity cast durt each in others faces, and neither washed their own: to punish both, burst forth the dangerous rebellion of *Wat Tyler*, and *Jack Straw*, with thousands of their curbed company. These all were pure *Levellers* (inflamed by the abused eloquence of one *John Ball*, an excommunicated Priest) who, maintaining, that no Gentry was *jure Divino*, and all equal by nature,

when Adam deli'd, and Eve span,  
who was then the Gentleman?

endeavour'd

Anno  
Dom.  
1378.

Anno  
Regis  
Ric. 2.  
2.

1379. 3.

Anno  
Regis  
Ric. 2.  
4.

Anno  
Dom.  
1380.

endeavour'd the abolishing of all civil, and spiritual degrees, and distinctions. Yea, they desired to level mens parts, as well as their purses; and, that none should be either wealthier, or wicker then his fellows; projected the general destruction of all, that wore a pen-and-ink-horn about them, or could write, or read. To effect this design, they pretended the peoples liberty, and the Princes honour: and, finding it difficult to destroy the King, but by the King, they advanced the name, to pluck down the thing signified thereby; crying up, that, *all was for King Richard*. They seem'd also to be much for *Reformation*; which cloak they wore, to warme themselves therewith, when naked, and first setting-up; but afterwards cast it off in the heat of their success, as not onely useless, but burdensome unto them.

19. As the *Philistines* came out in three companies, to destroy all the swords and Smiths in *Israel*: so this rabble of Rebels, making it self tripartite, endeavour'd the rooting out of all pen-knives, and all appearance of learning. One in *Kent*, under the aforesaid *Wat*, and *John*: the second in *Suffolk*; the third under *John Littlebarre*, a Dier in *Norfolke*. The former of these is described in the Latin verses of *John Gower*, *Prince of Poets* in his time; of whom we will bestow the following translation.

*Watte vocat, cui Thome venit, neq. Symme retardat,  
Betteg, Gibbe simul Hykke venire jubent.  
Colle furit, quem Gibbe jurat vocamenta parantes,  
Cum quibus ad damnum Wille coire vovet.  
Grigge rapit, dum Dave strepit, comes est quibus Hobbe,  
Lorkin & in medio non minor esse putat.  
Hudde ferit, quos Judde terit, dum Tebbe juratur,  
Jakke domusque viros vellit, & ense necat.*

*Tom* comes, thereat, when call'd by *Wat*, and *Simm* as forward we finde,  
*Bet* calls as quick, to *Gibb*, and to *Hykk*, that neither would tarry behind.  
*Gibb*, a good whelp of that litter, doth help mad *Coll* more mischief to do,  
And *Will* he doth vow, the time is come now, he'll joyn with their company too.  
*Davie* complains, whiles *Grigg* gets the gaines, and *Hobb* with them doth partake,  
*Lorkin* aloud, in the midst of the croud, conceiveth as deep is his stake.  
*Hudde* doth spoil, whom *Judde* doth foile, and *Tebbe* lends his helping hand,  
But *Jack*, the mad patch, men and houses doth snatch; and kills all at his command.

Oh the methodical description of a confusion! How doth *Wat* lead the front, and *Jack* bring up the rear? (For, confusion it self would be instantly confounded, if some seeming superiority were not owned amongst them.) All men without fir-names (*Tiler* was but the addition of his trade, and *Straw*, a mock-name, assumed by himself; though *Jack Straw* would have been *John of Gold*, had this treason took effect) so obscure they were, and inconsiderable. And, as they had no fir-names, they deserved no Christian-names, for their heathenish cruelties: though, to get them a name, they endeavour'd to build this their *Babel* of a general confusion.

T t 2

20. Many,

The rabble  
divided into  
three compa-  
nies.  
a Sam. 13.  
17.

Anno Dom. 1380.	Anno Regni Ric. 2. 4.
-----------------------	--------------------------------

a See Godwins Catalogue of the Bishops of Norwich in Henry Spencer

*Judas & Wm  
Tyler paral-  
lel'd.  
b AEs 5. 37.*

c In his book  
call'd *Vox*  
*Clamantis*, lib.  
1, cap. 14.

- Quatuor in mortem spirarunt fœdera Thomæ;  
Simonis & centum mille dedere necem.*

But four conspir'd *Thomas* his blood to spill ;  
Whiles hundred thousands *Simon* help to kill.

Nor was this any poetical Hyperbole, but an historical truth, if the several numbers of their three armies were summ'd up together.

3. Ruine. He also perished, and all, even as many as obeyed him, were dispersed: so here, no sooner was *Wat Tyler*, their General (as I may terme him) kill'd by valiant *Wallworth*, the Lord Mayor of

of London, and his assistance (for it was *John a Cavendish*, Esquire, that dispatch'd him with a mortal wound) in *Smithfield*; and *Jack Straw*, their Lieutenant-General, legally <sup>b</sup> beheaded (too brave a death for so base a fellow) but all the rest moulder'd away, and vanished.

a *Weavers' funeral Monuments*, p. 693.  
b *Stow Survey of London*, pag. 55.

In memory of *Sr William wallworths* valour, the *Armes of London*, formerly a *plain Crofs*, were augmented with the addition of a *Dagger*, to make the *coats* in all points compleat. Happy, when the *Crofs* (as first there in place) directeth the *Dagger*, and when the *Dagger* defendeth the *Crofs*: when *Religion* sanctifieth *power*, and *power* supporteth *Religion*.

22. But, *Alanus Copus* (for, he it is, whose Ecclesiastical History of *England*, goes under the name of *Harsfield*) heavily chargeth all this rebellion on the account of *Wicliffe's* doctrine. Whose scholars (saith c he) to promote their Masters opinions, stirred up this deadly, and damnable sedition, and founded the first trumpet thereunto. Adding moreover, that *Wicliffe's* tenet, that, *Dominion is founded in grace*: and, that a King guilty of *mortal sin, is no longer Lord of any thing*, was *Cos hujus seditionis*. The whei-cton of this *sedition*. But, to what lyer the whet-stone doth properly belong, will presently appear.

Cope chargeth  
all this rebel-  
lion on Wi-  
cliff's doctrine.  
c In his Histo.  
Wicliffiana,  
Cap. 12.

23. It is no news for the best of Gods children, to be slandered in this kinde. *Jeremy* was <sup>d</sup> traduced, *Thou fallest away to the Caldeans.* *S<sup>t</sup> Paul* was <sup>e</sup> accused, *we have found this man a pestilent fellow, a mover of sedition.* Yea, our Saviour himself was <sup>f</sup> charged, that, *He made himself a King, and was a traitor to Caesar.* But, as these were foul, and false aspersions: so will this appear, if we consider,

His malicious  
slander con-  
futed.  
d Jer. 37. 13:  
e Acts 24. 5.  
f John 19. 12.

1. When *John Ball* was executed at *St Albans*, and *Jack & Sirrow* at *London*, not the least compliance with *Wicliffe*, or his doctrine, is either charged on them, or confessed by them.
2. No wilde beast will prey on his own kinde. Now, it is certainly known, that *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster* was the principal Patron, and supporter of *Wicliffe*, whose life they fought to destroy, and whole Palace in the *Sirand* they pillaged.
3. *Wicliffe* himself came within the compass of their destructive principles, designing the death of all, who wore a pen and ink. And, that *Wicliffe* had both pen and ink, *Cope* himself doth know, and the Court of *Rome*, with shame and sorrow will confess.
4. *Wicliffe* lived some years after, and died peaceably possessed of the Living of *Lutterworth* in *Leicester-shire*. Surely, had he been reputed the inflamer of this rebellion, the wisdom of the King, and Council, would have taken another order with him.
5. Amongst the articles laid to the charge of *Wicliffe*, and his followers, in this Kings Reign, examined at *Oxford*, and elsewhere, not a titlle of this rebellion is pressed upon them. Which their malicious adversaries would not have omitted, if in any hope to make good that accusation against them.
6. Whereas it is charged on *Wicliffe*, that he held, that, *Dominion was founded in grace*, which occasioned this rebellion; we know this, that *Hufs*, his scholar, though he did hold, that a King, being in mortal fin, was onely called a King *aquiva denominacione*; yet the same *Hufs* confesseth (to use his own h words) *Ipsum Deum approbare hujusmodi Regem, quoad esse Principem exteriur*, that God himself allows such a King to be a Prince in all outward matters. So that; leaving him to Divine Justice, he never dreamt

h Hufz Traht  
de Decimis,  
pag 128.  
See Bishop  
Davenants  
30 Determin  
nation.



holding twelve Prebends in Comendam with it, Lord Privy-Seal, Chancellor, and Treasurer of England; besides other places of meaner consequence.

Anno Dom. 1392.  
Anno Regis Ric. 2. 16.

\* He was brother to Dr. John Reynolds the great protestant.

\* He wrote a History of England.

## Wardens.

Rich. Toneworth.  
Nich. Wickam.  
Tho. Cranelly.  
Rich. Malforde.  
Jo. Bouke.  
Will. Escot.  
Nich. Ofsbury.  
Tho. Chaundler.  
Walt. Hill.  
Will. Porter.  
Jo. Reade.  
Jo. Younge.  
Jo. London.  
Hen. Cole.  
Ral. Skinner.  
Tho. White.  
Mart. Culpepper.  
George Rives.  
Arth. Lake.  
Pink.  
Stranger.  
Mayshal.

## Benefactors.

Mr Rawlins.  
St Rich. Read, Kr.  
Dr Newman.  
Dr Reve, Ward.  
Dr Martin.  
Rob. Bell.  
Dr Smith.

## Bishops.

Will. Warham, Arch-Bish. of Cant.  
Will. Wainfleet, Bish. of Winchester.  
Jo. White, Bish. of Winchester.  
Tho. Bilson, Bish. of Winchester.  
Will. Knight, Bish. of Bath & Wells.  
James Turbervil, Bish. of Exeter.  
Rob. Sherbourne, Bish. of Chichester.  
Arth. Lake Bish. of Bath and Wells.

## Learned Writers.

Tho. Harding.  
Tho. Nele.  
Nich. Sanders.  
Nich. Harysfield.  
Will. Reynolds, \*  
Tho. Hide.  
Jo. Marshall.  
Tho. Stapleton.  
Jo. Fenne.  
Rich. White, \*  
Jo. Pitts.

All violent maintainers of the Popish Religion.

Sr Hen. Wootton.

Dr Tooker Dean of Lichfield.

Dr James Cook, Arch-Dec. of Winch.

Sr Tho. Rives, (besides other elegant works) for his VICARS PLEA.

Sr James Hassee.

Sr Hen. Martin.

Dr Merideth, Dean of Wells.

ARTHUR LAKE, Bish. of Bath and Wells.

William Twisse.

John White.

One may despise the suspicion of flattery, if adding Dr Harris, the reverend Warden of Winchester; Dr Rich. Zouch, not beholden to his Noble extractions, for his Reputation, founded on his own worth, and Books reprinted beyond the Seas; Dr Merick, late Judge of the Prerogative; but it is better to leave the characters of their worth to the thankfulness of the next Age to describe.

32. Lately the Popes usurpation was grown so great, in intrrenching on the Crown, that there was an absolute necessity, seasonably to retrench his usurpation. For albeit the Kings of England were as absolute in their demands, their Prelacy and Clergie as learned, their Nobility as valiant and prudent,

Good Laws in due season.

Anno Dom. 1393.  
Anno Regis Ric. 2. 16.

prudent, their Commons as free and wealthy, as any in Christendom; Yet had not some Laws of Provision now been made, England had long since been turned part of St Peters Patrimony in demans: Yea, the Scepter wrested out of their Kings hands, her Prelates made the Popes Chaplains and Clerks, Nobility his servants and vassals, Commons his slaves and villaines, had not some seasonable Statutes of Manumission been enacted.

33. For now came the Parliament wherein the Statute was enacted, which mauled the Papal power in England. Some former Laws had pared the Popes nailes to the quick, but this cut off his fingers, in effect, to that hereafter his hands could not grasp and hold such vast summes of money as before. This is called the Statute of PREMUNIRE; and let not the Reader grudge the reading thereof, which gave such a blow to the Church of Rome, that it never recovered it self in this Land, but dayly decayed till its final destruction.

The Maul-Popes Statute of pre-munire.

Whereas the Commons of the Realm in this present Parliament, have sued to our redoubted Lord the King, grievously complaining, that where- as the said our Lord the King and all his liege people, ought of right, and of old time were wont to sue in the Kings Court, to recover their Presentments to Churches, Prebends, and other benefices of holy Church, to the which they had right to present, the Consiance of Plea of which Presentment belongeth only to the Kings Court, of the old right of his Crown, used and approved in the time of all his Progenitors, Kings of England: And when judgment shall be given in the same Court upon such a Plea and Presentment, the Arch-Bishops, Bishops, and other Spiritual persons, which have Institution of such Benefices, within their jurisdictions, be bound and have made Execution of such judgments by the Kings commandements of all the time aforesaid, without interruption, (for another Lay person cannot make such execution) and also be bound of right to make execution of many other of the Kings commandements, of which right the Crown of England hath been peaceably seised, as well in the time of our said Lord the King, that now is, as in the time of all his Progenitors till this day. But now of late divers Proceses be made by the Bishop of Rome, and censures of Excommunication upon certain Bishops of England, because they have made execution of such commandements, to the open disberison of the said Crown, and destruction of our said Lord the King, his Law, and all his Realm, if remedie be not provided. And also it is said, and a common clamor is made, that the said Bishop of Rome hath ordained, and purposed to translate some Prelates of the same Realm, some out of the Realm, and some from one Bishoprick into another within the same Realme, without the Kings assent and knowledg, and without the as-

U u sent

sent of the Prelates, which so shall be translated; which Prelates be much profitable and necessary to our said Lord the King, and to all his Realme: By which translations (if they should be suffered) the Statutes of the Realm should be defeated, and made void, and his said liege Sages of his Council without his assent, and against his will, carried away and gotten out of his Realm, and the substance and treasure of the Realm, shall be carried away, and so the Realm destitute as well of Council, as of substance, to the final destruction of the same Realm. And so the Crown of England which hath been so free at all times, that it hath been in no earthly subjection, but immediately subject to God in all things, touching the realtie of the same Crown, and to none other, should be submitted to the Pope, & the Laws & Statutes of the Realm by him defeated, & avoided at his will, in the perpetual destruction of the Sovereignty of the King, our Lord, his Crown, his Regalitie, & of all his Realm, which God defend.

And moreover the Commons aforesaid say, that the things so attempted be clearly against the Kings Crown and Regality, used and approved of the time of all his Progenitors. Wherefore they, and all the liege Commons of the same Realm, will stand with our said Lord the King, and his said Crown, and his Regalitie, in the cases aforesaid, and in all other cases attempted against him, his Crown, and his Regalitie, in all points, to live and to die. And moreover they pray the King, and him require by way of justice, that he would examin all the Lords in Parliament, as well Spiritual as Temporal, severally, and all the States of the Parliament, how they think of the cases aforesaid, which be so openly against the Kings Crown, and in derogation of his Regalitie, and how they will stand in the same cases with our Lord the King, in upholding the rights of the said Crown, and Regalitie. Whereupon the Lords Temporal so demanded, have answered everie one by himself, that the cases aforesaid be clearly in derogation of the Kings Crown, and of his Regalitie, as it is well known, and hath been of a long time known, and that they will be with the same Crown, and Regalitie, in these cases especially, and in all other cases which shall be attempted against the same Crown and Regality, in all points with all their power. And moreover it was demanded of the Lords Spiritual there being, and the procurators of others being absent their advise and will, in all these cases, which Lords, that is to say, the Arch-Bishops, Bishops, and other Prelates being in the said Parliament, severally examined, making protestations, that it is not their minde to denie nor affirm, that the Bishop of Rome may not Excommunicate Bishops, nor that he may make translation of Prelates

Anno  
Dom. 1393.  
Anno  
Regis Ric. 2  
16.

that if any Execution of Processes, made in the Kings Court (as before) be made by any, and censures of Excommunication to be made against any Bishops of England, or any other of the Kings liege people, for that they have made execution of such commandments, and that if any executions of such translations be made of any Prelates of the same Realm, which Prelates be very profitable and necessarie to our said Lord the King, and to his said Realm, or that the sage people of his Council without his assent, and against his will, be removed and carried out of the Realm, so that the substance and treasure of the Realm may be consumed, that the same is against the King and his Crown, as it is contained in the petition before named. And likewise the same procurators everie one by himself, examined upon the said matters, have answered and said in the name, and for their Lords as the said Bishops have said and answered, and that the said Lords Spiritual will, and ought to be with the King in these cases, in lawfully maintaining of his Crown, and in all other cases touching his Crown, and his Regalitie, as they be bound by their Liegeance. Whereupon our said Lord the King, by the assent aforesaid, and at the request of his said Commons, hath ordained and established, that if any purchase, or purchase, or canse to be purchased or pursued in the Court of Rome, or elsewhere, any such translations, processes, sentences of Excommunications, Bulls, Instruments, or any other things whatsoever, which touch the King, against him, his Crown and his Regalitie, or his Realm, as is aforesaid; and they which bring within the Realm, or them receive, or make thereof notification, or any other execution whatsoever within the same Realm or without, that they, their notaries, procurators, maintainers, abbettors, fantors, and cancellors, shall be put out of the Kings protection, and their Lands, and Tenements, Goods, and Chattels, forfeit to our Lord the King: and that they be attached by their bodies, if they may be found, and brought before the King and his Council, there to answer to the cases aforesaid, or that process be made against them, by *Præmunire facias*, in manner as it is ordained in other Statutes of Provisors: and other which do sue in any other Court in derogation of the Regality of our Lord the King.

43. Something of the occasion, name, and use of this Statute; the first is notoriously known from the Papal encroachments on the Crown. No Bishoprick, Abbatie, Dignitie, or Rectorie, of value in England was likely to fall, but a successeur in reversion was by the Popes provisions, fore-appointed for the same. To make sure work, rather then they would adventure to take

The occasion  
of this Statute.

take the place at the first rebound, they would catch it before it light on the ground. This was imputed to the Popes abundance, yea superfluity of care, & *deletur tacuam* in the Church; and rather than a *widow Benefice* should mean it fell to death, a second husband had his Licence for marriage before the former was decayed. But great parishes, where small the profit, and numerous the people; and where indeed greatest care ought to be had of their souls, were past by in the Popes Bulls. His Holiness making no *provisions* for those *Livinges*, which *Livinges* had no *provisions* for his Holiness.

who called  
Præmunire.

35. Some will have it called *Præmunire*, from fencing or fortifying the Royal power from *foreign assaults*; as indeed this was one of the best bulwarks and *scences* of Sovereignty. Others that *Præmunire* signifieth the Crown fortified before the making of this Statute, as fixing no new force therein, but only declaring a precedent, and forgoing just right and due thereof. Others conceive the word [*Præmunire*] turned by corruption of barbarous transcribers, interpreters, and pronouncers into *Præmunire*. Others alledge the figure of the effect for the cause, and the common Proverb, *Præmonitus, Præmonitus*. Most sure it is that *Præmunire* signifies, are operative words, in the form of the Writ grounded on the Statute, which may give denomination to the whole.

Popes conceiveth notions to the Clergy.

36. It may seem strange such a Statute could pass in Parliament, where almost sixty Spiritual Barons, (Bishops and Abbots) Voted according to Papal Interest; except any will say, that such who formerly had much of a Pope in their bellies, had now more of Patriots in their breast, being weary of *Romes* exactions. Indeed no man in place of power or profit, loves to behold himself curried alive, by seeing his successor assigned unto him, which caused all Clergy-men to hate such superinductions, and many friends to the Pope, were foes to his proceedings therein.

The Popes Letter against this Statute

37. This Law angered all the veins in the heart of his Holiness, the Statute of *Murmain* put him into a sweat, but this into the *pit of a fever*. The former concerned him only mediately in the *Abbies* his darlings, this touched him in his *person*; and how choleric he was, will appear by the following Letter, here inserted (though written some fifty years after) to make the story entire.

The Original of this Bill was in the Study of Sir Nichol. Bacon, L.C. auellor, whence the Arch-Bish. of Armagh had the his Copy, from which that of S. Robert Cotton is derived.

**M**ARTINUS Episcopus servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio nobili viro Johanni, Duci Beograd, Salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Quamvis dudum in regno Angliæ, iurisdictioni Romanæ Ecclesiæ, & liberis Ecclesiasticis fuerit oppressa, vigore illius *Execrabilis Statuti*, quod omni divina, & humane rationi contrarium est: Tamen adhuc non fuit ad tantam violentiam prolapsam, ut in Sedis Apostolicæ, nuncios & Legatos manus temere mitterentur; sicut acerrime scilicet in persona dilecti filii Johannis de Odis Palatii Apostolicæ causarum auditoris, & in prefato regno Nuntii, & collectoris agrorum, quem audivimus ex hac sola causa, quod literas Apostolicas nostro nomine presentabat, fuisse per aliquos de ipso regno carceribus mancipatum. Quæ injuria nobis, & Apostolicæ sedi illata, animam nostram affectu admirationis, turbatione, & molestia singulari: Miramur enim, supercimus & dolemus, quod tam FOEDUM, & TURPE FACINUS in illo regno commissum sit, contra sedem B. Petri, & Nuntios ejus, presertim cum literæ illæ nostræ, nil aliud quam salutem animarum, honorem regni, & per omnia paternas, & sanctas admonitiones continerent. Fuit enim semper etiam apud gentes, qui nullam touchant veræ fidei rationem invidibile nomen Nupti, atq. Legati etiam ab hostibus mitterentur semper salvi, & hodie apud Saracenos, & Turcos, & quibuscumque tunc designantur, legationes & literæ, etiam si illis ad quos deferuntur moleste sint & injuriosæ. Et nuntius noster, vir hu-

1393. 16.

Anno Regis Ric. 2. 15.

Anno Dom. 1393

manus & moderatus, & continua conversatione notissimus in regno Angliæ, quod devotione fidei, & cultu divino se jactat omnes alias Christianas rationes superare turpiter captus est, nihil impium, nec hostile deferens, sed literas salutare & justas. Sed reverentur aliquando illi qui sic contumaciter & superbe Ecclesiam Dei contemunt, & Sedis Apostolicæ auctoritatem, ne super ipsos evocent iusta punitio ex Christi iudicio, qui cam instruit, & fundavit: Caveant ne tot cumulatibus offensis Deum iritent, ad ultionem & tarditatem supplicii gravitate compescant. Non videatur eis satis offendisse Deum Statuta condendo contra vicarium ejus, contra Ecclesiam & Ecclesiæ caput, nisi peritaciter perseverantes in malo proposito, in Nuntium Apostolicum violentas manus injicerent? Quod non dubitamus tue Excellentie, quæ Ecclesiæ, & regni honorem diligit displicere, & certissimum quod si fuisset in Angliæ, pro tua naturali prudentia, & pro fide, & devotione, quam geris erga nos, & Ecclesiam Dei illos incurvere in hunc furorē nullatenus permisisses. Verum cum non solum ipsi qui hoc fecerunt, sed tot regno magna accederet ignominia, & dictum si perseveratis in errore, accessura sit major: generalitatem tuam, in qua valde confidemus, exhortamur, & affectuose rogamus, ut circa hæc providens, prout sapientie tue videbitur, honori nostro, & Ecclesiæ, ac saluti regni convenire. Datum Rome apud Sanctos Apostolos, VI Kal. Junii Pontificatus nostri Anno 12<sup>mo</sup>.

Give winners leave to laugh, and Losers to speak, or else both will take leave to themselves; The less the Pope could bite, the more he roared, and as it appears by his language, he was highly offended thereat. This penal Statute as a Rod was for many years laid upon the desk, or rather lock'd up in the cupboard. No great visible use being made thereof, until the Reign of King Hen. 8. whereof hereafter.

38. Since the Reformation, the professors of the Common-Law have taken much advantage out of this Statute, threatening therewith such as are active in the Ecclesiastical jurisdictions, as if their dealings tended to be the *disruption of the Crown*. A weapon wherewith they have rather flourished then struck, it being suspicious, that that *appearing sword* is but all *Hilt*, whose Blade was near drawn out, as this charge hath never been driven home against them; but herein let us hearken to the Learned judgment of S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Smith, Secretary of State, who well knew the interest of his Sovereign therein.

More fear'd then hurt.

39. Because the Court, a which is called Curia Christianitatis, is yet taken for an extern and foreign Court, and differeth from the Politie and manner of Government of the Realm; and is another Court (as appeareth by the All and writ of *Præmunire*, then Curia Regis aut Regina; yet at this present this Court as well as others, hath her force, power, authority, rule, and jurisdiction from the Royal Majesty, and the Crown of England, and from no other foreign Potentate or power, under God; which being granted (as indeed it is true) it may now appear by some reason, that the first Statute of *Præmunire*, whereof I have spoken, hath now no place in England, seeing there is no pleading alibi quam in Curia Regis ac Regina. All I will add of this Statute is this; That it hath had the hard hap not to be honoured with so many Readings therein, as other Statutes. Perhaps because not bringing in *negotia Regia*, in proportion to the pains which must be laid out thereon; and therefore I would invite some ingenious in our Common-Law, (and with such no doubt it aboundeth) to bestow their learned endeavours thereon, to their own honour, and advancement of the truth in so noble a subject.

a Sir Thomas Smiths judgment herein. Com. wealth of Eng. 3 book 11 Chap.

19. 1395

40. Many poor souls at this time were by fear or flattery moved to *abjure* the truth, and promise future conformity to the Church of Rome. In proof whereof, let not the Reader think much to peruse the following Instruments;

The solemn form of an ab-juration.



ments; First, for the authentickness thereof, being truly copied out of the Originals of the Tower. Secondly, because it contains some extraordinary formalities of *abjuration*. Lastly, because the four persons mentioned therein, have escaped Mr Fox his observation, seeing no drag-net can be so carefully cast, as to catch all things which come under it.

<sup>a</sup> Memorand. quod primo die Septembris, Anno Regni Regis Richardi Secundi post Consequam decimo-nono Will. Dynet, Nic. Tailleur, Nic. Poucher, & Will. Steynour de Noryngham, in Cancell. ipsius Regis personaliter constituti sacra dix. ism presterunt sub eo qui sequitur tenore.

**I** WILLIAM DYNET, be-for yhow worshipecfull father and Lord Archbischop of *Thorkes*, and Ythother Ciergiee with my free will and full avydece fwerre to God and to all his Sayntes upon this holy Gospels yat fro this day forwarde I thall worship ymages with preyng and offeryng unto hem in the worlchepe of the sayntes that yee be made after. And alsoe I shall never more despise pygremage ne states of holy Chyrche, in no degre. And alsoe I shall be buxum to the lawes of holy Chyrche, and to yhowe as myn Archbischop and to myn ovr Ordinaires and Curates and kepe yo lawes upon my power and meynuten hem. And alsoe I shall never more meynuten, ne rochen, ne defenden errors, conclutions, ne techynges of the *Lollardes*, ne swych conclutions and techynges that men clepyth *Lollardes doctryn*, ne I shall her bokes. Ne swych bokes ne hem or any suspecit or disfavoured of Lollardery relceyve, or company withall wyttynlyng or defende in yo matters, and yt I know any swich, I shall wyth all the haste that y may do yhowe or els your ner officers to wyten, and of her bokes. And also I shall excite and stirre all you to gooode doctryn yat I have hindered wyth myn doctryn up my power, and also I shall stonde to your declaracion wych es hercyf or crroun and do thereafter. And also wath penance yhe woli for yat I have don for dyscenyngyn of this falsc doctryn in mynd mee and I shall fulfill it, and I submit me yer to up my power, and also I shall make no othir glofe of this my oth, bot as ye wordes stonde, and if it be so that I come agayne or doe again this oath or eny party thereof I yhelde me here cownpable as an heretyk and to be punysshed be the lawe as an heretyk, and to forset all my godes to the Kynges will withowthen any othir proccesse of Lawe, and yerto I require ye notarie to make of all this, ye which is my will, an instrument agayns me,

*Et ex habundanti idem will. Dynet eodem die voluit & recognovit quod omnia bona & Catalla sua mobilia nobis sint forisfica in casu quo ipse juramentum prestitum seu aliqua in eodem juramento contenta de cetero contraxerit ullo modo.*

Take it faults  
and all.

41. We have here exemplified this *Abjuration* just according to the Originals, with all the faults, and *Pseudographie* thereof. For I remember in my time an *under-Clerk* at *Court*, threatened to be caulked before the *Green-Cloth* for an Innovation from former *Bills*, though only writing *Sinapi* with an *S*, contrary to the common custom of the Clerks of the Kitchen, formerly writing of it with a *C*. fo wedded are some men to old orders, and so dangerous in their judgment is the least deviation from them.

42. The

42. The Arch-Bishop of *York* mentioned therein, was *Tho. Arundell* then *Chancellor of England*, and in all probability this Instrument was Dated at *York*. For I finde, that at this very time *Tho. Arundell*, to humble the Londoners (then reputed disaffected to the King) removed the *Termes* and a *Courts* to *York*, where they continued for some short time, and then returned to their ancient courfe. Whereas he is enjoyned point-blank to *worship Images*, it seemeth that the modern nice distinction of *worshipping of Saints in Images*, was not yet in fashion. It appeareth herein that *Relaps* after *Abjuration*, was not as yet (as afterwards) punishable with death, but onely with forfeiture of goods to the Crown.

43. This year a Godly, Learned, and Aged Servant of God ended his  
dayes, viz. *John de Treufz*, a Gentleman of an ancient B<sup>y</sup> Family, (bearing  
Gules, a Garbe, OR) born at *Crocodan* in *Cornwall*, a Secular Priest, and Vicar  
of *Berkeley*; a paintful and faithful Translator of many and great Books into  
English, as *Policricon*; written by *Raolphus of Chester*, *Bartholomews*  
*de rerum proprietatibus*, &c. But his matter-piece was the Translating of the *Old*  
and *New Testament*, justifying his act herein by the example of *Bede*, who  
turned the Gospel of *St John* in English.

44. I know not which more to admire, his ability, that he could, his courage, that he durst, or his industry that he did perform to difficult and dangerous a task, having no other commiffion, then the command of his Patron, THOMAS LORD BERKELEY. Which Lord, (as the said *Autograph* obferveth) had the *Apocalyps in Latin and French* (then generally underfoot by the better fort as well as *Englijh*) written on the roof and walls of his Chappell at Berkeley; and which not long fince, (viz. *Annæ 1622.*) remained, as not much defaced. Whereby we may obferve, that *midnight being past*, fome *early rifers*, even then began to ftrike fire, and enlighten themfelves from the Scriptures.

45. It may seem a Miracle, that the Bishops being thus *busie* in perfecting Gods servants, and *Trevisa* to obnoxious to their fury, for this *Treason*, that he lived and died without any molestation. Yet was he a known enemy to *Monckery*, witnesses that, (among many other) of his Speeches, that he had read how *Christ* had *sent Apostles and Priests into the world, but never any Monks or begging Friars*. But whether it was out of reverence to his own aged gravity, or respect to his Patrons greatness, he died full of honour, quiet, and age, little less then ninety years old. For,

1. He ended his Translation of *Policricon*, (as appeareth by the conclusion thereof) the 29<sup>th</sup> of Edward the third, when he cannot be presumed less then 30. years of age.
2. He added to the end thereof, fifty <sup>f</sup> (some say more) years of his own historical observations.

Thus as he gave a *Garbe* or *wheat-sheaf* for his Armies; so, to use the *8 Prophets* expression, *the Lord gathered him as a sheaf into the floor*, even full ripe and ready for the same.

46. We may couple with him, his contemporary, *Geffery Chaucer*, born (some say) in *Berke-shire*, others in *Oxford-shire*, most and truest in *London*. If the Grecian *Homer* had seven, let our English have three places contest for his Nativity. Our *Homer* (I say) onely herein he differed.

*Maenides nullas ipse reliquit opes :*

*Homer* himself did leave no self.

Whereas our *Chaucer* left behinde him a rich and worshipful estate.

47. His

Some obser-  
vations on  
this abjura-  
tion.

a *Gedwin* in  
his Catalogue  
of the Arch-  
Bishops of  
*York*.

The death of  
*John de Trevi-*  
*sa.*  
b Carew's Sur-  
vey of Corn-  
wall, p 114.

Who Translated the Bible into English.  
c Balas de Script. Angl. cent. 7. numer. 18.  
d Pelicronicon fol. 2.

Yet escaped  
persecution.

е Балкан и  
принс.

f *Pitceus de*  
Scrip. Angla

g Micah 4.12

As did his  
contempor-  
ary *Geoffery*  
*Chaucer*.



Yet generally he was beheld as *Loyalities a Confessor*, speaking what became his calling, in discharge of his conscience. Yea, for the present, such the reverence to his integrity, no punishment was imposed upon him.

57. *Marks* was conceived in the judgment of most moderate men, abundantly to have satisfied his conscience with his speech in Parliament. But how hard is it to stop an active soul in its full speed? He thought himself bound, not only to *peak*, but *do*, yea, and *suffer* too, (if called thereunto) for his Sovereign. This moved him to engage with *Henry Hot-spurs*, and other discontented Lords, against King *Henry*, on whose defeat this Bishop was taken prisoner, and judicially arraigned for high Treason.

58. This is one of the clearest distinguishing characters, betwixt the Temporal, and Spiritual Lords; that the former are to be tried *per pares*, by their *Peers*, being Barons of the Realm; the later are by Law and custome allowed a Trial only by a Jury of able and substantial persons. Such a man found Bishop *Marks* guilty of Treason, for which he was condemned and sent prisoner to *St Albans*.

59. The King would gladly have had a fair riddance of this Bishop, whom he could not with credit keep here, nor send hence. As to deprive him of life it was dangerous in those dayes, when some Sacredness was believed inherent in Episcopal persons. Here his Holiness helpt the King with an handfom expedient, to salve all matters, by removing *Marks* to be Bishop of *b Samos in Grecia*. I finde three Grecian Islands of the same name, and a critick complaineth they are often confounded. The best is, it is not much material, of which of them *Marks* was made Bishop, having only a Title (to serve in state) without a penny profit thereby. But before his translation was compleated, he was translated into another world.

A *twirly* will be reaping.

A Bishop not triable by his Peers.

a *Mr Selden*, in a late small Treatise of Parliaments.

A reasonable expedient.

b *Græcia* in his Bishopric. c *Carulus Stephanus* in dictionary poetico.

The End of the Fourteenth CENTURY.

CENT.

SECT. II.

TO  
Sir GERRARD NAPIER  
OF  
Dorset-shire, BARONET.

I Have read that a Statute was made to retrench the number of great mens keeping their Reteiners, in the Reign of King Hen. 7<sup>th</sup>; and that politickly done in those untimorous times, to prevent Commotions, lest some popular person should raise a little Army, under the covert of his great Attendance.

A Law improved to Rigor, though certainly (as all other penal Statutes intended but to terrour) inasmuch that the Earl of Oxford (more meriting of King Hen. 7<sup>th</sup> then any other subject) was even \* delivered to the Kings Atturney, and (as report saith) Fined fifteen thousand Marks for exceeding the proportion legally allowed.

I confess we live in as dangerous dayes, and affording us great jealousies as those: But I have cause to be right glad (as deeply concerned therein) that though a Statute hath forbidden many to depend on one, none hath prohibited one to depend on many Patrons: But any Author of a Book may multiply them Sance-number, as driving on no hurtful design, but only the protection of his own endeavours.

On this account I tender these my Labours unto you, knowing the very Name of NAPIER acceptable to all Scholars, ever since the Learned Laird of Marchistowne (no stranger to your blood, as I am informed) by his Logarithmes, contracted the pains (and so by consequence, prolonged the time and life) of all employed in Numeration.

Hen 4 1408.



King Henry being conscious that he had got and did keep the Crown by a bad Title, counted it his wisest way, to comply with the Clergie, whose present power was not only useful, but needful for him. To gain their favour, he lately enacted bloody Laws, for the extirpation of poor Christians, under the false notion of Hereticks, a condemning them to be burnt. A torment unheard of in such cases till that time: and yet it appeareth, that the Pope, in this Age, was not posselt of so full power in England. (whatsoever the Catholics pretend;) but that this politick Prince kept the reins, though loose, in his own hand. For in this time it was resolved, that the Popes Collector, though he had the Popes Bull for that purpose, had no jurisdiction within this Realm.

X x 2

\* Lord Verulam in his Life, p. 222.

King Henry bloody against poor Christians, after he had gained power against the Popes encroachment, a Statute 2 of Hen. 4. c. 15.

b Henry 4th, fol. 19.

2 Statute  
2 Hen. 4. cap. 3.

William Sautre  
the pro-  
mover of En-  
glish pro-  
hibitions.

and that the Arch-Bishops and Bishops of England, were the Spiritual Judges in the Kings behalf. As it was also enacted, if any person of Religion, obtained of the Bishop of Rome, to be exempt from obedience, regular or ordinary, he was in a premunire. Yea, this very Statute, which gave power to a Bishop in his Diocess to condemn an Heretick, plainly proveth, that the King by consent of Parliament directed the proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Court, in cases of Heresie; so that the Pope, even in matters of Spiritual cognizance, had no power over the lives of English subjects.

2. The first on whom this cruel Law was hanelled, was William Sautre, formerly parish Priest of St Margaret, in the town of Lin, but since of St Olth in the City of London. This was he, whose Faith fought the first Duell with Fire itself, and overcame it. *Alas*, was the first Martyr of men, St Stephen the first of Christian men; St Alban the first of British Christians, and this Sautre the first of English Protestants, as by *Prolepsis* I may terme them. *Scriveners* use with gaudy flourishes to deck and garnish the initial characters of Copies, which superfluous pains may be spared by us, in adorning this leading letter in the pattern of patience, seeing it is conspicuous enough in its self, dyed red with its own blood. Some charge this Sautre with fear and fickleness, because formerly he had abjured, *four Articles*, (for which afterwards he died) before the Bishop of Norwich. But let those who severely censure him, for once denying the truth, and do know, who it was that denied his Master thrice, take heed they do not as badly deed more than *four times* themselves. May Sautre's final Confession be as surely practised by men, as his former Cowardliness no doubt is pardoned by God. Eight Errors were laid to his charge in order as followeth.

1. *Item*, He saith that he will not worship the Crofs, on which Christ suffered, but onely Christ that suffered upon the Crofs.
2. *Item*, That he would sooner worship a temporal King, then the aforesaid wooden Crofs.
3. *Item*, That he would rather worship the bodies of the Saints, then the very Crofs of Christ, on which he hung if it were before him.
4. *Item*, That he would rather worship a man truly contrite, then the Crofs of Christ.
5. *Item*, That he is bound rather to worship a man, that is predestinate, then an Angel of God.
6. *Item*, That if any man would visit the Monuments of Peter and Paul, or go on Pilgrimage to the Tomb of St Thomas, or any whither else, for the obtaining of any temporal benefit, he is not bound to keep his vow, but may distribute the expences of his vow upon the almes of the poor.
7. *Item*, That every Priest and Deacon is more bound to preach the word of God, then to say the Canonical hours.
8. *Item*, That after the pronouncing of the Sacramental words of the body of Christ, the bread remaineth of the same nature, that it was before, neither doth it cease to be bread.

3. These were the opinions, wherewith Sautre is charged in their own Register, which if read with that favour, which not charity but justice allows of course to humane frailty, will be found not so hainous, as to deserve Fire and *Fagot*, seeing his expressions are rather indiscreet, then his positions damnable. But Thomas Arundel Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, before whom Sautre was convicted, in the Convocation, at St Pauls in London, principally

Thomas Arundel, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, solemnly pronounced Sautre an heretick convicted.

Anno Dom. 1408.  
Anno Regis Hen. 4. 10.

Anno Regis Hen. 4. 10.  
Anno Dom. 1408.

pinched him with the last, about *Transubstantiation* in the Sacrament. Thus their cruelty made Gods Table a Snare to his servants: when their other Nets broke, this held; what they pretended a Sacrifice for the living and dead, proved, indeed, the cause of the sacrificing of many innocents, and cavils about the corporal presence, was the most compendious way to dispatch them: for the denial whereof, the aforesaid Arch-Bishop solemnly pronounced Sautre an Heretick convicted.

4. Here happened a passage in Sautre, which I must not omit; which either I do not understand, or cannot approve in him. For being demanded whether or no, he had formerly abjured these opinions he denied the same, whereas, his formal abjuration of them, the last year, before the Bishop of Norwich, was produced in presence; an action utterly inconsistent with Christian sincerity, to deny his own deed; except any will say that he was not bound to accuse himself, and to confess in that Court, (what he had done elsewhere) to his own prejudice. Thus offenders, which formerly have confessed their fact, in their private examinations before a Justice of Peace, yet plead not *Guiltily*, when they are brought before the *Assizes*, accounting themselves innocent, in that Court, till, by the verdict of the Jury, they are proved otherwise. However I am rather inclined to suspect my ignorance, then condemn his innocence; conceiving there is more on his side, then appeareth in his behalf.

5. The Reader. I presume will pardon our largeness, (which we will recompence, with brevity in the rest) in relating the proceedings against this first Martyr, who being, as I may say, the eldest, and the Heir in our History, may justly challenge a double portion thereof. Yea, the Arch-Bishop, who in his condemnation did not follow, but make a president therein, was very punctual and ceremonious in his proceedings, that he might set the fairer copie, for the direction of posterity; and that the formality of his exemplary justice, might, for the terror of others, take the deeper impression in all, that did see it, or should hear thereof. And now his former abjuration plainly appearing, Arundel, by a second sentence, adjudged him to fall into Heresie, and incorrigible, and therefore to be degraded and deposed.

6. For lest Priest-hood should suffer in the person of Sautre, (and all the Clergie present, out of a religious sympathie, were tender of the honour of their own profession) he was there solemnly degraded in order as followeth.

From the order of	1. Priest.	By taking from him	1. The Patin, Chalice, and plucking the Chafule from his back.
	2. Deacon.		2. The New Testament and the Stole.
	3. Sub-Deacon.		3. The Alb and the Maniple.
	4. Acolyte.		4. The Candlestick, Taper, Urceolum.
	5. Exorcist.		5. The Book of Conjurations.
	6. Reader.		6. The Book of Church-Legends.
	7. Sexton.		7. The Key of the Church door and Surphee.

How many steps are required to climb up to the top of Popish Priest-hood! but, as when a building is taken down, one would little think, so much timber and stone, had occurred thereunto, until he sees the several parcels thereof, lie in ruinous heaps; so it is almost incredible, how many trinkets must be had to compleat a Priest; but that here we behold them solemnly taken asunder in Sautres degradation. And now he no longer Priest, but plain Layman, with the tonsure, on his crown rased away, was delivered to the Secular power, with this complement, worth the noting: *Bequeathing the Secular Court, that.*

Sautre indicted denying of himself.

Sautre by a second sentence is adjudged to be degraded and deposed.

The order of his degradation.

that they would receive favourably the said William unto them thus recommended. But who can excuse their double-dealing herein from deep hypocrisie, seeing the Bishops, at the same time, (for all their fair language) ceased not to call upon the King, to bring him to speedy execution.

7. Hereupon the King in Parliament issued out his Warrant to the Major and Sheriffs of London, that the said William being in their custody, should be brought forth into some publick or open place, within the liberty of the City, and there really to be a burned to the great horror of his offence, and manifest example of other Christians; which was performed accordingly. Thus died this worthy man; and though we be as far from adoring his Reliques, as such adoration is from true Religion, yet we cannot but be sensible of the value of such a Saint: Nor can we mention his memory, without paying an honourable respect thereunto. His death strook a terrour into those of his party, who hereafter were glad to enjoy their conscience in private, without publick professing the same. So that now the ship of Christ rots'd with the tempest of persecution, had all her sailes took down; yea, her mast cut close to the deck, and without making any visible shew, was fain to lie poor and private, till this storm was over-past'd: the Arch-Bishop Arundel being most furious and cruel, in detecting and suppressing all suspected of piety.

8. Synods of the Clergie were never so frequent before or since, as in his time, when scarce a year escaped without a Synod called, or continued therein. Most of these were but Ecclesiastical meetings for secular money. Hereupon, a covetous ignorant Priest, guilty of no Greek, made this derivation of the word Synodus (far fatch'd in it self, but coming close to him) from *Crumena sine nodo*, because at such assemblies, the purse ought ever to be open, without knots tied thereon, ready to disburie such summes, as should be demanded. Indeed the Clergie now contributed much money to the King, having learned the *Maxime* commended in the *Comedian*, *b Pecuniam in loco negligere maximum interdum est lucrum*. And perceiving on what ticklish termes their state stood, were forced to part with a great proportion thereof to secure the rest, the *c Parliament* now shrewdly pushing at their temporal possessions. For, although in the first year of King Henry, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmerland came from him to the Clergie with a complement, that the King only desired their prayers, and none of their money (Kingdoms have their honey-moon, when new Princes are married unto them) yet how much afterwards he received from them, the ensuing draught of Synods summoned in his dayes doth present.

Place.	President.	Preacher.	Text.	Money granted the King.	The other Ails thereof.
1. Saint Pauls in London.	The Prior, and Chapter of Canterbury in the Arch-Bishops absence.	William Bishop of Rochester.	<i>Cor meum diligit Principes Israel.</i>	Nothing at this time, but the Clergies prayers required.	The King at the request of the Universities promised to take order with the Popes Provisions, & provisions, that so learned men might be advanc'd. St Gregory his day made holy.

2. Saint

The Kings warrant for the burning of Saure.

a Fox Martyr. pag. 477. out of whom the effect of this story is taken.

A seizure of Synods in Arch Bishop Auddes time.

b Terent Adelphi.

c Vide infra in hist. of Abbots, lib. 2. cap. 11.

d Antiq. Brit. pag. 273. & Harpsfield hist. Ang. pag. 618. out of whom the following table of Synods is composed.

Anno Regis Hen. 4. 10.	Anno Dom. 1408.	Place.	President.	Preacher.	Text.	Money granted the King.	The other Ails thereof.
2.	1400	2. Saint Pauls in London.	Thomas Arundel.			A Tenth, and half. For, a single Tenth was first profered him, and he refused it.	Nothing else of moment passed, save Saures condemnation.
4.	1402	3. Ibidem.	Idem.			At the instance of the Earl of Somerset, and Lord Ros the Treasurer, a Tenth was granted.	The Clergie renewed their Petition of Right to the King, that they should not be proceeded against by temporal Judges, nor forced to sell their goods, for provision for the Kings Court. No answer appears.
6.	1404	4. Ibidem.	Henry Bishop of Lincoln, the Arch-Bishop being absent in an Embassy.			A Tenth towards the Kings charges in suppressing the late Rebels.	Constituted that the obsequies of every English Bishop deceased, should be celebrated in all the Cathedrals of the Kingdom.
7.	1405	5. Ibidem.	Thomas Arundel.			A Tenth, when the Laitie in Parliamt. gave nothing.	Nothing of consequence.
8.	1406	6. Ibidem.	Henry Beaufort Bish. of Winchester, the Arch-Bishop being absent.	Thomas, Bishop of Carlisle.	<i>Magister adeſt, &amp; vocat te.</i>	A Tenth.	Nothing of moment.
10.	1408	7. Ibidem.	Thomas Arundel.	John Monke of St Augustine in Canterbury.	<i>Faciet unusquisq; opus suum.</i>		This Synod was principally employed, in suppressing of Schism; and the following Synod in the same year to the same purpose.

8. Saint

a Ansig. Brit.  
p. 274.  
b Harpfield  
Ecc. Ang. pag.  
616.

Place.	President.	Preacher.	Text.	Money granted to the King.	The other Aids thereof.	Anno Dom. 1408.	Anno Regis Hen. 4. 10.
8. Saint Pauls in London.	Idem.	John Botel general of the Franciscans.	Vos vocati estis in u- no corpore.				
9. Ibidem.	Henry Bishop of Winchester, the Archbishop being abroad in an Embassy.	John Langdon, Monk of Canterbury.	Stella derunt la- men.	A Tenth, and a Subsidy granted, saith a Matthew Parker; but others say, the Clergie accused themselves, as drained dry with former payments. Also the Popes Agent, proggng for money, was denied it.	Little else save some endea- vours against Wickliffs opinions.	1411	13.
10. Ibid.	Thomas Arundel.	John Godmersham Monk of Canterbury.	Diligite lumen sapientie omnes qui preestis.	A Tenth. The Clergie complained to the King, of their grievances, but received no redress.	The Popes Rents sequestred into the Kings hands, during the Schisme betwixt Gregory the 12th, and Benedict.	1412	14.

We will not avouch these all the *conventions* of the Clergie in this Kings Reign, (who had many subordinate meetings in reference to their own occasions) but these of most publick concernment. Know this also, that it was a great *invitation* (not to lay an *inforcement*) to make them the more bountiful in their contributions to the King, because their leaders were suspicious of a *design* now first set on foot, in opposition to all *Religious Houses* (as then termed) to effay their overthrow. Which project now, as a *Pioneer*, only wrought *beneath ground*, yet not so insensibly, but that the *Church-Staists* got a discovery thereof, and in prevention, were very satisfying to the Kings *Pecuniary desires*. Infomuch, that it was in effect but *ask and have*, such their compliance to all *purposes and intents*. The rather because this King had appeared so zealous to arm the Bishops, with terrible Laws, against the poor *naked Lollards*, as then they were nick-named.

Now

Anno Regis Hen. 4. 14.	Anno Dom. 1412.	9. Now we pass from the <i>Convocation</i> to the <i>Parliament</i> , onely to meddle with <i>Church-matters</i> therein: desiring the Reader to dispense in the <i>Margin</i> with a new <i>Chronology</i> of this Kings Reigne; assuring him that whatsoever is written, is taken out of the <i>Authenticke Records</i> of the <i>Parliament</i> in the <i>Tower</i> .				A new Chronologie.	
		10. It was moved in <i>Parliament</i> , that no <i>Welch-man</i> , <i>Bishop</i> or other, be <i>Justice</i> , <i>Chamberlain</i> , <i>Chancellor</i> , <i>Treasurer</i> , <i>Sheriff</i> , <i>Constable</i> of a <i>Castle</i> , <i>Receiver</i> , <i>Escheator</i> , <i>Coroner</i> , or chief <i>Forester</i> , or other Officer whatsoever, or * <i>Keeper</i> of <i>Records</i> , or <i>Lieutenant</i> in the said Offices, in any part of <i>Wales</i> , or of <i>Council</i> to any <i>English Lord</i> , notwithstanding any Patent made to the contrary. <i>Cum clausula non obstante, Licet Wallicus natus</i> .				A severe motion against the Welch.  * Ex rot. Par. in tur. Lond. in hoc anno.	
		11. It was answered; that the King willeth it except the <i>Bishops</i> , and for them and others, which he hath found good and loyal lieges towards him, our said Lord the King will be adviced by the advice of his <i>Council</i> .				Moderated by the King.	
		12. Such as wonder why the <i>Parliament</i> was so incensed against the <i>Welch</i> , (seeing <i>Henry Prince of Wales</i> , was their own <i>Country-man</i> born at <i>Monmouth</i> ) (admay consider, how now, or very lately, <i>Owen Glendowre</i> , a <i>Welch Robber</i> , advanced by the multitude of his followers into the reputation of a <i>General</i> ) had made much spoil in <i>Wales</i> . Now commendable was the Kings charity, who would not return a <i>national mischief</i> for a <i>personal injury</i> , seeing no man can chuse the place of his <i>Nativity</i> , though he may becomen and hate the bad practices of his own <i>Nation</i> .				The cause of his anger.	
		13. The Kings courteous exception for the <i>Welch Bishops</i> , putteth us upon a necessary enquiry, who and what they were, placed in <i>Sees</i> at this time.				The Quarterion of Welch Bps. who and what at this time.	
		S <sup>t</sup> Davids.	Landaffe.	Bangor.	S <sup>t</sup> Asaph.		
		Gustavo de Apona.	Thomas Pe- derell.	Richard Pong.	John Trebaur.		
		Or of Anglesey. A true Briton by birth, witnes'd by his Name. He was at the present Lord <sup>s</sup> Treasurer of England. In whom the King much confided, though T. Walsingham be pleased to dash his Memory, that he was the cause of much mischief.	His Sir-Name. speaks him English by extraction, and he was of no remarkable activity.	He might be English or Welch by his Name, but I believe the latter. A man of merit sent by the King into Germany, to give satisfaction of King Henries proceedings.	Second of that Christian and Sir-name, Bishop of that See, a Welch-man no doubt, he was sent (saith T. Walsingham) to Spain to give account of the Kings proceedings. Very loyal at the present, but after his return home, he sided with Owen Glendowre.	a Gudwin. Catalog. of Bps. in S. Davids.	
		But though the English at this time, were so severe against the Welch, King Henry the seventh (born in the bowels of Wales at Pembroke, and assisted in the gaining of the Crown by the valour of his Country-men) some years after plucked down this partition-wall of difference betwixt them; admitting the Welch to English Honours, and Offices, as good reason, equality of merits, should be rewarded with equality of advancement.					

Y y

14. Sir John

The Petition  
of the Lords  
and Com-  
mons to the  
King against  
Lollards,

14. Sir John Tiptoff (made afterwards Earl of Worcester) put up a Petition to the Parliament, touching Lollards, which wrought so on the Lords, that they joyned in a Petition to the King, according to the Tenour following.

Anno  
Dom.  
1412.

Anno  
Reg.  
Hen. 4.  
14.

To our most redoubted and gracious  
Soveraign the King.

YOur humble \* Son, HENRY PRINCE OF WALES, and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in this present Parliament, humbly shew, That the Church of England hath been, and now is, endowed with temporal possessions, by the gifts and grants as well of your Royal Progenitours, as by the Ancesters of the said Lords Temporal, to maintain Divine Service, keep Hospitality, &c. to the Honour of God, and the souls health of your Progenitors, and the said Lords Temporal.

Yet now of late, some, at the instigation of the Enemy, against the foresaid Church and Prelates, have as well in publick Sermons, as in Conventicles, and secret places called Schools, stirred and moved the people of your Kingdom to take away the said temporal Possessions from the said Prelates, with which, they are as rightly endowed, as it hath been, or might be, best advised or imagined, by the Laws and Customes of your Kingdom, and of which they are as surely possessed, as the Lords Temporal are of their inheritances.

Wherefore in case that this evil purpose be not resisted by your Royal Majestie, it is very likely that in process of time, they will also excite the people of your Kingdom, for to take away from the said Lords Temporal, their possessions and heritages, so to make them common to the open commotion of your people.

There be also others, who publish, and cause to be published evilly and falsly among the people of your Kingdom that Richard late King of England, (who is gone to God, and on whose soul, God thorow his Grace have mercy) is still alive. And some have writ and published divers false pretended prophecies to the people; disturbing them, who would to their power live peaceably, Serve God, and faithfully submit and obey you their Liege Lord.

Wherefore may it please your Royal Majestie in maintenance of the honour of God, conservation of the Laws of the holy Church, as also in the preservation of the estate

of

\* Contracted  
by my self  
(exactly keep-  
ing the  
words) out of  
the Original.

Anno  
Regis  
Hen. 4.  
14.

Anno  
Dom.  
1412.

of You, your Children, and the Lords aforesaid, and for the quiet of all your Kingdom, to ordain by a Statute, in the present Parliament, by the assent of the Lords aforesaid, and the Commons of your Kingdom, that in case any man or woman, of what estate or condition they be, preach, publish, or maintain, hold, use, or exercise, any Schools, if any Sect or Doctrine hereafter against the Catholick faith, either preach, publish, maintain, or write a schedule, whereby the people may be moved to take away the Temporal Possessions of the aforesaid Prelates, or preach, and publish, that Richard late King, who is dead, should still be in full life, or that the fool in Scotland is that King Richard who is dead; or that publish or write, any pretended Prophecies to the commotion of your people.

That they and every of them, be taken, and put in Prison, without being delivered in Bail, or otherwise, except by good and sufficient mainprise, to be taken before the Chancellour of England, &c.

15. See we here the Policy of the Clergie, who had gained Prince Henry (set as a Transcendent by himself in the Petition) to their side, entering his Touch against the poor Wickliffites, and this Earnest engaged him to the greater Antipathy, against them, when posselt of the Crown.

16. Observe also the subtilty of the Clergie in this medley Petition, interweaving their own interest with the Kings, and endeavouring to possess him, that all the Adversaries to their Superstitions, were Enemies also and Traitors to his Majesty.

17. Now as Conventicles were the Name of disgrace cast on, Schools was the terme of Credit owned by, the wickliffites for the place of their meeting. Whether because the School of Tyrannus, wherein St Paul disputed, was conceived by them Senior in Scripture to any material Church; Or that their teaching therein was not in intire discourses, but admitted (as in the Schools) of interlocutory opposition on occasion.

18. By Lollards all know the wickliffites are meant, so called from Walter Lollardus one of their Teachers in Germany, (and not as the Monk alluded, quasi solus in a d. Domini) flourishing many years before Wickliffe, and much consenting with him in judgment. As for the word Lollard retained in our Statutes since the Reformation, it seems now as a generical name, to signify such who in their opinions oppose the settled Religion of the Land, in which sense, the modern Sheriffs are bound by their Oath to suppress them.

19. The Parenthesis concerning King Richard [who is gone to God, and on whose Soul God through his Grace have Mercy] is according to the Doctrine of that Age. For they held all in Purgatory, gone to God, because assured in due time of their happiness; yet so that the suffrages of the Living were profitable for them. Nor feared they to offend King Henry by their charitable presumption of the final happy estate of King Richard his professed Enemy, knowing he cared not where King Richard was, so be it, not living and sitting on the English Throne.

20. As for the report of King Richards being still alive, it is strange any should believe it; if it be true, that his Corps for some dayes, were at London

Y y 2

The Prince  
made a party  
against Wick-  
liffites,

Complication  
of Royal and  
Prelatical in-  
terest,

Wickliffites  
their Schools,  
f. A. G. 19. 9.

Lollards why  
so called.  
h. Trinhamus  
in Chron. Anno  
1315.  
Of S. Aug.  
Cont. M. S.  
Anno 1406.

A charitable  
parenthesis.

King Richard  
why believed  
alive,

No Woman  
Lollard Mar-  
tyr.

Who meant  
by the fool  
in Scotland,  
g. Helior Bor-  
tow, lib. 16.

Cruel per-  
secution.

Arch-Bishop  
Arundel go-  
ing to Visit  
Oxford.

Is refuted by  
the Chancel-  
lour.

The King de-  
termines the  
cause for the  
Arch-Bishop.

expos'd to open view : understand it done at distance, lest coming too near, might discover some violence offered on his person. It is probable that the obscurity of his burial (huddled into his grave at Langley in Hertfordshire) gave the lustre to the report, that he was still alive, believed of those who desired it.

21. Whereas this Law against Lollards, extended to women, though many of the weaker Sex, were in trouble upon that account ; Yet on my best enquiry, I never found any one put to death. Anna Ascoug being the first, who in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, was burnt for her Religion.

22. A Scotch Writer tells us, that King Richard fled disguised into Scotland, discovered himself to, and was honourably entertained by Robert the King thereof. Adding that Richard who would no more of the world, gave himself wholly to Contemplation, liv'd, dy'd, and bury'd at Sterling, possibly some Mimick might personate him there, and is the fool mentioned in this Petition.

23. Hereupon it was, that the poor Lollards were prosecuted, with such cruelty, that the prisons were full of them ; many forced to abjure, and such who refused, used without mercy, as in Mr Fox is largely related.

24. Thomas Arundel, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, came to Oxford, with a pompous train, accompanied with many persons of Honour, and particularly with his Nephew, Thomas Fitz-Allen, Earl of Arundell ; His intent was juridically to Visit the University, expecting to be solemnly met, and sumptuously entertained, according to his place and dignity.

25. But see the spite of it, Richard Courtney, the Chancellor of Oxford, (whom by his Sir-name and high Spirit, I should guess descended from the Earls of Devonshire) with Benedict Brent, and John Birch, the two Proctors, denied the Arch-Bishop entrance into the University under the notion of a Visitor, though as a Stranger, great Prelate, and Privy Counsellor, all welcome was provided for him and his Retinue. Arundell was angry with the affront, and finding force both useless (the Scholars siding with the Chancellor) and inconsistent with his gravity, was fain fairly to retreat, re-instructed, to London ; the rather because the Chancellor had submitted the cause in controversy to the hearing and determining of his Majesty.

26. King Henry at the joynt instance of both parties, summoned them to Lambeth, to hear and determine the controversy ; the Chancellor of Oxford produceth an Army of large Bulls of the Pope : Arch-Bishop Arundell brought forth one Champion, viz. An Instrument in the Reign of King Richard the Second, wherein the King adjudged all their Papall Privileges void, as granted to the damage of the Crown, and much occasioning the increase of Lollards ; not that it was so done intentionally by his Holiness (for who can suspect the Pope turn Lollard ?) but accidentally it came to pass, that the University of Oxford freed from Archiepiscopal Visitation, by virtue of those Bulls, the Wickwists therein escaped from Consistorian censure. Hereupon King Henry pronounced sentence on the Arch-Bishops side, as by the ensuing Instrument will plainly appear.

**E**T ulterius tam auctoritate sua regia, quam virtute submissionis predictæ sibi factæ ad hunc ibidem arbitratus fuit, ordinavit, consideravit, decrevit, & adjudicavit, quod Predictus Archiepiscopus & Successores sui in perpetuum habeant Visitationem & Jurisdictionem in Universitate predictâ, tam Cancellarii Commissariorum, quam Procuratorum ejusdem Universitatis, qui pro tempore fuerint,

Anno  
Dom.  
1412.  
Anno  
Regis  
Hen.  
quart.  
14.

Febr.  
9.  
Fri-  
day.

Anno  
Regis  
Hen.  
quart.  
14.

Anno  
Dom.  
1412.

runt. nec non omnium Doctorum, Magistrorum, regentium & non-regentium, ac Scholarium ejusdem Universitatis quorumcunque status & conditionis extiterint, & etiam ejusdem Universitatis ut Universitatis, & quod Cancellarius, Commissarii, Procuratores Universitatis predictæ, qui pro tempore fuerint, eorumque Successores, & omnes alii in dictâ Universitate pro tempore, commorantes futuris temporibus eidem Archiepiscopo, & Successoribus suis in visitatione & Jurisdictione Universitatis predictæ, etiam ut Universitatis, in omnibus pareant & obediant. Et quod nec dictus Cancellarius, Commissarii, nec Procuratores Universitatis predictæ, nec eorum Successores, nec aliquis alius in Universitate predictâ aliquod privilegium seu beneficium exemptionis ad excludendum præfatum Archiepiscopum seu Successores suos de Visitatione & Jurisdictione predictis, in Universitate antedictâ colore alicujus Bullæ seu alterius tituli cujuscunque, erga prædictum Archiepiscopum seu Successores suos, clament, habeant, seu vendicent, ullo modo in futurum. Et quod quotiens Cancellarius, Commissarii, vel locum-tenens ipsorum, vel alicujus ipsorum, vel Procuratores dictæ Universitatis qui pro tempore fuerint, vel eorum Successores, sive aliquis eorum impederint vel impederit, præfatum Archiepiscopum vel Successores suos, aut Ecclesiam suam predictam, aut ipsorum vel alicujus ipsorum Commissarium, vel Commissarios, de Visitatione sua aut Jurisdictione dictæ Universitatis vel in aliquo contravenierint, vel aliquis eorum contravenierit, dictis, arbitrio, ordinationi, sive judicio per præfatum Ricardum nuper Regem factis, sive arbitrio, judicio, decreto, considerationi vel ordinationi, ipsius Domini nostri Regis Henrici in hoc casu, vel si aliquis dictæ Universitatis in futurum impederit dictum Archiepiscopum, vel Successores suos, aut Ecclesiam suam predictam, aut ipsorum, vel alicujus ipsorum Commissarium, vel Commissarios, de Visitatione sua aut Jurisdictione antedictâ, vel in aliquo contravenierit dictis, arbitrio, ordinationi, sive judicio per præfatum Ricardum nuper Regem in forma predictâ, factis, vel arbitrio, judicio, decreto, considerationi vel ordinationi ipsius Domini nostri Regis Henrici. Et quod Cancellarius, Commissarii vel Procuratores Universitatis predictæ tunc non fecerint diligentiam & posse eorum ad adjuvandum dictum Archiepiscopum vel Successores suos, aut Ecclesiam suam predictam, seu Commissarium vel Commissarios suos in hujusmodi casu, ac etiam ad puniendum hujusmodi impediētes & resistentes. Quod totiens omnes Franchesi, libertates, & omnia privilegia ejusdem Universitatis



verstatu in manus Domini Regis vel heredum suorum feifantur, in eisdem manibus ipsorum Domini Regis vel heredum suorum remansura, quousque predictus Archiepiscopus vel Successores sui pacificam Visitationem & jurisdictionem in forma predicta, in dicta Univerfitate haberit vel habuerint, & etiam totiens Cancellarius, Commissarii, & Procuratores ejusdem Univerfatis, qui pro tempore fuerint, & eorum Successores, ac Univerfitas predicta solvant, & teneantur solvere ipsi Domino nostro Regi Henrico & heredibus suis mille Libras legalis Monetæ Angliæ.

Concordat cum Originali,

GULIELMUS RYLEY.

Afterwards the King confirmed the same, with the consent of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, as in the Tower Rolls doth plainly appear.

The effect of the Statute of Premunire.

27. See we here the grand difference, betwixt the *Pope's power in England, before and after the Statute of Premunire*. Before it, his *abolition* was authentic, and his *Bulls* received next to Canonical Scripture. Since, that Statute hath broken off their *best Seals*, wherein they crosse the *Royal Power*; and in all things else, they enter into England mannerly with good King by your leave Sir, or else they were no better then so much waste Parchment.

Farwell to X. Henry the fourth, \* Fourth book of his Infit, of the Jurisd. of Courts. page 228.

28. This doth acquaint us with a perfect Character of King Henry the fourth, who though *curious*, was not *servile* to the Pope. And \* *St Edward Cook* accounteth this his *Oxford* action (though unwilling to transcribe the Instrument for the tediousness thereof) a noble act of *Kingly power* in that Age, and so we take our farwell of King Henry the fourth, not observed (as all English Kings before and after him) to have *erected* and *endowed* any one *intire house of Religion*, as *first* or *sole Founder* thereof, though a great Benefactor to the *Abby of Leicester*, and *Colledge of Fotheringhay in Northamptonshire*; his Picture is not so well known by his Head as his Hood, which he wear-eth upon it in an *antick fashion* peculiar to himself.

Chamberd-ayn banished England.

\* Roll in his anno.

The death of T. Arundel.

29. At the Commons Petition to the King in Parliament, that all *Irish begging-Priests*, called \* *Chamberdaks* should avoid the Realm before *Michaelmas* next, they were ordered to depart by the time aforesaid, upon pain of *loss of goods* and *imprisonment* during the Kings pleasure.

30. I had almost forgotten, that just a month before the death of King Henry the Fourth, *Thomas Arundel, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury* expired; famished to death, not for want of food, but a throat to swallow it, such the swelling therein, that he could neither speak nor eat for some dayes. I may safely report, what others observe, how he, who by his *cruel Canons*, forbad the food to the soul, and had pronounced sentence of condemnation, on so many innocents, was now both *starv'd*, and *strick dumb* together. Henry *Chicheley* succeeded him in the place, whose *mean birth* interrupted the Chain of Noble Arch-Bishops; his two predecessors and successors, being *Earls sons* by their extraction.

The Clergie jealous of King Henry's activity.

31. The Prelates and Abbots especially, began now to have the *active soul* of King Henry in suspicion: For *working heads* are not so willing to follow *old ways*, as well-pleas'd to find out new ones. Such a meddling soul, must be sent out of harm's way: If that the Clergie found not this King some work abroad, he

ANNO Dom. 1412.  
ANNO Regis Hen. 5. 1414.

1414 2.

he would make them new work at home. Had his humor happen'd to side with the *Lollards*, Henry the fifth would have saved King Henry the Eighth much pains in demolishing of Monasteries.

32. Hereupon the Clergie cunningly gave vent to his Activity, by diverting it, on a long warre upon the French, where his Victories are loudly sounded forth by our State Historians. A warre of more credit then profit to England in this Kings Reigne, draining the Men and Money thereof. Thus Victorious Dayes bear onely barren Berries (no whit good for food, and very little for Physick) whilst the Peaceable Olive drops down that precious liquor, making the face of man to shine therewith. Besides, what this King Henry gained, his Son as quickly lost in France. Thus though the Providence of Nature hath priviledged Islanders by their entire position to secure themselves, yet are they unhappy in long keeping their acquisitions on the Continent.

33. Now began the Tragedy of Sir John Oldcastle, so largely handled in Mr. Fox, that his pains hath given Posterity a Writ of Ease herein. He was a vigorous Knight, whole Martiall Activity, wrought him into the affections of *Jone de la Pole Baronesse of Cobham*, the Lord whereof he became, (*sed quere*, whether an Actual Baron) by her Marriage.

34. As for the Opinions of this Sir John Oldcastle, they plainly appear in his Belief, which he drew up with his own hand, and presented it first to the King, then to the Archbishop of Canterbury, wherein some things are rather *coarsely* then *falsely* spoken. He knew to speak in the Language of the Schools (so were the meetings of the Wickliffs called) but not *scholastically*; and I believe he was the first that *coined*, and *last* that used the distinction of the Church Militant, divided into Priesthood, Knight-hood, and Commons, which had no great harm therein, as he explained it. As for \* *Persons* his charging him with *Anabaptistical Tenets*, it is pitty that the words of a plain meaning man should be put on the Wrack of a Jesuites malice, to extort by deduction what never was intended therein.

35. But a worse accusation is charged on his Memory, that he was not onely guilty of Heresie but Treason. But by the way, it appeareth that *Lollardisme* then counted Heresie was made Treason by Statute, and on that account Heresie and Treason, signifie no more then Heresie, and then Heresie according to the abusive language of that Age was the best serving of God in those dayes. But besides this, a very formal Treason is laid to this Lords account in manner following.

It is laid to his charge, that though not present in the person with his Council, he encouraged an Army of Rebels, no fewer then twenty thousand, which in the dark thickets (expounded in our Age into plain pasture) of *St Giles Fields nigh London*, intended to seize on the Kings Person, and his two Brothers, the Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester. Of this numerous Army, thirty six are said to be hang'd and burnt, though the Names of three are onely known, and *St Roger Aldon Knight*, the onely person of quality named in the design.

36. For mine own part, I must confesse my self so lost in the Intracacies of these Relations, that I know not what to assent to. On the one side, I am loath to load the Lord Cobham's memory with causeless crimes, knowing the perfect hatred the Clergie in that Age bear'd unto him, and all that look'd towards the reformation in Religion. Besides, that 20000 men should be brought into the field, and no place assigned whence they were to be raised, or where mustered, is clog'd with much improbability. The rather because onely the three persons, as is aforesaid, are mentioned by name of so vast a number.

37-On

Direct it on a war in France.

The sad story of Sir John Oldcastle.

\* Cand. Brit. in Kent.

His belief.

\* In his 3 conversion.

He is charged of Treason.

The Author intimated.

Leaveth all  
to the last  
day.

\* Rom. 2. 5.  
The Lord  
Cobham taken  
in Wales.

His double  
death.

Unjustly  
made the  
Buffoon in  
playes.

Lincolne Col.  
founded.

N Pont. great  
Anti-Lincol-  
nian.  
(Bri. Twine  
in miscellanis.  
t Pitt. Anno  
1410.

The Author  
some weeks  
in, though not  
of this house.

The Arch-  
Cassinis of  
our Church  
and Age.

37. On the other side, I am much startled with the Evidence that appeareth against him. Indeed I am little moved with what *T. Walsingham* writes, (whom all later Authors follow, as a flock the *Belweather*) knowing him a *Benedictine Monk* of *St Albanes*, bowed by interest to partiality; but the *Records of the Tower*, and *Acts of Parliament* therein, wherein he was solemnly condemned for a *Traitor* as well as *Heretick*, challenge belief. For with what confidence, can any private person, promise credit from *Fosterity* to his own Writings, if such publick Monuments, be not by him entertained for *authenticall*: Let *Mr Fox* therefore, be this *Lord Cobham's Compurgator*, I dare not; and if my hand were put on the *Bible*, I should take it back again. Yet so, that, as I will not acquit, I will not condemn him, but leave all to the last day of the \* *Revelation of the righteous judgement of God*.

38. This is most true, that the *Lord Cobham* made his escape out of the *Tower*, wherein he was imprisoned; fled into *Wales*, here he lived four years, being at last discovered, and taken, by the *Lord Powis*. Yet so, that it cost some blows and blood to apprehend him, till a *Woman* at last with a *Stole* broke the *Lord Cobham's Leggs*, whereby being lame he was brought up to *London* in a *Horse-litter*.

39. At last he was drawn upon a hurdle to the *Gallows*, his Death as his *Crime* being double, hang'd and burn'd, for *Traitor* and *Heretick*. Hence some have deduced the Etymologie of *WYBURNE*, from *WY* and *burne*, the neck of offending persons being ty'd thereunto, whose leggs and lower parts were consumed in the flame.

40. *Stage-Post*: have themselves been very bold with, and others very merry at, the Memory of *St John Oldcastle*, whom they have fancied a *boon Companion*, a *joyous Royster*, and yet a *Coward* to boot, contrary to the credit of all *Chronicles*, owning him a *Martial man* of merit. The best is, *St John Falstaffe*, hath relieved the Memory of *St John Oldcastle*, and of late is substituted *Buffoon* in his place, but it matters as little what *petulant Poets*, as what malicious *Papists* have written against him.

41. *Richard Fleming Doctor of Divinity*, designed by the *Pope Arch-Bishop of York*, but (to please *King Henry the fifth*) contented with the *Bishoprick of Lincoln*, about this time founded a *Colledge*, named *Lincoln-Colledge* in *Oxford*. It fared the worse because he died before it was fully finished, and the best *Guardian* to an *Orphan-foundation* comes far short of the *Father* thereof. Yet was this *House* happy in two bountifull Benefactors, *Thomas Becketon Bishop of Bath and Wells*, who (according to the ingenuity of that Age) hath left his Memory in a *Beaton* with a *Tun* on the *Walls*, and *Thomas Rotherham Arch-Bishop of York*, adding five *Fellowships* thereunto.

42. Here I wonder what made *Nicholas Pont*, Fellow of *Merton Colledge*, and *Scholar* enough) to be such a back-friend to this *Colledge* in the infancy thereof, conveying bitterly against it. This is that *Pont* whose Faith many distrust, for his violent writing against *Wickliff*, but whose Charity more may dislike, for his malice to this innocent *Colledge*, except it was, that he foresaw it would produce in time, worthy *Champions* of the *Truth*, Opposers of his *erroneous Opinions*, as indeed it hath, though I be unable to give a particular Catalogue of them.

43. Indeed I could much desire (were it in my power) to expresse my service to this foundation, acknowledging my self for a quarter of a year in these troublesome times (though no member of) a dweller in it. I will not complain of the dearth of this University, where *seventeen weeks* cost me more then *seventeen years* in *Cambridge* (even all that I had) but shall pray that the students therein be never hereafter disturbed upon the like occasion.

44. Amongst the *modern worthies* of this *Colledge* still surviving, *Dr Robert Saunderson* (late *Regius Professor*) moveth in the highest *Sphaer*; as no less plain and profitable, then able and profound *Cassius* (a learning almost lost amongst *Protestants*) wrapping up *sharp thorns* in *rose leaves*, I mean *hard matter* in *sweet latine* and *pleasant expressions*.

Rectors.

Anno  
Dom.  
1414.

Anno  
Regis  
Hen.  
quint.  
2.

Anno  
Regis  
Hen.  
5.  
8.

Anno  
Dom.  
1421.

## Rectors.

1. Mr. Gul. Chamberlen.
2. Mr. John Beke.
3. Mr. Jo. Triffrap.
4. Dr. Geo. Strangways.
5. Mr. Gul. Betham.
6. Mr. Tho. Banke.
7. Mr. Tho. Drax.
8. Dr. Jo. Cottisford.
9. Mr. Hugo Weldon.
10. Mr. Christi. Hargrave.
11. Dr. Fra. Bashington.
12. Mr. Hen. Henshaw.
13. Mr. John Bridgeter.
14. Mr. John Talam.
15. Dr. John Underhill.
16. Dr. Rich. Kilbie.
- Dr. Paul Hudd.

## Bishops.

Jo. Underhill Bp.  
of Oxford.

## Benefactors.

1. John Forrest Dean of Wells.
2. John Southam Arch-Deacon of Oxford.
3. William Findern Elquire.
4. Henry Beauford Cardinal Bp. of Winchester.
5. John Bucktor.
6. Joh. Croly Treasurer of Linc.
7. William Batz.
8. Edward Darby.
9. Will. Dagrell Maj. of Oxford.
10. Will. Bish.
11. Edmund Audley.
12. Joan Traps.
13. Rich. Kilbie late Rector.

## Learned Writers.

William Harris,  
whose Writings  
are much esteemed  
by the Pa-  
pists

Richard Thornton.

\* Fitz. de  
Script. Ang. 6  
p. 801.

So that at the present are maintained, one Rector, fourteen Fellows, two Chaplains, four Schollars, which with Servants and other Commoners, lately made up, seventy two.

43. We must not forget *John Williams*, Bishop of *Lincolne*, bred in *Cambridge*, related only to this *House* as *Visitor* thereof. Here finding the *Chappel*, (built by *John Forrest* Dean of *Wells* in the Reign of *King Henry the sixth*) old, little, and inconvenient, he erected a far fairer Fabrick in the room thereof. He had a good Precedent of a *Cambridge man's* bounty to this *House*, even *Thomas Rotherham* Fellow of *Kings Colledge*, and Master of *Pembroke Hall* therein, whom *Bishop Williams* succeeded, as in the *Bishoprick of Lincolne*, and the *Arch-bishoprick of York*, so in his *Liberalty* to this *Foundation*.

44. On the last of *August*, *King Henry the fifth* ended his life, in *France*; of a strong and active body, neither shrinking in cold, nor slothfull in heat, going commonly with his head uncovered, the wearing of  *Armour* was no more cumbersome unto him then a Cloak. He never drank at a wound, nor turned away his Nose for ill savour; nor closed his eyes for smoky or dust; in Diet none less dainty, or more moderate: his sleep very short, but sound, fortunate in fight, and commendable in all his Actions, verifying the Proverb, that an ill Touch, may make a good Man. The *Nunnery of Siog* was built and endowed by him; and a *Colledge* was by him intended in *Oxford*, had not death prevented him.

Zz

45. As

Bishop of  
Lincoln builds  
them a new  
Chappel.

The death  
and character  
of King Henry  
the fifth.

Q. Katherine married a gain.

But never buried.  
a Philip Comminens.

By her own desire.  
b Speed Chron. p. 561.

Alii aliter.  
c Simey history of London p. 507.

The Parliament appoint the Kings Councillors.

A strict law for the Irish Clergy.

Wickliffe quietly buried 41. years.

45. As for Katherine de Valois, Daughter to Charles the sixth King of France, widow of King Henry, she was afterward married to, and had issue by, Owen ap Tudor a noble Welshman, and her body lies at this day, unburied in a loose Coffin at Westminster, lately shew'd to such as desire it, and there dependeth a story thereon.

46. There was an old prophesie among the English (observed by forerunners to be the greatest Prophecy-mongers, and whilst the Devil knows their illies, they shall never want a dish to please the Palate) that an English Prince born at Windsor, should be unfortunate in losing what his Father had acquired. Whereupon King Henry forbade Queen Katherine, (big with Child) to be delivered there; who out of the corrupt principle, Nitimur in virtutem, and affecting her Father, before her Husband, was there brought to bed of King Henry the sixth, in whose Reign the fair victories won by his Fathers valour, were by Cowardise, Carelesnes, and Contentions, unwraved to nothing.

47. Report, the greatest (though not the truest) Author avoucheth, that sensible of her fault in disobeying her Husband, it was her own desire and pleasure, that her body should never be buried. If so, it is pity but that a woman, (especially a Queen) should have her will therein. Whole dust doth preach a Sermon of duty to Feminine, and of Mortality to all Beholders.

48. But this story is told otherwise by other authors, namely, that she was buried near her Husband King Henry the fifth, under a fair Tombe, where she hath a large Epitaph, and continued in her grave some years, untill King Henry the Seventh laying the foundation of a new Chappel, caused her Corps to be taken up; but why the said Henry, being her Great Grand-Child, did not order it to be re-interred, is not recorded; if done by casualty and neglect very strange, and stranger if out of designe.

49. In the minority of King Henry the sixth, as his Uncle, John Duke of Bedford, managed martial matters beyond the seas; so his other Uncle, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, was chosen his Protector at home, to whom the Parliament then sitting appointed a select number of privy Councillors, wherein, only such as were spiritual persons fall under our observation.

1. Henry Chicheley Archbishop of Canterbury.
2. John Kempe Bishop of London.
3. Henry Beauford Bishop of Winchester, lately made Lord Cardinal.

4. John Wackaring Bishop of Norwich, privie seal.
5. Philip Morgan; Bishop of Worcester.
6. Nic. Bubwith Bishop of Bath and Wells, Lord Treasurer.

So strong a party had the Clergie in that Age, in the privie Council, that they could carry all matters at their own pleasure.

50. It was ordered in Parliament, that all Irishmen living in either University, should procure their Testimonials, from the Lord Lieutenants or Justice of Ireland, as also finde surerities for their good behaviour, during their remaining therein. They were also forbidden to take upon them, the Principality of any Hall or House, in either University, but that they remain under the discipline of others.

51. Hitherto the Corpse of John Wickliffe had quietly slept in his grave, about one and forty years after his death, till his body was reduced to bones, and his bones almost to dust. For though the Earth in the Chancel of Lutterworth in Leicester-shire, where he was interred, hath not so quick a digestion with the Earth of Acheldama, to consume Flesh in twenty foure houres, yet such the appetite thereof, and all other English graves, so leave small reverfions of a body after so many years.

52. But

ANNO  
Regis.  
Hen.  
6.  
1428.

52. But now such the spleen of the Council of Constance, as they not only curld his *Memorie*, as dying an obstinate Heretick, but ordered that his bones (with this charitable caution, if it may be discerned from the bodies of other faithfull people) to be taken out of the ground and thrown farre off, from any Christian buriall.

53. In obedience hereunto Richard Fleming Bishop of Lincoln, Diocesan of Lutterworth, sent his Officers (Vultures with a quick light scent at a dead Carcase) to ungrave him accordingly. To Lutterworth they come, Summer, Commisarie, Official, Chancellor, Proctors, Doctors, and the Servants (so that the Remnant of the body would not hold out a bone, amongst so many hands) take, what was left, out of the grave, and buint them to ashes, and cast them into Swift a Neighbouring Brook running hard by. Thus this Brook hath convey'd his ashes into Avon; Avon into Severn; Severn into the narrow Seas; they, into the main Ocean. And thus the Ashes of Wickliffe are the Emblem of his Doctrine, which now, is disperfed all the World over.

54. I know not whether the Vulgar Tradition be worth Remembrance, that the Brook into which Wickliffe his Ashes were powred, never since overflowed the Banks. Were this true (as some deny it) as silly is the inference of Papists attributing this to Divine Providence, expressing it self pleased with such severity on a Heretick, as simple the collection of some Protestants, making it an effect of Wickliffe his sanctity. Such Topical accidents are good for Friend and Foe, as they may be bow'd to both; but in effect good to neither, seeing no solid Judgement will build where bare fancy hath laid Foundation.

55. It is of more consequence to observe the differences betwixt Authors, some making the Council of Constance to passe this sentence of condemnation as Master Fox doth, inserting (but by mistake) the History thereof, in the Reign of King Richard the second, which happened many years after. But more truly it is ascribed to the Council of Sienna, except for surenesse both of them joyned in the same cruell edit.

56. Here I cannot omit what I read in a \* Popish Manuscript (but very lately printed) about the subject of our present discourse.

57. The first unclean Beast that ever passed thorow \*Oxford (I mean Wickliffe by Name) afterwards chewed the Cud and was sufficiently reconciled to the Roman faith, as appears by his Recantation, Living and Dying conformable to the holy Catholick Church.

58. It is strange that this Popish Priest alone, should light on his Recantation, which, I believe, no other eyes, before or since, did behold. Besides, if, (as he saith) Wickliffe was sufficiently reconciled to the Roman Faith, why was not Rome sufficiently reconciled to him? using such cruelty unto him so many years after his death. Cold encouragement; for any to become Romish Converts, if (notwithstanding their reconciliation) the bodies must be burnt so many years after their death.

59. But though Wickliffe had no Tombe, he had an Epitaph, such as it was, which a Monk afforded him, and that it was no worse, thank his want, not of malice, but invention, not finding out worse expressions.

The Devils Instrument, Churches Enemy, Peoples confusion, Hereticks Idol, Hypocrites Mirror, Schisms Broacher, Z z 2 butreds

Ordered  
ungraved  
a Heretick

His altar  
burnt and  
drown'd.

None can  
drive a nail  
of wax.

Differences  
betwixt Au-  
thors.

Wickliffe  
traduced.  
\* Hall in the  
life of Bala-  
Fishes, p. 2.

\* O! the

A Monk's  
charity to  
Wickliffe.

X. Walfr.  
Ypedit.  
Neth. p. 3.

hatreds sower, lyes forger, flatteries sinke, who at his death  
despaired like Cain, and stricken by the horrible Judgements  
of God, breathed forth his wicked Soul to the dark mansion  
of the black Divell.

Surely He with whose Name this Epitaph beginneth and endeth, was with  
the maker clean thorow the contrivance thereof.

59. Henry Beaufort Bishop of Winchester, Cardinal Sancti Eusebij, but  
commonly called, Cardinal of England, was by consent of Parliament made  
one of the Kings Council, with this condition, that he should make a Protesta-  
tion to absolve himself from the Council, when any matters were to be treated  
betwixt the King and Pope, being jealous belike, that his Papal prevaile  
over his Royall interest. The Cardinal took the Protestation, and promised to  
perform it.

60. The Clergy complained in Parliament to the King, that their Servants  
which came with them to Convocations, were often arrested, to their great  
damage, and they prayed that they might have the same Privilege, which the  
Peeres and Commons of the Kingdom have, which are called to Parliament,  
which was granted accordingly.

61. Great at this time was the want of Grammar Schools, and the abuse  
of them that were even in London it self; for they were no better then Mono-  
polize, it being penall for any (to prevent the growth of wickelwisom) to put  
their Children to private Teachers; hence was it that some hundreds were com-  
pelled to go to the same School, where, to use the words of the Records, the  
Masters waxen rich in money, and learners poor in cunning.

Whereupon this grievance was complained on in Parliament by four e-  
minent Ministers in London, viz.

William Lichfield Parson of All-Hallows the More,  
Gilbert, Parson of St. Andrews Holborn.  
Mr. John Cote, Parson of St. Peter's Cornhill.  
John Neele, Master of the House of St. Thomas Acre's, and Par-  
son of Colchirch.

To these it was granted by the Advice of the Ordinary, or Archbishop of Canter-  
bury to erect five Schools (Neele the last named having a double licence for two  
places) in their respective Parishes, which are sily called the five vowels of  
London, which Mute in a manner before, began now to speak and pronounce  
the Latine Tongue. Know that the house St. Thomas Acre's was, where Mer-  
cers Chappel standeth at this day.

About this time the Lady Eleanor Cobham, so called from the Lord Cobham  
her Father, (otherwise Elianour Plantagenet by her Husband) was married  
unto Humphrey the Kings Uncle Duke of Gloucester. She was it seems a  
great Saviour and Favourer of VVitchlike his Opinions, and for such Mr. Fox  
hath ever a good word in store. Inquench that he maketh this Lady a Confes-  
sor, Sr. Roger Only, (alias Bolingbroke) her Chaplain, a Martyr, assigning in  
his Kalender, the eleventh and twelfth of February for the dayes of their  
commemoration.

But Alanus Copus, (namely Harpsfield under his name) falls foul on Mr.  
Fox for making Sr. Roger a Martyr, who was a Traitor, and Elianour this  
Dutchess a Confessor, who by the consent of our Cronicles Robert Fabian,  
Edward Hall, &c. was condemned (after solempne penance and carrying a Ta-  
per barefoot at Pauls Crosse) to perpetuall banishment, for plotting with  
Only his Chaplain, (an abominable Necromancer) and three others by  
witch-

1433 11.

A conditional  
privy Council.  
\* Ex Archi-  
wis tur. London.

Privilege of  
Convocation.

Want of  
Grammar  
Schools  
complained  
of.

Elianour  
Dutchess of  
Gloucester  
commended  
by Mr. Fox  
for a Confes-  
sor.

Made Traitor  
by A. C.

ANNO  
REGIS.  
HEN. VI.  
1433.

ANNO  
DOM.  
1433.

witchcraft to destroy the King, so to derive the Crown to her Husband, as the  
next heir in the Line of Lancaster. But Cope-Harpsfield punisheth the Fox the  
her self, for making Margaret Jourdan (the witch of Eye) a Martyr, who was  
justly burnt for her witchcraft. Other small errors we omit, whereof he accus-  
eth him.

In answer hereunto, Mr. Fox makes a threefold return, ingeniously con-  
fessing part of the charge, flatly denying part, and fairly excusing the rest.  
He confesseth, and take it in his own words, that the former Edition of his  
Aids and Monuments, was <sup>a</sup> HASTILY RASHED up at the present  
in such shortness of time, (fourteen months, as I remember, too small  
a term for so great a Task) that it betrayed him to many mistakes,  
as when he calleth Sir Roger Only a Knight, who was a Priest by his  
profession. Adding moreover, that had he thought no imperfections had  
passed his former Edition, he would have taken in hand a second recognition  
thereof.

He flatly denyeth that his Martyr-making of Margaret Jourdan the Witch  
of Eye,

I here (saith) profess, confesse and ascertain, both you  
(Cope-Harpsfield He meaneth) and all English men both  
present, and all posterity hereafter to come, that Margaret  
Jourdan I never spake of, never thought of, never dreamed  
of, nor did ever hear of, before you named her in your Book  
your self. So farre it is off that I, either with my will, or  
against my will, made any Martyr of Her.

He excuseth the afore said Dutchess Elianour, alledging ten Conjectures (as he  
calleth them) in her vindication.

1. Sir Roger Only took it upon his death, that He and the Lady were in-  
nocent of those things for which they were condemned.

2. It was usual for the Clergie in that Age, to load those who were  
of Wickliffe his persuasion (such this Dutchess) with no lesse false then scule  
aspersions.

3. Sir Roger Only wrote two Books, (mentioned by Bale) the one of  
his own innocency, the other Contra vulgi Superstitiones. It is not therefore  
probable he should be so silly a Necromancer, who had professedly confuted  
popular Superstitions.

4. The Accusation of this Dutchess beganne not untill after the  
Grudges betwixt the Duke her Husband, and the Cardinal \* of Winchester, a-  
bout the year 1440.

5. It is not probable if the Dutchess intended such Treason against the Kings  
life, (as to consume him by burning a wax candle) that she would impart a  
plot of such privacy to four persons, viz. Sir Roger, Margaret Jourdan, Mr.  
Thomas Southwell, and John Hume; seeing five, may keep counsell, if four be  
away.

6. So heinous a treason against the Kings person, if plainly proved,  
would have been more severely punished, with death no doubt of all privy  
thereunto. Whereas this Lady escaped with Exile, and John Hume had his  
life pardoned, which being so foule a fact, would not have been forgiven, if  
clearly testified against Him.

7. She is accused in our Chronicles, (Harding, Polycronicon, &c.) for  
working Sorcery and Incantments AGAINST the Church and the King.  
Now how can Incantments be made AGAINST the Church,  
which is a Collective Body, consisting of a Multitude of Christians? and reader in  
my

Mr. Fox His  
ingenious  
confession.  
a First Volume,  
Page 920.

b Page 921.

His flat deny-  
all.

His ten Con-  
jectures in be-  
half of the  
Dutchess.

As in his 8th,  
Cent. cap. 4.

\* I see not  
how this is  
much materi-  
all in her de-  
fence.

Num. 21.

my weak opinion this Conjecture carrieth some weight with it, Balsam himself can tell us, *There is no Sorcery against Jacob, nor Southsaying against Israel.* If any interpret *Against the Church*, that is, the *Laws and Canons of the Church*, the Sence is harsh and unusual. This rendreth it suspicious that her *Incantments against the Church*, was only her disliking and distasting the errors and Superstitions thereof.

8. This *Witch of Eye* (saith *Fabian*) lived neer *Winchester*, a *Presumption* (as Mr. *Fox* conjectureth, that the *Cardinall of Winchester* had a hand in packing this accusation.

9. *Polydore Virgil* maketh no mention thereof, otherwise sufficiently quicksighted in matters of this nature.

10. Why may not this be false, as well as that *King Richard the third*, his accusing of *Iane Shore* for bewitching of his withered arm.

These conjectures are not *Substantial* enough severally to subside of themselves, yet may they be able to stand in complication (in the whole *Sheaf*, though not as single *Arrows*) and conduce not a little towards the clearing of her innocence.

23. A moderate way.

For my own part, it is past my Skill to scour out stains, inlayed in the memory of one diseased more then two hundred years agoe. I see her credits stands condemned, by the generality of *Writers*; and as it is above the power of the present Age, to pardon it, so it is against all pity, crueltie to execute the same, some after-evidences appearing with glimmering light in her vindication. Let her Memory therefore be revieved till the day of Judgement, when it is possible, that this Lady, bearing here, the indignation of God for her sins, may in due time have her cause pleaded, and judgement executed for her, and her righteousness be brought into light. Sure I am the fared no whit the better, for her surname of *Cobham*, odious to the Clergy of that Age on the account of Sir *Iohn Oldcastle*: Lord *Cobham*, though these two were nothing of kin. The best is the least no issue to be ashamed of her faults, if she were guilty, the best evidences of whose innocence are in the Manuscript Books of *J. Leyland*, which as yet I have not had the happineffe to behold.

The meanest Bishop above the mightiest Abbot.

At this time *William Heyworth* late Bishop of *Coventry and Litchfield*, being translated thither from being *Abbot of St. Albans*. Wonder not that he should leave the richest Abbey of England (where he took place of all of his Order) and exchange it for a middle-sized Bishoprick. For first, even those who most admire the holinesse and perfection of *Monastical life*, do grant the *Episcopal Function* above it in all *spiritual* respects. Secondly, in *Temporal Considerations* the poorest Bishop was better (and might be more beneficial to his *Kindred*) than the richest *Abbot*, seeing he by will might bequeath his estate to his *Heirs*, which no *Abbot*, (incapable in his own person of any *Propriety*) could legally do, whose goods belonged to his *Convent* in common.

Litchfield Cathedral.

This Bishop *Heyworth* deserved not ill of his Cathedral Church of *Litchfield*. Indeed the body of the Church was built by *Roger de Clinton* Bishop thereof, in the reign of *King Henry the first*, who increased the number of the *Prefects*, and surrounded *Litchfield* with a ditch, bestowing much cost on the invisible Castle, which now is vanished out of sight. Afterwards *Walter de Langton* his succellour in the reign of *King Edward the first* was almost magnificent Benefactor thereunto, laying the foundation of the Chappel of the *Virgin Mary*, and (though dying before it was finished) bequeathing a sufficient summe of money for the finishing thereof. He also fenced the Close of the Church about with a high wall, and deep ditch, adorning it with two beautifull gates, the fairer on the west, the lesser on the south side thereof. He expended no lesse then two thousand pound in beautifying the shrine of *saint Chad* his predecessor.

1433. II.

But

Anno Dom. 1433. Anno Dom. 1433. Regis Hen. VI.

65. But now in the time of the aforesaid *William Heyworth*, the Cathedral of *Litchfield* was in the verticall height thereof, being (though not augmented in the essentials) beautified in the Ornamentals thereof. Indeed the West front thereof is a stately Fabrick adorned with exquisite imagerie, which I suspect our age is so far from being able to imitate the *Monastical*, that it understandeth not the *History* thereof.

66. Surely what *Charles the fifth* is said to have said of the Citee of *Florence*, that it is pittie it should be seen save only on Holy-dayes; as also that it was fit that so fair a Citee should have a safe and cover for it to keep it from wind and weather, so, in some sort, this Fabrick may seem to deserve a shelter to secure it.

67. But alas it is now in a pittifull case indeed, almost beaten down to the ground in our civil dissensions. Now left the Church should follow the *Castle*; I mean, quite vanish out of view. I have at the cost of my worthy friend here exemplified the *Portraiture* thereof: and am glad to hear it to be the design of ingenious persons to preserve ancient Churches in the like nature, (whereof many are done in this, and more expected in the next part of *Monasticon*) seeing when their substance is gone, their verie shadows will be acceptable to posteritie.

68. The Commons in Parliament complained to the King, that whereas they had fold great woad of twenty years growth and upwards, to their own great profit, and in aid to the King in his wars and shipping, the Parsons and Vicars impleaded such Merchants as bought this Timber, for the Tithes thereof, whereby their estates were much damnified, the King and Kingdome diserved.

69. They also complained, that when such Merchants troubled in the Courts *Christian* addressed themselves for remedy to the Chancery, and moved therein for a *Prohibition*, which in such cases is to be granted unto them, by vertue of a Statute made in the forty fifth year of *King Edward the third*, yet such a writ of *Prohibition* and attachment, was against all law and right denied them. Wherefore they humbly desired the King to ordaine by authority of the present Parliament, that such, who shall find themselves grieved, may hereafter have such writs of *Prohibition* and upon that Attachments aswell in the Chancery as in the Kings and Common-Bench at their choice. \* And that the said Writs of *Prohibition* and Attachment issuing out of the said Benches, have the said force and effects, as the Original writs of *Prohibition* and Attachment to issuing out of the Chancery of our Lord the King.

70. To this it was returned, the King will be advised, the civilest expression of a Denial. However we may observe that for a full hundred years (viz. from the middle of *King Edward the third*, to and after this time) no one Parliament passed wherein this Grievance was not complained on. So that an *Acorn* might become an *Oake*, and good Timber in the term, wherein this molestation for the Tithes of wood, (under the pretence of *Silva Cedus*) did continue. But it seems it was well Ordered at last, finding future Parliaments not complaining thereof.

71. At this time *William Linwood* finished his industrious and usefull work of his Constitutions. He was bred in *Cambridge*, first *Scholar of Gonville*, then *Fellow of Pembroke-Hall*. His younger years he spent in the studie of the Laws, whereby he gained much wealth, and more reputation. Afterwards (quitting his practice) he betook himself to the Courts, and became Keeper of the Privie-Seale unto *King Henry the fifth*, who employed him on a long and important Embassy into *Spain* and *Portugal*.

72. *Linwood* being no less skilful in *Civil* than *Canon Law*, performed the place with such exemplaric industrie and judgement, that had not the Kings sudden death prevented it, he had been highly advanced in the Common-wealth. Afterwards he reassumed his Officials place of *Canterburie*, and then at spare houres collected and digested the Constitutions of the fourteen latter

The nearest Pile in England.

Charles the fifth of Florence.

An ingenious design.

A grievance complained on.

With great earnestnesse.

\* Ex Archivis in Tur. Londini: undecimo Hen. sexti.

Yet not fully redressed.

William Linwood his Constitutions set forth.

First employed into Portugal.

Arch-

His Work  
printed and  
prized be-  
yond sea.

Archbishops of *Canterbury*, from *Stephen Langton* to *Henry Chicheley*, unto whom he dedicated the Work, submitting the censure thereof to the Church. 73. A worthy Work, highly esteemed by foreign Lawyers: not so particularly *Provincial* for *England*, but that they are usefull for other Countries, his Comment thereon being a *Magazine* of the *Canon-Law*. It was printed at *Paris*, 1505. (but at the cost and charges of *William Bretton*, an honest Merchant of *London*) revised by the care of *Wolfgangus Hippolitus*, and prefaced unto by *Jodocus Badius*. This *Linwood* was afterward made Bishop of *Saint Davids*, whose works (though now beheld by some as an *Almanack* out of date) will be valued by the judicious whilst Learning and Civility have a being.

Anno  
Dom.  
1453.  
Anno  
Regis  
Hen. 6.  
-6.

SECT.

Anno  
Regis  
Hen. 6.  
12.

CENT. XV.

TO  
M<sup>r</sup> THOMAS RICH,

[Late] of

LONDON, Esquire.

**G**reat is the praise S. Paul \* gives to Gaius, styling him his host, and of the whole Church. Surely the Church then was very little, or Gaius his house very large. Now Hosts commonly are Corpulent persons, but Gaius not so, it being more then suspicious that he was afflicted with a faint and feeble body, as may be collected from the words of † S. John, I wish that thou maist prosper and be in health, even as thy soul prospereth.

\* Rom. 16. 23.

† 3 John 2.

Thou art Sir the Entertainer-general of good men; many a poor Minister will never be wholly Sequestred, whilst you are living, whose Charity is like to the winde which cannot be seen, but may be felt: And God hath dealt with you more bountifully then with Gaius, blessing you in all dimensions of Soul, Body, and Estate; and my prayers shall never be wanting for the continuance and increase thereof.



Hen. 6  
12.



This year began the smart and active Council of *Basil*; to which our Ambassadors were to represent both their Sovereign, and the English Nation; where they were received with honour and respect, the reputation of King *Henry* his Holiness adding much to their credit; Foraigners there being very inquisitive of them, to be satisfied in the particulars of his devotion, which by them was represented much to their Masters advantage. But it is worth our pains to peruse the Commission they carried with them.

English Ambassadors sent to Basil.

[Aa]

Rxx

a The Latin running on a l in one continued sentence, we are said to divide it into many, for the mere clearness.

b A City in Normandy.

c Or Maurisfen.

**R** Ex omnibus quos &c. salutem. Sciatis quod, cum juxta decreta Constantiensis Concilii, presens Concilium Balileense actualiter celebratur sub sanctissimo Patre Domino Eugenio Papa quarto. Nos eidem Concilio, ne dum ex parte ejusdem Concilii per suos Oratores nobis ex hac causa specialiter destinatos, verum etiam Apostolicis & Imperialibus, ac aliorum quamplurimorum sancte Matris Ecclesie Patrum & Principum secularium literis creberrime instigati, ad Dei laudem, sancte Matris Ecclesie prosperitatem optatam & honorem, & presertim ob fidei Catholice exaltationem interesse cupientes, variis & diversis causis rationaliter impeditis, quoniam personaliter eidem interesse poterimus, ut vellemus, venerabiles Patres Robertum Londoniensem, Philippum Lexoviensem, Johannem Rosensem, Johannem Bajocensem, & Bernardum Aquensem Episcopos, ac carissimum consanguineum nostrum Edmundum Comitem Moritonii, dilectos nobis Nicholaum Abbatem Glastonensem, Willielmum Abbatem Ecclesie beate Marie Eborum, & Willielmum Priorem Norwicensem, nec non dilectos & fideles nostros Henricum Broumstete Militem, Magistrum Thomam Broun utriusque Juris Doctorem, Sarum Decanum, Johannem Colluelle Militem, Magistrum Petrum & Mauriciu Doctorem in Theologia, & Magistrum Nicholaum David Archidiaconum Constantiensem & Licentiatum in utroque Jure, nostros Ambasiatores, Oratores, veros, & indubitatos Procuratores, Auctores, Factores, & Nuncios speciales constituimus, facimus & deputamus per presentes, dantes & damus eis & ipsorum majori parti potestatem & mandatum tam generale quam speciale nomine nostro & pro nobis in eodem Concilio intercedendi, tractandi, communicandi & concludendi tam de his que fidei Orthodoxe, solumque, Regumque ac principum pacificationem

**T** He King to all whom &c. Greteing. Know that according to the Decrees of [the late] Council of Constance, the present Council of Basil is actually celebrated under the Most Holy Father, Lord Eugenius the fourth Pope. We being often instigated to be present at the same Council, not only on the behalf of the same Council, by their Orators, especially dispatched to us, for that purpose, but also by the Letters Apostolical and Imperial, and the Letters of very many other Fathers of the Holy Mother Church, and of Secular Princes. And we desiring to be present thereat, to the praise of God, prosperity of the Holy Mother Church, and her desired Honour, and chiefly for the exaltation of the Catholick Faith, being on just reason hindered with many and several occasions, cannot (as we would) be personally present thereat. Wherefore by these presents we constitute, make, and depute, the venerable Fathers, Robert Bishop of London, Philip Bishop of b Lisieux, John Bishop of Rochester, John Bishop of Baieux, & Bernard Bishop of Aix, and our most dear Cousin Edmund Earl of Moriton, our beloved Nicolas Abbot of Glasto, William Abbot of St Maries in York, and William Prior of Norwich, and our beloved and trusty Henry Broumstete, Knight, Mr Thomas Broun Doctor of Laws Dean of Sarum, John Colluelle, Knight, Mr Peter Fitz-Maurice D. D. and Mr Nicholas David Arch-Deacon of Constance, & Licentiat in both Laws, our Ambassadors, Orators, true and undoubted Proctors, Auctors, Factors, and special Messengers; Giving, and we give to them, and the greater part of them, Power and Command, as well general, as special, in our Name, and for Us, to be present in the same Council, to treat, debate, and conclude as well of these things which may concern the support of the Orthodox Faith, the Pacification of Kings and Princes, as also upon either a perpetual Peace, or else a Cessation from War, betwixt Us and Charles of France our Adversary. Impowering them also to treat, commune, and appoint, moreover to consent, and if need be, dissent, in those things which

concernere

Anno  
Regni  
Hen. 6.  
12.

Anno  
Dom.  
1434.

concernere poterunt, nec non de & super pace perpetua guerrarumque assisenia inter Nos & Carolum Adversarium nostrum de Francia, ac etiam tractandi, communicandi & appauiandi, consentiendi insuper, & si opus fuerit dissentiendi his, que juxta deliberationem dicti Concilii inibi statui, ac ordinari contigerit. Promittentes & promittimus bona fide nos ratum, gratum, & firmum premissis habiurum \* totum; & quicquid per dictos Ambasiatores, Oratores, & Procuratores nostros aut majorem partem eorundem, actum, factum, seu gestum fuerit in premissis, & in singulis premissorum, & hoc idem cum de & super his certiorati fuimus quantum ad nos & Christianum Principem attinet, executioni debitae curabimus demandare. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes.

Julij  
10.

Dat. sub Magni Sigilli nostri testimonio in Palatio nostro West. 10 die Julij.

Per Concilium.

So eminent an Instrument of so great importance must not pass without some of our observations thereupon.

2. The Council of Basil is said to be assembled according to the Decrees of the late Council of Constance, wherein it was constituted, that which in so many years a General Council should be called. For seeing the Church was subject to contract Rust in Doctrine and manners, frequency of Councils, was conceived the best way to scour the same. But the Pope lately hath willingly forgotten this Caution, no General Council being called since that of Trent, wherein all the Power and profit of the Pope was secured under the Notion of Articles of the Faith: since which time his Holiness thought it not safe to tamper with a new Council, as which might impair, but could not improve his condition.

3. See we here fourteen Ambassadors sent to Basil, Bishops 5. Earl 1. (not that he was to vote in the Council, but only behold the transactions thereof) Abbots 2. Prior 1. Knights 2. Doctor in Divinity 1. Doctors of Laws, all Interests being in them represented; When therefore we read in Roger Hoveden and others, ad generale Concilium Domini Papae, quatuor Episcopi de Anglia tantum Romam missi fuissent, openly four English Bishops were sent to Rome to a general Council of the Pope; and undertaking it, that such a number is sufficient. England needed to send but so many, though, if pleased, might send more, confined by no other command save the Kings free direction. And seeing Basil was little above the half way to Rome, the journey being shorter, the more messengers were employed.

4. The three French Bishops sent by the King, speak the great Command, which King Henry as yet had in France, especially (if as I take it) by Aqueis, Aix be mentioned, located in the furthestmost parts of Provence, though even now the English power in France was a waining.

[A a 2]

5. John

shall happen there to be established and ordained according to the deliberations of the aforesaid Council. Promitting, and we do promise, on good faith, that whatsoever shall be acted, done, or managed, in the premises, and every one of them by our aforesaid Ambassadors, Orators, and Proctors, or the greater part of them, we shall have and account for ratified, welcome, and firm for ever. And when we shall be certified of and upon the same, we shall care to command the due execution, so far as appertaineth to Us, and a Christian Prince. In witness whereof, We have made these our Letters Patent.

Habiturum in  
M. S.

Given under our Great Seal, being our witness, in our Palace at Westminster, July 10.

why the  
Pope declines general Councils in our age.

England must send few, might send more, are Bishops to a general Council, a Simon Dunelmensis.

English power in France.

Langdon the  
learned Bi-  
shop of Roch-  
ester.

Precedents  
for preceden-  
cy.

a In orat. pro  
Marena.

b Cheltenham  
la gloria mun-  
di. lib. 9.

A charitable  
and no impos-  
sible offer.

A contest be-  
tween the En-  
glish and Ca-  
stilians about  
precedency.

c Ex Schedis  
Commissarii.

5. John, Bishop of Rochester, here mentioned, was John Langdon, intruded by the Pope into that Bishoprick, to the apparent prejudice of the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury. For the Bishop of Rochester was accounted Canterbury's Chaplain, to whom he owed his Spirituals, and Temporals as his Patron, and founder; though now the Pope, contrary to the Arch-Bishops will and right forced this Langdon into the place. But indeed he was a learned man (dying this year in his Embassy at Basil) and deserved far better preferment than the poor Bishoprick of Rochester. But yet as some observe of Taylors, that they make the largest garments, when they have the least cloth allowed them; so the poor Bishoprick of Rochester, hath fared better than many richer Sees, seeing Sacriledge would never feed on so bare a pasture.

6. Observe the Method in the Nomination of these Commissioners, wherein no wonder if the Bishops precede so great an Earl; was it not fit that *reverend Fathers* should be placed before a *dear Cousin*? besides the employment being of Church concernment, Spiritual persons carried it clear in the race of dignity. More strange it is to find herein a Knight [Henry Broomfield] put before a Doctor of both Laws, and yet John Colewell, another Knight placed after the same Doctor. I confess the contest very ancient about priority betwixt a Knight and a Doctor of Law, ever since the comparison which a Tully made betwixt Lucius Murena, a Knight of Rome, and Pub. Sulpitius a Lawyer, either of them standing for the Consulship. Though now in England the precedency of the Knight be indubitable, since preferment is taken from Civil Law, and the professors thereof shut up, as it were, in a narrow corner of their own faculty. But we leave the Critical Decision thereof, to his pen who hath writ a just Tract of the Glory (in truth of the Vanity) of this world, and exactly stated this particular, with all the circumstances thereof.

7. Whereas the King impowreth those his Commissioners to meddle in the point of his right of the Realm of France, with King Charles his competitor, submitting his Title to be discussed in the Council, it carrieth with it a confidence of his own right, and charitable desire to save the effusion of Christian Blood; But this was not Council, but Camp-work; and we meet not with the mention hereof once touched on in this great Assembly. However, so wary was King Henry (or rather his Council) as not absolutely to tie up his title, to the decision of this Council, but to give his Commissioners a *negative voice*, in case they see cause to dissent.

8. The general History of the Church reporteth the Acts of this Council, how they deposed Pope Eugenius, and substituted Felix in his room; for which, and other decisions therein, Rome beholds this Council but with bad eyes unto this day. We will only meddle with a difference therein, which concerned our own Nation. The Orators of several Kings began to take their places, according to their birth-rights; dating their age from their Nations first receiving of Christianity. Here arose the controversy of cause, about precedency, betwixt the English and Castile Ambassadors: the former alledging Britains conversion by Joseph of Arimathea; which Alphonsus Garfias de Sancta Maria, Dean of Compostella and Segovia, Doctor of Law, and Ambassadour for Castile, with a speech more tedious than his name and titles, much endeavoured to disprove, and his arguments may be reduced to these four heads:

1. First, he denied Joseph's arrival in Britaine, and imposed the proof thereof on the English who affirmed it, challenging them to produce any authentick Record for the same.
2. Secondly, he urged probability to the contrary, out of the Golden Legend, or Flores Sanctorum, where it is reported, how Titus, taking

Anno  
Dom.  
1434.

Anno  
Regis  
Hen. 6.  
12.

Anno  
Regis  
Hen. 6.  
12.

Anno  
Dom.  
1434.

taking Jerusalem, caused a thick wall to be digged thorow, and therein found an aged man, who confessed himself to be Joseph of Arimathea, there imprisioned by the Jews for burying of Christ; and that ever since he had been fed with meat from heaven. Hence he inferred, that if Joseph were in durance all this while in the wall, he could not, as the English pretended, come over into Britain to plant the Gospel.

3. Thirdly, grant that Joseph, after his enlargement by Titus, preached in Britain, which must needs be after the year of our Lord, seventy and two, Spain long before had received the Gospel by the preaching of James the Apostle.
4. Fourthly, Be it granted, that Joseph did preach in England, it was but in a corner thereof, the grand body of Britain remaining pagan many hundred years after.

These arguments he uttered with such an affected gravity, as if he could have made the matter the more by pronouncing the words the longer.

9. The English easily answered these exceptions, proving James to be slaughtered at Jerusalem by a Herod, before his pretended preaching in Spain: seeing their own Country-man, and an Arch-Bishop of Toledo confesseth as much. They produced many ancient testimonies for the preaching of Joseph in Britain, the fond fable of his being kept in a wall being beneath constitution, as attested only by a worthless Author, Joannes de Voragine. Their allegation, that Britain was but partially converted, by his preaching, was but impertinent to the present purpose; the point controverted not being of the universality, but the antiquity of first receiving the Christian Faith. Besides, neither James, nor any other Disciple, ever converted a Kingdom totally, and entirely to Christianity. However, nothing was concluded in this controversy, always agitated, never decided.

1. In the Council of Pisa, Anno 1409.
2. In the Council of Constance, 1417. betwixt the Ambassadors of England and France.
3. In the Council of Siene, before Martin the fifth, Pope: wherein Richard Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln, encountered France, Spain, and Scotland, about precedency.

Lastly, betwixt England and Spain, in the Council of Basil, though therein nothing concluded; those politick Prelates accounting it better to keep both Princes in hope by discussing, then to put one into anger by deciding it. Yea, they loved to set up this controversy (as that of the precedence of Cambridge and Oxford in English Parliaments) out of design, sometimes to delay time; sometimes by starting it, to stop, and divert more dangerous disputes.

15. 1437

10. Henry Chicheley, Doctor of Law, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, Founded a Colledge in Oxford, by the Name of All-Souls, for a Warden, and fourty Fellows; which number by Statute was never to be augmented, or impaired; and all void places (by death, or otherwise) once in a year to be supplied.

All-Soul Col-  
ledge in Oxford  
founded.

Wardens.

The English  
their answer.  
a Acts 12.2.  
b Rodericus  
Ximenius in  
convent. de  
prie-  
tatu cum  
pae-  
sule C. m. n. o.  
in Council  
Lan-  
cast. Anno  
1215.



Wardens.	Bishops.	Benefactors.	Learned Writers.	Anno Dom. 1437.	Anno Regis Hen. 6. 15.
1. Mr Rich. Andrews.	James Gaudwel, Bishop of Norwich, 1472.	King Henry the 6th at the procurement of the Founder, gave four Priories A- lians, viz. Alber- wedy, Rumney, wooden-Pinke- ney, and Lan- guenith.			
2. Mr Rog. Keys.	Gilbert Bourn, Bish. of Bath and Wells, 1554.	Queen Elizabeth confirmed the Parsonage of Stanton Har- court.			
3. Mr Gul. Kelle.	Gyles Tomson, Bish. of Gloucester, 1611.	Reginald Poole, Card. Arch-Bishop of Canter- bury.	St Clement Ed- monds.		
4. Mr Gul. Poteman.	Brian Duppa, Bish. of Sarum, Fel- low of this Houfe.	St William Peter, Fellow of this Colledge, and Secretary to four Kings and Queens.	Dr Gentilis an excellent Civilian.		
5. Mr Jo. Stokie.			Dr Steward.		
6. Tho. Hobbs.			Mr Diggs.		
7. Mr Gul. Brooke.					
8. Mr Jo. Coale.					
9. Mr Rob. Wood- ward.					
10. Mr Rob. Stoke- lie.					
11. Mr Jo. Warner.					
12. Mr Seth Hol- land.					
13. Mr Jo. Pope.					
14. Mr Rich. Bar- ler.					
15. Mr Rob. Hoven- den.					
16. Dr Mocket.					
17. Dr Asbley.					
Dr Shelden.					
Dr Palmer.					

So that at this present this Colledge hath one Warden, fourty Fellows, two Chaplains, three Clerks, fix Choristers, besides Officers and Servants of the Foundation, with other Students, the whole number being seventy. The Fel- lows of this College are bound by their Statutes, to be *bene nati, spendide ve- stiti, & medicriter docti in plano canu.*

Know Reader, I was promised by my respected friend, Dr Jeremy Taylor, (late Fellow of this house) well known to the world by his worth, a Cata- logue of the Eminent Scholars thereof; but it seems the Press, (like Time and Tide) staying for no man, I have not been so happy, reasonably to re- ceive it.

I. Six years did this Arch-Bishop survive the first Founding of this Colledge. He was a worthy man in his generation, had not his vassalage to the Pope (the epidemical disease of those dayes) ingaged him in cruelty against the poor professors of the truth. Most of the Synods, called by him toward the latter end of his life, effected onely the advance of money, the Clergy being very desirous to buy off the penalty of a *Premunire* (so pernicious to their proceedings) but could not completely compass the same. I have nothing else to observe of Arch-Bishop Chicheley, save the common tra- dition, how King Henry the sixth, acted herein by some *miscolere-Counters* (otherwise in himself friend enough to Church-men) sent this Arch-Bishop, for a New-years-gift, a *shred-pie* indeed, as containing pieces of cloth and stuff, of several sorts and colours, in jeer, because his father was a Taylor at *Higham-Ferrars* in *Northampton-shire*. The Arch-Bishop thankfully received the gift, even after he had seen the *entrails* thereof, and courteously enter- tained

1445 21. May 3.

A tartier fo- berly return- ed.

tained the messenger, requesting him to return to his Grace, *If my Lord the King do but as far exceed Henry the fifth (whom God assist) his Father, as my meanes hath gone beyond my poor father, he will make the most accomplished Monarch that ever was in Christendom.* John Stafford, one of noble parentage, suc- ceeded in the place of Chicheley deceased.

12. This good precedent of the Arch-Bishops bounty, may be pre- sumed a spur to the speed of the Kings liberality; who soon after Found- ed *Eaton Colledge*, incorporate by the name of *Prepositi & Collegii Regalis Col- Beate Marie de Eaton juxta winfor.* It seemeth these words *Beata Maria*, are so necessary, that being left out in a Lease (wherein all the other Titles of the Foundation were inserted at large) the said Lease was adjudged void for that omission. But know, this verdict passed in Queen Maries dayes, when *Regina Maria* made the mention of *Beata Maria*, so essential there- unto.

13. Indeed it was high time some School should be founded, consider- ing how low *Grammer-Learning* ran then in the Land, as may appear by the following Verses made for King Henry the Founder; as good no doubt as the generality of that Age did afford, though (scarce deserving Transla- tion) so that the worst scholar in *Eaton Colledge* that can make a Verse, can make a better.

*Luce tua, qui natus erat, Nicolae, sacer Rex  
Henricus Sextus hoc stabilivit opus,  
Unum qui Lapidem postquam ponebat in Eaton  
Hunc fixit Clerum commemorando suum.  
Assisterant illi tunc Pontifices in honorem  
Aibus solennis Regis & Ecclesie.  
Ex Orientali \* si his septem pedetentim  
Mensurare velis, invenies Lapidem;  
In seculo sancti Jacobi sanctam stabilivit  
Hic unam Petram Regia sacra manus.*

*Annis M. CCCC. sexto quater Xq.  
Regis & H. Regni quinto jungendo Vicena.*

Devout King Henry of that name the first  
Born (Nicolae) on thy day this building fixt.  
In Eaton having plac'd a stone anointed  
In sign, it for the Clergy was appointed.  
His Prelates then were present, do the more  
To honour the Kings acts and holy Chore.  
From Eastern midst, whereof just fourteen feet  
If any measure, they this stone shall meet;  
On holy James his day, the sacred hand  
Of Royal Henry caus'd this stone to stand.

M. four C's. fourty six since Christ was born,  
When H. the Crown \* twenty five years had worn.

14. This Colledge consisteth of one Provost, Fellows, a School- master, and Usher, with Kings Scholars; Besides many *Oppidanes*, maintained there at the cost of their friends; so that were *Eaton*, as also *Winchester-School* removed into *Germany*, they would no longer be accounted *Scholars*, but *Gym- nastas*, a middle terme betwixt a *School*, and an *University*. The Provostship of

The Found- ing of Eaton Colledge.

\* Abridge- ment of Judge Diers reports, Num. 379. Trin. Term. quarto Maria. The bad Poe- try of that Age.

\* Metu.

\* Viz. Current otherwise, but 24 complet.

A Bountiful Foundation, God continue it.

Sir John Harrington in the continuation of Gislebert's Bish. in Bish. Day of Winchester.  
\* Prov 28. 19.

\* whose Life is excellently written by my worthy friend Mr Isaac Walton.

All quickly lost in France.

Occasioned by the English discord.

of Eaton is accounted one of the Gentlest, and intirest preferments in England, the Provost thereof, being provided for in all particulars, to the very points of his hope (my desire is one tag of them may not be diminished) and as a picaunt \* Courrier told King Henry the eighth, an hundred pound a year more then enough. How true this is I know not, this I know, if some Courtiers were to hint the enough of Clergy-men, even the most industrious of them should (with \* Solomon's sloathful man) have poverty enough. But take here a Catalogue of the Provosts of Eaton.

1. Henry Seiluer D. D. Almoner to King Henry the sixth.
2. William Wainflet, B. D. afterwards Bishop of Winchester.
3. John Clerk, B. D. died Provost, the 7th Novemb. 1447.
4. William Westbury, B. D. chosen Provost, Anno 1448.
5. Hen. Bost, B. D. he gave an hundred Marks, and twenty pounds per an. to the Collegd, died the 7th Feb. 1503.
6. Roger Lupton, B. D.
7. Robert Aldridge, afterwards Bishop of Carlisle.
8. St. Tho. Smith, Doct. of Law, of Queens Collegd in Cambridg, chosen, Anno 1554.
9. Henry Colles, B. D. and Law, chosen in the same year, 1554.
10. William Bill, D. D. Almoner to Queen Elizabeth, chosen July 5. 1559.
11. William Day, B. D. Dean also of Windsor, chosen Jan. 5. 1561. afterwards Bishop of Winchester.
12. Sir Henry Savile, Warden of Merton

Collegd in Oxford, chosen, 3 June 1596. eminent to all posterity for his magnificent Edition of Saint Chrysostome in Greek.

13. Tho. Murrey, Esq; Tutor and Secretary to King Charles, whilst Prince.
14. St. Henry \* Wotton, famous for several Embassies, chosen 1625.
15. Steward, Doct. of Law, and Dean of St. Pauls.
16. Francis Rouse, Esq;

This Eaton is a nursery to Kings Collegd in Cambridg. All that I will add, is, to wish, that the prime Scholars in this School may annually be chosen to the University, and when chosen, their places may fall accordingly, not by the death of those in Kings Collegd, but their advancement to better preferment in the Church and Common-wealth.

15. If we cast our eyes on the Civil estate, we shall finde our Foreign Acquisitions in France, which came to us on foot, running from us on horse-back. Nulla dies sine Civitate, scarce a day elapsing wherein the French regained not some City or place of importance; so that the English, who under King Hen. 6. had almost a third of France, besides the City of Paris (another third in itself for wealth and populousness); soon lost all on the Continent, to the poor pittance of Calice, and a little land, or (if you will) some large suburbs round about it.

16. Yet let not the French boast of their Valor, but (under Gods providence) thank our sins, and particularly our discords, for their so speedy recoveries. There were many Clefts and Chaps in our Council-board; factions betwixt the great Lords present thereat, and these differences descended on their Attendants and Retainers, who putting on their Coats wore the Badges, as well of the enemies, as of the Armies of their Lords and Masters: but behold them how coupled in their Antipathies.

Deadly

Anno Dom. 1446. Regis Hen. 6. 24.

Anno Regis Hen. 6. 27.

Anno Dom. 1459.

### Deadly feud betwixt

Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset,  
Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York.

Humphrey Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucester,  
Henry Beaufort Cardinal, Bishop of Winchester.

### Deadly feud betwixt

William Delapole, Duke of Suffolk.  
John Holland, Duke of Exeter.

Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.  
Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick.

Humphrey Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucester,  
William Delapole, Duke of Suffolk,  
Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick.

Betwixt the three last there was as it were a battel Royal in this Cockpit, each of them hating and opposing another. In all these contests their ambition was above their covetousness; it being every ones endeavour not to much to raile and advance himself, as ruine and depreis his adversary.

17. Two of the aforelaid principal persons left the world this year, and in the same moneth. First, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, Son to King Henry the fifth; Uncle and Gardian to King Henry the sixth: A great House-keeper. Hospitality being so common in that Age, none were commended for the keeping, but condemned for the neglecting thereof: He was much opposed by Queen Margaret (who would have none rule the King her husband, save her self) and accused of a trecherous design; inasmuch that at a packet Parliament at Bury, he was condemned of high Treason, and found dead in his bed; not without rank suspicion of cruel practices upon his person.

18. His death is suspended betwixt Legal execution and murder; and his memory pendulous betwixt Malefactor and Martyr. However the latter hath most prevailed in mens belief, and the Good Duke of Gloucester is commonly his character: But it is proper for some Oxford man to write his just Vindication. A Manuel in asserting his memory being but proportionable for him, who gave to their Library so many and pretious voluminous Manuscripts. As for those, who chewing their meat with their feet, whilst they walk in the body of St. Pauls, are commonly said to Dine with Duke Humphrey; the saying is as far from truth as they from dinner, even twenty miles off: seeing this Duke was buried in St. Albans, to which Church he was a great Benefactor.

19. The same Moneth with the Duke of Gloucester, died Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, and Cardinal; One of high descent, high spirit, and high preferments; hardly to be equalled by Cardinal Wolsey (otherwise but a pigmy to him in birth) for wealth and magnificence. He lent King Henry the 5th at once twenty thousand pounds, who pawned his Crown unto him. He built the fair Hospital of St. Cross, near Winchester; and although Chancellor of the University of Oxford, was no grand Benefactor thereto, in proportion to his own wealth (commonly called the Rich Cardinal) or the practices of his predecessors, Wickham, and Wainfleet.

20. The Bishops \* assembled in Parliament, laboured the recalling of the Act of Praemunire, and no wonder if gall'd horses would willingly cast off their saddles, but unlike they found that statute girt too close unto them. The Lords and Commons sticking stoutly for the continuance thereof. And because this is the last time we shall have occasion to mention this Statute, and therefore must take our farewell thereof; it will not be amiss to insert the ensuing passage, as relating to the present subject, though it happened many years after.

[Bb]

21. One

The death of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester.

A fit work for a good pen.

The death of the rich Cardinal.

\* The Clergie move in vain against the Statute of Praemunire.

21. One *Robert Lator*, Priest, a Native of Ireland, to whom the Pope had given the titular Bishoprick of Kilmore, and made him Vicar-general of the See *Apollonick*, within the Arch-Bishoprick of Dublin, &c. boldly and securely executed his pretended jurisdiction for many years, was indicted at Dublin, in Hilary Terme, *Quarto Jacobi*, upon this Statute of *Premunire*, made two hundred years before, being the sixteenth of Richard the second. His Majesties learned Council did wisely forbear to proceed against him upon any latter Law (whereof plenty in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth) because *Reeflaws* (tawarning in that Kingdome) might have their judgments convinced. That long before King Henry the eighth banished the Ulurpation of the Pope, The King, Lords and Commons in England (though for the most part of the *Romish Religion*) made strict Laws for the maintenance of the Crown against any foreign Invasion. Whereupon after the party indicted had pleaded at large for himself, The Jury departed from the Bar, and returning within half an hour, found the prisoner guilty of the contempts whereof he was indicted; whereupon the Solicitor General moved the Court to proceed to judgment, and *St Dominick Sarsfield* (one of the Justices of his Majesties chief Pleas) gave judgment according to the form of the Statute, whereupon the Endictment was framed. Hence it plainly appears, that such Milkenours of *Papists* are punishable at this day, by vertue of those Ancient Statutes, without any relation to such as were enacted since the Reformation.

b Item fol 99.

Cade &amp; Straw like and unlike.

22 About this time Jack Cade raised his Rebellion, like and unlike to the former commotion of Jack Straw. Like, first because Jacks both, I mean, intolent, impudent, domineering Clowns. Secondly, Both of them were Kentish by their extractions. Thirdly, both of them pressed upon London, and there principally played their pranks. Fourthly, both of them after they had troubled the Land for a short time, were justly slain, and their numerous rabble routed and dispersed. In other remarkables, Cade differed from Jack Straw. First, Straw defied all Nobility and Learning, vowing and endeavouring their ruine and extirpation, whilst Cade pretended himself to be the Lord Mortimer, and next heir to the Crown, and no design against Learning is charged on his account. Lastly, Straws Rebellion is (though most faintly) fathered by Popish writers on *Wicliff* and his adherents, to have occasioned (at least wilfully connived at) his commotion; but I never met yet with any Romanists accusing the Lollards (as they term them) for having any hand in Cades Rebellion.

The wars began betwixt York and Lancaster.

23. Now began the broyls to break out betwixt the two houses of Lancaster and York, so mutually heightened, that scarce a County betwixt York (the place whence generally their Armies started) and London, (the Goal they both aimed to win) but a set Battle hath been fought therein, and if any one Shire lieth fallow in this kinde, the next afforded a double crop in that nature, (besides other Counties in the Marches of Wales) as by the ensuing Catalogue will appear.

Place.	Betwixt.	Time.	Number slain.	Conqueror.
1. St Albans in Hertfordshire.	Richard Duke of York, and King Henry the 6th for Lancaster.	Anno 1455. and 34th of King Hen. 6. in June.	Slain on the Kings side five thousand. On the Dukes six hundred.	Tork House.
2. Blore-beath in Staffordshire.	Rich. Earl of Salisbury for York. James Touchet, L. Audley, for Lanc.	Anno 1469. the 37th of Hen. 6. Septemb. 21.	Two thousand 4 hundred, most ofeshire men, slain on Lancast. side.	Tork House.

3. Northampton.

Anno Regis Hen. 6. 34.	Anno Dom. 1459.	Place.	Betwixt.	Time.	Number slain.	Conqueror.
		3. Northampton.	Richard Earl of Warwick, for Tork. King Hen. 6. for Lancaster.	Anno 1460. 38 Hen. 6. 9 July.	Ten thousand slain and drowned on both sides.	Tork House.
		4. Wakefield in York-shire.	Richard Duke of Tork; Queen Margaret for Lancaster.	In the same year, Decem. 31.	Two thousand two hundred slain on Tork side, with their Duke.	Lancaster.
		5. Mortimers Crols in Shropshire.	Edward Earl of March, afterwards King, for Tork.	Anno 1461. 39 Hen. 6. Feb. 2.	Three thousand eight hundred slain on Lancaster side.	Tork House.
		6. St Albans in Hertfordshire.	Richard Earl of Warwick for Tork. King Henry and Margaret his wife, in person for Lancaster.	The same year and month, 17 Feb.	About two thousand on both sides.	Lancaster.
		7. Towton in Nottinghamshire.	Edward Earl of March, for Tork. King Hen. 6.	Same year March 27. being Palm-Sunday.	Thirty five thousand ninety and one on both sides.	Tork House.
		8. Hexham in Northumberland.	John Nevil, Lord Montague. King Hen. 6. and the Queen.	Anno 1464. 4 Edw. 4. May 15.	Number great but uncertain.	Tork House.
		9. Banbury or Edgcot in the confines of Oxford and Northamptonshire.	William Herbert Earl of Pembroke for Tork. Robbin of Ridgdale, alias Hilliard for Lancaster.	Anno 1469. 9 Edw. 4. July 26.	Five thousand slain, in the place, most of them Welchmen.	Lancaster.
		10. Barnet in Middlesex.	Richard Nevil Earl of Warwick for Lancaster. King Edw. 4. for Tork.	Anno 1471. 11 Edw. 4. April 14. being Easter-day.	Four thousand slain on both sides.	Tork House.
		11. Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire.	King Edw. 4. for Tork. Queen Margaret and Edward her son for Lancaster.	In the same year on the 4th of May.	Three thousand slain of the House Lancaster.	Tork House.
		12. Bosworth in Leicestershire.	King Rich. 3. for Tork. Henry Earl of Richmond for Lancaster.	Anno 1485. 3 Rich. 3. August 22.	About 4 thousand slain in all.	Lancaster.

[B b 2]

13. Stoke

Place.	Betwixt.	Time.	Number slain.	Conqueror.
13. <i>Stok in Nottinghamshire.</i>	<i>John Delapole, Earl of Lincoln, for York.</i> <i>King Hen. 7. for Lancaster.</i>	<i>Anno 1487. 2 King Hen. 7. June 16.</i>	<i>About four thousand (whereof many Irish) slain on both sides.</i>	<i>Lancaster, or rather the two houses united in King Henry the 7th.</i>

Anno Dom. 1455.  
Anno Regis Hen. 6. 34.

Besides many other Skirmishes, (conrivals with Battles) so that such who consider the bloud *lost* therein, would admire *England* had any left. And such as observe how much it had *lost*, would wonder it had any *lost*, such still the populoulness thereof.

But these things the Reader may best inform himself of, out of the *State-Historians*, and particularly out of that Noble *Italian Author* (elegantly and expressively translated by the Earl of *Monmouth*) who hath written a large Volume, to the great credit of our *English Nation*, of the wars betwixt *York* and *Lancaster*. So that I could heartily wish that some *English man*, in requital of his courtesie, would write the *Italian* discords betwixt the *Guelphes* and *Guibelines*.

1459 37.

24. It was much, that in the middest of so many miseries of *Civil wars*, *William*, fir-named *Patyn*, from his *Parents*; but *Wainfleet* from the place of his nativity, now *Bishop of Winchester*, should Found the *fair Colledge*, Dedicated to *Mary Magdalen*, in *Oxford*, for One *President*, Fourty *Fellows*, Thirtty *Demies*, Four *Chaplains*, Eight *Clerks*, and Sixteen *Choristers*, which number can never be increased. But though this *Foundation* cannot be made *broad* or *larger* (admit of more *members*) yet may it be made *deeper*, and is capable of *Benefaiteurs* charity to augment the maintenance of the aforesaid number. This *William Wainfleet* first Founded *Magdalen-Hall* hard by (as *Scriveners* use to try their pens on a small piece of paper, before they begin what they fairly intend to write) and afterwards undertook and finished this far more stately piece of *Architecture*. For whose observeth the magnificence of the structure, the numeroufness of the *Corporation*, the largeness of their endowments, and the mutual cenninity of all parts amongst themselves therein, may possibly finde out a *College* which may exceed it in *some*, but hardly any that will equal it in *all* accommodations. Where nothing is wanting for health and pleasure, except some will say, that *Mary Maudlin weepeth too much*, and the *walks* sometimes too wet and moist from the depreffed situation thereof.

*Magdalen Colledge in Oxford Founded by Bishop Wainfleet.*

*The many Worthies bred therein.*

25. Nor hath this *House* been less fruitfull then any with famous persons, and it is observable that there is scarce a *Bishoprick* in *England*, to which this *College* hath not afforded one *Prelate* at the least (*doubling her files* in some places) as by the ensuing Catalogue will appear.

### Presidents..

Presidents.	Benefactors.	Bishops.	Writers.
Mr William Horneley. Mr William Tybbard. Mr Rich. Mayewe. Mr John Claremond. Mr Kaolles. Mr Oglesbory. Mr Cole. Mr Coeney. Mr Laur. Humfride. Dr Nich. Bond. Dr Jo. Harding. Dr William Langton. Dr Accept. Frewen. Dr John Oliver. Dr Jo. Wilkinson. Dr Tho. Godwin.	King Henry the seventh. Thomas Ingledue, Chaplain to the Founder. William Fitz-Allen. Earl of Arundel. John Forman. Dr Higden. Jo. Clai- mund. Robert Morewent. John Mullins Arch-Deac. of London. Dr John Warner, last Bishop of Rochester. Henry Cotton, Bishop of Salisbury, 1598. Tho. Godwin, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1584. Thomas Wolsey, Arch-Bish. of York, 1515. John Peirce, Arch-Bish. of York, 1588. Owen Ogleshorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, 1556.	John Stokesley, John Wofsey, Bishop of London, 1530. Thomas Cooper, William Bradbridge, Bish. of Winchester, of Exeter, 1578. John Longland, Richard Mayo, Bishop of Lincoln, Bishop of Hereford, 1521. 1504. Tho. Beuham, John Harley, Bishop of Covent. and Lichfield, 1553. William Overton, Bishop of Covent. and Lichfield, 1609. Accept. Frewen, Bishop of Covent. and Lichfield, 1637. Jo. Bullingham, Bishop of Bristol, and Gloucester, holding both together, 1581. John Cotes, Bishop of Chester, 1556. William Downham, Bishop of Chester, 1561. Owen Ogleshorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, 1556.	John a Claremond, afterwards President of Corpus Christi. John b Hocker, Mich. c Reinger. John Fox, Author of the Book of Martyrs. Thomas Cooper, who wrote the great Dictio-ary. Robert d Crowley. Peter e Morving. Alan e Cope, Proctor of the University, 1558. Julius Palmer, Mart. Dr Laurence Humfride. John Budden, Dr of Law, who wrote many mens lives in Elegant Latin. Dr Hen. Hammond. Dr Peter Heylyn.

a Fitz. de Brit. Script. p. 388.

b. Elem. p. 720.  
c Bale, p. 755.

d Elem. p. 728.

e Fitz. q. 755.

f Brian Twine An. de Ox. in Catal. Ecclesiarum.

1 Vide in calce libri.  
2 Vide Scots Tables.  
3 L. Humfrid in the Life of Bishop Jewel, p. 71.

Give me leave to suspect this Catalogue of Presidents not compleat (though set forth by their great Antiquarie) both because Dr Higden (avowed President in the List of Benefactors) is therein omitted, as also Dr wals. h Haddon, whom we finde President hereof in the beginning of Queen Mary. At this day there

	there are therein a <i>President</i> , fourty <i>Fellows</i> , thirty <i>Demies</i> , or <i>Scholars</i> , four <i>Chaplains</i> , eight <i>Clerks</i> , sixteen <i>Choristers</i> , one <i>School-maſter</i> and an <i>Uſher</i> , three <i>Readers</i> ; of <i>Divinity</i> , <i>Natural</i> and <i>Moral Philoſophie</i> , beſides divers <i>Officers</i> and <i>Servants</i> of the <i>Foundation</i> , with other <i>Students</i> , being in all two hundred and twenty.	Anno Dom. 1408.	Anno Regis Ed. 4.
Edward the fourth gaineth the Crown by Conqueſt.	26. <i>King Henry</i> being Conquered in a fatal Battle at <i>Touton</i> in <i>Noiſinghamſhire</i> , fled with his <i>Queen</i> into <i>Scotland</i> ; and to make himſelf the more welcome, reſigned <i>Berwick</i> to the <i>King</i> thereof. <i>Edward</i> , <i>Duke of Yorke</i> , his <i>Adverſary</i> , Reigned in his ſtead by the name of <i>Edward the fourth</i> , who, next to God and his own right, had juſt cauſe to thank <i>Richard Nevil</i> , <i>Earl of Warwick</i> for his <i>Crown</i> . This was that <i>Nevil</i> , who for <i>Extraction</i> , <i>Eſtate</i> , <i>Alliance</i> , <i>Dependents</i> , <i>Wiſdom</i> , <i>Valour</i> , <i>Success</i> , and <i>Popularity</i> , was ſuperiour to any <i>Engliſh Subject</i> ſince the <i>Conqueſt</i> . Peoples love he chiefly purchaſed by his <i>Hopitality</i> , keeping to open an Houſe, that he was moſt welcome who brought the beſt ſtomach with him; the <i>Earl</i> charitably believing, that all who were <i>men of teeth</i> , were <i>men of Armes</i> . Any that looked like a man, might have in his houſe a full half yard of <i>roaſt meat</i> ; namely, ſo much as he could ſtrike through and carry away with his a <i>Dagger</i> ; The <i>Bear</i> was his <i>Crest</i> , and it may be truly ſaid, that when the <i>Bear</i> roared, the <i>Lions</i> of the <i>Forest</i> trembled, the <i>Kings</i> of <i>England</i> themſelves being at his diſpoſal.	1461	1.
a ſtains Annals, pag. 421.	27. This <i>Kings Reign</i> affordeth very little <i>Church-Storie</i> , and therefore Mr <i>Fox</i> (whole induſtrie would have found out <i>Church-matter</i> , if above ground) is ſein to fill it up with foreign paſſages, or <i>domieſtick relations</i> of our <i>civil differences</i> . Indeed now the found of all bells in the ſteepleſ was drowned with the noiſe of <i>Drums</i> and <i>Trumpeſs</i> ; And yet this good was done by the <i>Civil wars</i> , it diverted the <i>Prelates</i> from troubling the <i>Lollards</i> ; ſo that this very ſtorme was a ſhelter to thoſe poor ſouls, and the heat of theſe intestine enmities, cooled the perſecution againſt them.		
Why little Church-Hiſt in this Kings Reign.	28. <i>Thomas Bourchier</i> , <i>Arch-Biſhop</i> of <i>Canterbury</i> , kept a <i>Synod</i> of his <i>Clergie</i> at <i>London</i> , when <i>Geoffery Longbrooke</i> , a member thereof (as <i>Proſtor</i> for <i>Peter Courtney</i> , <i>Arch-Deacon</i> of <i>Exeter</i> ) was at the ſuite of <i>Simon Nottingham</i> , arreſted by the <i>Bailiffs</i> of the <i>Lord Mayor</i> , complaint being made hereof to the <i>Convocation</i> , they ſent the <i>Prior</i> of <i>Canterbury</i> to the <i>Mayor</i> and <i>Sheriffs</i> , to reſtore the aforeſaid <i>Geoffery</i> to his liberty, threatening them elſe with <i>Excommunication</i> ; to prevent which the party was releaſed. The <i>Parliament</i> ſitting at the ſame time, beſtowed many privileges on the <i>Clergie</i> . As for the other <i>Synods</i> in this <i>Kings Reign</i> , being fix, as I account them, little more then granting of <i>Subſidies</i> was propounded and concluded therein.	1462	2.
Synod privilege broken and repaired. b Antiq. Brit. pag. 93.	29. <i>King Henry</i> returned out of <i>Scotland</i> , furniſhed with ſufficient forces from <i>James the third</i> , to recover his <i>Crown</i> , had ſuccesſ befriended him. But <i>King Edward</i> marched againſt him in perſon (one means of his being ſo fortunate in his fights, ſeeing in peace the maſter his eye maketh the ſai horſe, as the <i>Princes</i> in war the valiant horſe-riſer) totally defeated, took, and impriſoned him in the <i>Tower</i> . Here whileſt <i>Church-men</i> obſerve how tender-cyed charity, <i>States-men</i> admire how blinde the policy of that Age, in keeping <i>King Henry</i> alive. No ſuch ſure <i>Prizon</i> for a <i>Captive King</i> , as a <i>Grave</i> , whole life (though in reſtraint) is a fair mark for the full aim of male-content to practice his enlargement. As here it tell out in <i>King Henry</i> , who either flighted for his ſimplicity, that he could do no miſchief, or reſented for his ſanctity, that he ſhould ſuffer no ill, was preferred alive, and reſerved thereby to be a future trouble to <i>King Edward</i> , who, though valiant to repel, was not wiſe to foreſee dangers, and now conceiving himſelf ſecure, was viciously diſpoſed, and given over to too much licencioſineſs.	1463	3.
King Henry returned routed and impriſoned.	30. <i>Richard Nevil</i> , <i>Earl of Warwick</i> , is ſent over into <i>France</i> to obtain the <i>Lady Bona</i> ( <i>Daughter</i> to the <i>Duke of Savoy</i> ) wife to <i>King Edward</i> . So powerful a <i>ſpokeſman</i> could not but <i>ſpeed</i> , and all things are concluded, ſave the	1465	5.
The Earl of Warwick takes juſt diſtalle at King Edward.			

Anno Regis Ed. 4. 5.	Anno Dom. 1463.	the meeting of the <i>Parties</i> and a <i>Prieſt</i> to marry them. Mean time <i>King Edward</i> marrbeth the <i>Lady Elizabeth Grey</i> , the firſt <i>Engliſh King</i> who ſince the <i>Conqueſt</i> wedded his <i>Subject</i> ; Imight alſo add, and the firſt that match'd d with a <i>Widow</i> , ſeeing <i>Elinor</i> , wife to <i>King Henry</i> the ſecond, divorced from <i>Lewis</i> the yonger, <i>King of France</i> , was properly neither <i>maid</i> , nor <i>widow</i> . <i>Warwick</i> ſtormeth hereat, that he had taken ſo much pains about nothing, highly ſenſible of the affront, ſeeing a potent <i>Arme</i> is not to be employed about a ſleeveleſ errand. He reſolves revenge, and becauſe he could not make her <i>Queen</i> whom he deſired, he would make him <i>King</i> whom he pleaſed.	
8.	1468	31. Take hereof this curſory account: After many bloody battles, <i>King Edward</i> was taken <i>Prizoner</i> at <i>Wolney</i> in <i>Warwickſhire</i> , and committed by the <i>Earl of Warwick</i> , to the cuſtody of his Brother <i>George Nevil</i> , <i>Arch-Biſhop</i> of <i>Yorke</i> . <i>Henry</i> is brought out of the <i>Tower</i> , ſhall I call him the ſixth or the ſeventh, becauſe dead, (though not in <i>Law</i> , in dignity, and once <i>Depoſed</i> ) he is now reſtored again to wear the <i>Royal Robes</i> , not ſo much as his own garments, but as the <i>Livery</i> the <i>Earl of Warwick</i> his liberality. However he acted a very ſhort part of <i>Soveraignty</i> , wherein he revenged not any perſonal wrongs offered unto him in his reſtraint. For one who thruſt him into the ſide with a ſword, when he was <i>Prizoner</i> in the <i>Tower</i> , was afterwards pardon- ed by him, when reſtored to his former dignity.	King Edward taken priſoner, and King Henry enlarg- ed.
		32. Mean time the <i>Arch-Biſhop</i> allowed <i>King Edward</i> liberty to ride abroad and follow his pleaſure; now a careleſ <i>Keeper</i> giveth his <i>Prizoner</i> a warning, and ſheweth him a way to make his eſcape. <i>King Edward</i> followeth his hawking ſo long, that he taketh his own flight at laſt. Over he gets beyond the <i>Seas</i> to his Brother in law <i>Charles</i> , <i>Duke of Burgundie</i> , by whom he was ſupplied, to the proportion of a competent ſubſiſtence; but not enabled for the recovering of a <i>Crown</i> . However he returned into <i>England</i> , landed in the <i>North</i> , marched to <i>Yorke</i> , deſired to be received therein, as into the place whence he received his <i>Title</i> , but in no other notion then a <i>Subject</i> to <i>King Henry</i> , taking the <i>Sacrament</i> on the truth thereof; but having gotten the <i>City</i> as <i>Duke</i> , he kept it as <i>King</i> , contrary to his oath, for which his <i>Children</i> , are conceived to fare no whit the better.	Edward eſcaped, ſleightly beyond ſea, and returneth.
10.	1470	33. Let the <i>State-Hiſtorians</i> inform you with what various changes <i>K. Edward</i> made hence into the <i>South</i> , and at laſt near <i>Barnet</i> , bid battle to, and defeated the <i>Earl of Warwick</i> , ſlain with his Brother the <i>Maryqueſ Montague</i> on the place. Learn alſo from them how <i>King Henry</i> was cruelly put to death, and his Son and <i>Queen Margaret</i> ſoon after overthrowen at <i>Tewkesbury</i> . For when a <i>Royal Family</i> is once falling, all things conduce to expedite their deſtruction. Henceforward <i>King Edward</i> (having the differences of his own, with his <i>wives</i> Kindred) paſſed the remnant of his dayes in much peace, plenty, and pleaſure.	Recovereth the Crown by Conqueſt.
		34. In moſt of the <i>Battles</i> we may obſerve, it was the word general of the weaker ſide, for <i>London</i> , for <i>London</i> , as the moſt martial <i>thiſt</i> to Conquer a <i>Kingdom</i> in a <i>City</i> . For ſuch whole neceſſities can allow their <i>Armies</i> but little time to ſtay, do burn day light in pelting againſt petty <i>Towns</i> in the out ſkirts of a <i>Land</i> , eſpecially if all other humane hopes be in one deſperate puſh. Hence was it that ſo many <i>Battles</i> were fought about <i>Barnet</i> and <i>St Albans</i> (the <i>Cock-pit</i> of war) the lines of all <i>Armies</i> drawn from the circumference of the <i>Land</i> , being the cloſer together, the nearer they approached <i>London</i> , the <i>Center</i> in <i>Trade</i> and <i>Wealth</i> , though not in exact poſition thereof.	Why moſt Armies make for <i>London</i> .
		35. Come we now to a tamer conteſt, and more proper for our pen, continuing all this <i>Kings</i> time, betwixt the <i>Begging Friars</i> , and <i>Secular Prieſts</i> ; the	Brawls betwixt Mendicants and Secular Prieſts.

the former not content to cry up the dignity of their own Order, but cast contempt on the rest of the Clergie. But their bold Beggars met with as bold *Jaysers* say, I mean, these Mendicants found their matches in the Secular Priests, effectually lambing their pride herein. For it was beheld as a most pestiferous doctrine, the Friars so heightning the perfection of begging, that according to their principles all the Priesthood and Prelacy in the Land, yea, by consequence the Pope himself did fall short of the sanctity of their Order. Yet hard was it for them to persuade his Holiness to quit Peters Patrimony, and betake himself to poverty, although a Fryer (Thomas Holden by name) did not blush to preach at Pauls Cross, that a Christ himself (as first Founder of their Society) was a Beggar, a manifest untruth, and easily confuted out of Scripture.

a Fox Affs and  
Mon. p. 17.

Christ falsely  
induced to  
be a beggar.  
b Luke 8. 3.  
c John 4. 7.

d Mat. 17. 24.  
e John 13. 29.

Writers pre-  
sented in the  
cause.

### For Mendicants.

1. Henry Parker, a Carmelite, bred in Cambridge, living afterwards in Dunstable Covent, imprisoned for preaching.
2. Jo. & Milverton, bred in Oxford, Curm. of Bristol, being excommunicated by the Bishop of London, and appealing to the Pope, found no favour, but was kept three years captive in St Angelo.

f Pinc. p. 660.  
g Idem. p. 673  
h Idem. p. 654  
i Idem. p. 654

A prodigious  
feast at an  
Arch-Bishops  
infatuation.

But after Pope Paul the second had interposed herein, concluding, *quod Christus publicè mendicavit, pro damnata heresi undique declarandam & conculcandam esse, the Mendicants* let fall their Bucklers, and the controverſie funk in silence nevermore revived.

38. Never had England at once two Arch-Bishops of so high extraction as at this time, namely, Thomas Beuchier, Son of Henry Earl of Essex; and George Nevil, Brother to the Great Earl of Warwick. The latter is famous for a prodigious Feast, wherein, whole nothet the number and quality of the Guests, (all the Nobility, most of the prime Clergie, many of the Great Gentry) will wonder where he got meat for so many mouths, whilest such, who number the dishes thereof, will more admire where he got mouths for so much meat. But see the Bill of fare.

### Quarters

Anno  
Dom. 1470.  
Anno  
Regis  
Ed. 4.  
10.

Anno  
Regis  
Ed. 4.  
10.

Anno  
Dom.  
1470.

Quarters * of Wheat,	Ducks,	4000	Cold Custards,	4000
300	Henns,	400	Hot Custards,	2000
Tuns of Ale,	Pheasants,	200	Pikes,	300
Tuns of Wine,	Partridges,	500	Breams,	300
Pipe of Spiced Wine,	Woodcocks,	4000	Seals,	8
1	Plovers,	400	Porpoises,	4
Fat Oxen,	Carlews,	100	Tarts,	400
Wilde Bulls,	Quailes,	100		
Weathers,	Egrets,	1000		
Hoggs,	Rees,	200		
Calves,	Bucks, 2 more	400	Earl of Warwick, Stew- ard.	
Gees,	Does, 5 then		Earl of Bedford, Treasu- rer.	
Capons,	Hot Venison Pasties,	1506	Lord Hastings, Contro- ler; with many more	
Piggs,	4000		Noble Officers.	
Peacocks,	Dishes of Gelly, part- ed,	1000	Servitors,	1000
Cranes,	Dishes of Gelly plain,	4000	Cooks,	62
Kids,	4000		Kitchiners,	515.
Chickens,				
Pigeons,				
Rabbits,				
Bitours,				

\* Godwin in  
his Catalogue  
of the Bi-  
shops of York,  
p. 65.

People present at this Feast needed strong stomachs to devour, and others absent, stronger faith to believe so much meat at one time. Take the proportion by sheep, whereof magnificent Solomon spent but an hundred a day in his sumptuous Court; and here was ten times as many expended at this Feast, as he in a dayes provision for all his numerous retinue. How long this entertainment lasted is uncertain, but by the Parke, Doves, and woodcocks eaten therein, it plainly appears kept in winter, when such are in season; and how the same can be reconciled with so much Summer Fowl as was here used, I little know, and lets care to resolve.

a 1 King. 4. 23.

39. But seven years after, this Arch-Bishop to entertain King Edward, made another Feast at More-Park in Hertfordshire, inferior to the former for plenty, yet perchance equalling it in price. For the King seized on all his Estate, to the value of twenty thousand pounds, amongst which he found so rich a Mitre, that he made himself a Crown thereof. The Arch-Bishop he sent over prisoner to Calais in France, where Vincius jacuit in summa inopia, he was kept bound in extreme poverty, justice punishing his former prodigality, his hungry stomach being glad of such reverſions (could he get them) which formerly the Poider had taken away at his Rixious Infatuation.

A second fa-  
der in the  
conclusion.

b Idem ibidem.

40. He was afterwards restored till his liberty and Arch-Bishoprick, but never to the cheerfulness of his spirit, drooping till the day of his death. It added to his sorrow that the Kingdom of Scotland, with twelve Suffragan Bishops therein, formerly subjected to his See, was now by Pope Sixtus Quintus freed from any further dependence thereon; St Andrews being advanced to an Arch-Bishoprick, and that Kingdom in Ecclesiastical matters, made intire within its self: Whole Bishops formerly repaired to York for their Consecrations, not without their great danger, especially in times of hostility between the two Kingdoms. In vain did this Nevil plead for some compensation to be given his See in lieu of so great a loss, or at leastwise that some acknowledgment should be made of his former jurisdiction; the Pope powerfully ordering against it. Henceforward no Arch-Bishop of York meddled more with Church matters in Scotland, and happy had it been if no Arch-Bishop of Canterbury had since interested himself therein.

Scotland freed  
from the See  
of York.

[C c]

About



Clarey con-  
plying, not  
active.

Shows shame-  
less Sermon.

a Eccles 29.  
25. Spiritu-  
alium non  
agent radices  
alios.

The sumptu-  
ous Corona-  
tion of King  
Richard.

King Edward  
and his bro-  
ther stifled.

2. Although most of the Prelates were guilty of cowardly compliance with King Richard, yet we finde none eminently active on his side. Indeed the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* was employed to get *Richard Duke of York*, from his Queen-Mother in the Sanctuary in *Westminster*, and very patheticall he was in the perswading her to part with him: haply on a point of conscience, as fearing, it denied, some injury would be offered to the prejudice of the Church, and therefore more willing himself to wooe him from her with cloquence, then that others should wrest him thence with violence. Yet he is generally conceived innocent her-in, as not as yet suspecting any fraud in the Duke of *Glocester*: except any will say, that it was a fault in him, that so great a States-man was no wiser, then to have been deceived by his dissimulation.

3 But of the inferiour Clergie, Dr *Shaw*, a popular preacher, made himself infamous to all posterity. His Sermon at *St Pauls Cross* had nothing but the text (and that in the *Apocrypha*) good therein; as consisting of two parts, defaming of the dead, and flattering of the living; making King *Edward* far worse then he was, and Duke *Richard* far better then ever he would be. He made King *Edward* the fourth, and the Duke of *Clarence*, both to be bastards, and Duke *Richard* onely right begotten, so proclaiming *Cicilie* his Mother (still surviving) for a whore; all being done by secret instructions from Duke *Richard* himself, who hereby gave a worse wound to his Mothers credit, then that which at his birth he caused to her body, being (as it is commonly reported) cut out from her. With *Shaw* we may couple another brawling cur of the same litter, *Pyckney* the Provincial of the Augustinian Friars, who in the same place used so loud adulation, he lost his credit, conscience, and voice, altogether. These two were all (and they too many) of the Clergie whom I finde actively ingaging on his party, whilst multitudes of the Laity sided with him. So that thorough the popularity of the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Law-learning of *Catesby*, the City-interest of *Shaw*, (men Lord Mayor of *London*, and brother to the preacher) the rugged rigor of *Ratcliffe*, and the assistance of other instruments in their several spheres, the Queens kindred were killed, the Lord *Hastings* murdered, King *Edward* and his Brother imprisoned, and at last *Richard Duke of Glocester* elected King of *England*.

4. His Coronation was performed with more pomp then any of his Predecessours; as if he intended with the glory thereof, so to dazzle vulgar eyes, that they should not be able to see the flame of his usurpation. Indeed some of our English Kings, who by undoubted right succeeded to the Crown, accounted their Coronation but a matter of courtesie (which did not make but manifest them to be Kings) and so less curious in the pompous celebration thereof. But this Usurper apprehended this ceremony more substantial, and therefore was most punctual in the observation of it, causing all the Nobility, who held Lands in grand Sovereignty, to do their service in state: amongst whom *Richard Dimock*, Esquire, hereditary Champion by tenure, with a safe piece of valour (having to many to back him) cast down his Gauntlet, challenging any that durst oppose the title of King *Richard*, and (for ought I do know to the contrary) he afterwards made his challenge good in *Bosworth* field. And, because *sure bindes, sure finds*; he is said, and his Queen, to be Crowned again in *York* with great solemnity.

5. Soon after followed the murder of King *Edward*, and his Brother *Richard Duke of York*. It was high time they should set, when another already was risen in the throne. By a bloody bloudless death they were stifled with pillows, and then obscurely buried: The uncertainty of their interment gave the advantage to *Perkin Warbeck*, afterwards to counterfeit *Richard Duke of York*: so like unto him in age, carriage, stature, feature, favour, that he wanted nothing but success; to make him who did but personate Duke *Richard*, to pass current for the person of Duke *Richard*.

6. After

Anno  
Dom.  
1483

Anno  
Regis  
Ed. 5.  
22.

Ric. 3.  
1.

Anno  
Regis  
Ric. 3.  
2.

Anno  
Dom.  
1483

6. After this bloody act, King *Richard* endeavoured to render himself popular. First by making good Laws in that sole Parliament kept in his Reign. *Benevolence, malevolence*, which formerly the subjects unwillingly willing had paid to their Sovereign (power, where it requits, commands; it not being so much thank-worthy to grant, as dangerous to deny it) he re-trenched, and reduced to be granted onely in Parliament. He regulated Trading, which the *Lombards*, and other foreigners had much ingroffed, to the detriment of the English Nation. Now, although all people carry much of their love and loyalty in their purses, yet all this would not ingratiate this Usurper with them, the dullest nostrils resenting it done, not for love of vertue, but his own security. And, that affects none, which all palpably discover to be affected.

7. Next he endeavoured to work himself into their good will, by erecting and endowing of Religious Houses; so to plausibilize himself, especially among the Clergy. Thus he built one far North, at *Middleham*, and a College in the Parish of *a Alhallows-Barking*, hard by the Tower, as if he intended by the vicinity thereof, to expiate those many murders, which he therein had committed. Besides, he for his time dis-forested *Whitchwood* in *Oxfordshire* (then far more extended then in our Age) which his brother *Edward* had made Forest to the great grievance of the Country thereabouts. Yet all would not do, the people being more patient for an injury done by King *Edward*, then thankful for the favour this *Richard* bestowed upon them. He is said also to have given to *Queens College* in *Cambridge* five hundred marks of yearly rent; though at this time, I believe, the College receives as little benefit by the Grant, as *Richard* had right to grant it. For, it was not infused out of his own purse, but given out of the lands of his enemy, the unjustly proscribed Earl of *Oxford*; who being restored by *Henry* the seventh, made a resumption thereof.

8. Duke *Richard* was low in stature, crook-backed, with one shoulder higher then the other, having a prominent gobber-tooth, a war-like countenance which well enough became a fouldier. Yet a modern Author, in a Book by him lately set forth, eveneth his shoulders, smootheneth his back, planeth his teeth, maketh him in all points a comely, and beautiful person. Nor stoppeth he here, but proceeding from his naturals to his morals, maketh him as veruous, as handsome (which in some sense may be allowed to be true) concealing most, denying some, defending others of his foulest facts, wherewith in all ages since he standeth charged on record. For mine own part, I confess it no heresie to maintain a paradox in History, nor am I such an enemy to wit, as not to allow it leave harmlessly to disport it self for its own content, and the delight of others. Thus *Cardan* hath written his *Encomium Neronis*, and others (best husbandmen who can improve the barrenest ground) have by art endeavoured to praise as improbable subjects. But, when men shall do it cordially, in sober sadness, to pervert peoples judgements, and therein go against all received Records, I say, singularity is the least fault can be laid to such mens charge. Besides, there are some Birds (Scar-pies by name) who cannot rise except it be by flying against the winds, as some hope to achieve their advancement, by being contrary, and paradoxal in judgment to all before them.

9. Soon after followed the execution of the Duke of *Buckingham*, King *Richard* his grand engineer, or, Master of the fabrick of his preferment. The occasion thus; The Duke requested-required of King *Richard* (as confident that his merits were incapable of a denial) the Earldome of *Hereford*, and the hereditary Constableship of *England*, laying title to them by descent. Well did he ask both together, which would be granted both together. For the Earldome of *Hereford* was an *Abbas*, concubine to the former Kings of *England*, which had long lien in the Crown (whilst in the Lancasterian line) so imbraced and interlaced therewith, that it was difficult to dis sever them.

King Richard  
vainly endea-  
voured to in-  
gratiate him-  
self by making  
good  
Laws.

As also by  
building of  
Monasteries.

a Stowes Sur-  
vey of London,  
in Tower  
three Ward.

c Camlens  
B-n in Oxford  
house pag 374.  
out of John  
Rouse.

c Stow in his  
Annals, p. 470.

Art hath done  
more for King  
Richard, then  
ever nature  
did.

c George Buck  
Esq; a claw-  
back to  
Crook-back.

The request  
of the Duke  
of Buckingham  
denied.

And



And the affecting thereof proved as fatal to *Buckingham*, as the desiring of the other was to *Adonijah*, being interpreted in both an ambition of the Kingdom. The Hereditary Contabiship was conceived too unlimited a power to be trusted to a Subject, lest he should make more disorder, then he should mend therewith; so that in fine, both in effect were denied unto him.

*Buckingham*  
founded and  
beheaded.

10. *Buckingham* stormes thereat, Shall a Coronet be denied him, by him, on whom he had conferred a Crown? Yet, what anger soever boiled in his heart, none ran over in his mouth, pretending very fair in his behaviour. But, *hard it is to halt before a cripple*, and dissemble before King *Richard*. The Duke withdraws to *Brecknock in Wales*, with his prisoner Bishop *Morton* of *Elie* (committed unto him by the King on some distaste) who tampered with him about the marriage of *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, with the eldest Daughter of King *Edward* the fourth. The Duke carried himself fo open therein, that (surprised by King *Richard*) his head was divorced from his body, before this marriage was completed.

*Morton* made  
peace.

11. More cunning was Bishop *Morton* to get himself over into *France*, there to contrive the Union of the two Houses of *Tork* and *Lancaster*. If, blessed be the peace-makers, be pronounced of such as reconcile party and party: how much more must it be true of his memory, the happy instrument to unite those Houses, to the saving of the effusion of so much blood. Some will say, it was a design obvious to every capacity, to make such an union. But, we all know, when a thing is done, then it is easie for any to do it. Besides, it is one thing for men in their brains barely, and notionally to apprehend a project; and another (as our *Morton* did) to elect proportionable means, and, by the vigorous prosecution thereof, really to effect it.

Mr *Pryn* charged for charging Bishop *Morton* of Treason.

12. A modern Writer in his voluminous book, which he hath Entitled, *The Rebellions, Treasons, Conspiracies, Antimonarchical practices &c. of the English Prelates*, to swell his number, chargeth this Bishop *Morton* with Treason against King *Richard* the third. But, is it treason for one, in favour of the true heir, to oppose an Usurper in Title, and Tyrant in practice? Surely unbiassed judgments behold *Morton* herein under a better notion. Had this Bishop been active on King *Richards* side, how would the same Author have proclaimed him for a Traitor against King *Henry* the seventh? Thus I see an inevitable necessity, that *Morton* must be a Traitor whatsoever he did; and can observe, that no practice will please which cometh from one, whose person, or profession is distasteth.

Earl *Henry* landed at *Milford Haven*.

13. But King *Richard* his cruelties had so tired out Divine patience, that his punishment could be no longer deferred. *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* lands with an handful of men at *Milford Haven*. A landing place politically chosen, near *Pembroke*, the place of his Nativity, in the heart of his Country-men, and Kinsmen, the Welsh (his grand-father *Owen ap Theodore*, alias, *Tulbar*, having thence his extraction) and far from *London*, the Magazine of King *Richards* might. From *Milford* the Earl marched North-East, through the bowels of *Wales*; and, both his Army, and the same thereof, *crevit eundo, given by going*. Many old Prophecies (the people about *Leicester* will load a stranger with them) were fulfilled in him, and this amongst the rest may be remembered. It was foretold, that in a great battle, which was to be fought near *Leicester*, whosoever should shoot the arrow first, should have the victory. This most understood, that the archer in the fight which should first let loose, should gain the day to his side. When behold the Earl of *Richmond*, bending his march out of *Wales*, to the middle of *England*, first passed *Arrow*, a rivulet in the confines of *Worcester* and *Warwick*-shire, and accordingly proved victorious. For into *Leicester*-shire he came, and in the navel thereof is met by King *Richard*, and next morning both sides determine to trie their fortunes in fight. This night the Earl had sweet and quiet rest, whilst King *Richard* his guilty conscience was frighted with hideous dreams,

Anno Dom. 1484.  
Anno Regi Ric. 3. 2.

1585 3.

Anno Regi Ric. 3. 3.  
Anno Dom. 1485

dreams, and fanciful apparitions, as no wonder if no pillow could give him quiet sleep, who with a pillow had so lately smothered his Lord and Master.

14. The Battle is called the Battle of *Bosworth* (though fought full three miles from the a Town, and nearer other Country Villages) because *Bosworth* is the next Town of note thereunto. The Earls Army fell far short of the Kings in number, and Armes; equalled it in courage, exceeded it in cause, and success. Indeed the Kings Army was hollow at the heart, many marching in his main battle, who were much suspected (and therefore purposely placed there to secure them from flying out) and fought as unwilling to overcome. Yet the scales of victory seemed for a long time so equal, that an exact eye could not discern on which side the beam did break. At last the coming in of the Lord *Stanley* with three thousand fresh men, decided the controvercie on the Earls side. King *Richard*, fighting (valiantly, to his friends; desperately, say his foes) fell in the midst of his enemies, and his corps were disgracefully carried to *Leicester*, without a rag to cover his nakedness; as if no modelt usage was due to him when dead, who had been so shameless in his cruelty when alive. The Crown ornamental being found on his head, was removed to the Earls, and he Crowned in the field, and *Te Deum* was solemnly sung by the whole Army.

1587 1.

15. Soon after King *Henry* married the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter unto King *Edward* the fourth, whereby those Roses (which formerly with their prickles had rent each other) were united together. Yea, sixfold was King *Henry* his title to the Crown. First, Conquest. Secondly, Military election, the Souldiers crying out in the field, King *Henry*, King *Henry*. Thirdly, Parliamentary Authority, which settled the Crown on Him, and his Heirs. Fourthly, Papal confirmation, his Holiness, forsooth, concurring with his religious complement. Fifthly, Discent from the House of *Lancaster*. But, that (all know) was but the back-door to the Crown, and this *Henry* came in but by a window to that back-door (there being some bastardy in his pedigree) but that was salved by post-legitimation. Sixthly, Marriage of King *Edwards* Daughter, the first and last being worth all the rest. Thus had he six strings to his bow, but commonly he let five hang by, and onely made use of that one, which, for the present, he perceived was most for his own advantage. Yet, for all these his Titles, this politick Prince thought fit to have his Person well secured, and was the first King of *England* who had a standing Guard to attend him.

The Battle of *Bosworth*.  
a Burden in his description of *Leicester*-shire.

*Henry* the seventh his six-fold title to the Crown.

1586 2.

16. *Thomas Bourchier* Cardinal, and Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, had the honour first to marry, then to Crown King *Henry* and the Lady *Elizabeth*. And then having sitten in a short Synod at *London* (wherein the Clergie presented their new King with a tenth) quietly ended his life, having late in his See two and thirty years. He gave an hundred and twenty pounds to the University of *Cambridge*, which was joynd with another hundred pounds which Mr *Billingforth* (Master of *Bennet* Colledge) had some years before given to the said University; and this joynt stock was put into a Chest, called at this day, the Chest of *Billingforth* and *Bourchier*; and Treasurers are every year chosen for the safe keeping thereof.

The death of Arch-Bishop *Bourchier*.

17. *John Morton* born (say some) at *Beare*, but more truly at *St Andrews* *Milbourne* in *Dorset*-shire (where a worshipful family of his name and lineage remain at this day) succeeded him in the See at *Canterbury*. He was formerly Bishop of *Elie*, and appointed by *Edward* the fourth, one of the Executors of his Will, and on that account hated of King *Richard* the third, the Executioner thereof. He was, as aforesaid, imprisoned, because he would not betray his trust, fled into *France*, returned, and justly advanced by King *Henry*, first to be Chancellor of *England*, and then to be Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*.

*John Morton* succeeded him.

A gift not worth the taking.

18. Now began the Pope to be very buſie by his officers, to collect vaſt ſummes of money in *England*, preſuming at the Kings connivance thereat, whom he had lately gratified with a needleſs Diſpenſation, to Legitimate his Marriage with the Lady *Elizabeth*, his Couſin ſo far off, it would half pole a Herald to recover their Kindred; For,

1. *Edward* the third; on *Philippa* his Queen, begat

2. *Lyonel* Duke of *Clarence*, who on *Elizabeth* his Lady, begat

3. *Philippa* on whom *Edward* Mortimer, Earl of *March*, begat

4. *Roger* Earl of *March*, who on begat

5. *Anne*, on whom *Richard* Plantagenet Duke of *Tork*, begat

6. *Edward* the fourth King of *England*, who on *Elizabeth* Woodville, begat

7. *Elizabeth* his Eldeſt Daughter, who was married unto

2. *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, who of *Katharine* Swinford, begat

3. *John* de *Beaufort*, Duke of *Somerſet*, who on begat

4. *John* Beaufort, Duke of *Somerſet*, who on *Marg.* Beauchamp, begat

5. *Margaret* on whom *Edmund* Tuthier Earl of *Richmond* begat

6. *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, afterwards (7<sup>th</sup> of that name) King of *England*.

Neither Law, Divine or Civil, forbad marriage at this diſtance; but the Pope would be over-officiouſ, both to oblige the King, and intereſt himſelf, as if no Princes could well be married, except the Pope had a finger in joyning their hands together.

19. More material to the King was the help of his Holineſs, to regulate the exorbitancies of abuſed Sanctuaries; In this age could an offender get ſuch an houſe over his head, he accounted himſelf inſtantly innocent, though not in conſcience, yet as to outward puniſhment, the Kings enemies once Sanctuaried, daring him no leſs then the Jeſuites in their itrong fort of *Sion* deſied *David*, a *Though ſhalt not come in hiſher*; The Pope therefore, in favour of the King, and indeed of equity it ſelf, ordered,

1. That if any Sanctuary man did by might or otherwiſe, get out of Sanctuary privily, and commit miſchief and treſpaſs, and then come in again, he ſhould loſe the benefit of Sanctuary for ever after.
2. That howſoever the perſon of the Sanctuary man was protected from his Creditors, yet his goods out of Sanctuary ſhould not.
3. That if any took Sanctuary for cauſe of Treafon, the King might appoint him keepers to look to him in Sanctuary.

Surely had the King been pleaſed to interpoſe his own power, he might have reformed theſe abules; but he thought fitter to make uſe of the Popes *Spiritual* artillery, againſt theſe *Spiritual* Caſtles of Rebellion, that he might not ſeem to intrench on their lawful privileges, having formerly, at leaſt in pretence, appeared a great Patron of Sanctuaries, and a ſevere puniſher of the unjuſt infringers thereof. On which account this King (who was never uxorious huſband, nor over-dutiſon ſon in law, confined the Queen Dowager, his wives Mother) to a Religious Houſe in *Bermonſey*, becauſe three years ſince the

Anno Dom. 1485  
Anno Regis Hen. 7. 2.

Exorbitancies of Sanctuaries reſtreined.

a2 Sam. 5. 6.

b Lord Verulam in Hen. 7. pag. 39.

ſhe had ſurrendred her two Daughters out of the Sanctuary at *Weſtmiſter*, to *Richard* Duke of *Tork*.

20. A Synod was holden by Arch-Biſhop *Morton* at *London*, wherein the Luxury of the *London* Clergie in cloaths (that City alwayes the ſtaple of bravery) with their frequenting of Taverns was forbidden; ſuch Preachers alſo were puniſhed, who with popular applauſe enveighed againſt Biſhops in their abſence; the next year alſo a Synod was called, but little therein effected, but vaſt ſummes of money granted by the Clergie to the King.

21. *John* Giglis an Italian, about this time employed by the Pope, got an infinite maſs of money, having power from the Pope to abſolve people from Uſury, Symonie, Theft, Manſlaughter, Fornication, Adultery, and all crimes whatſoever, ſaving Smiting of the Clergie, and conſpiring againſt the Pope; and ſome few caſes reſerved alone to his Holineſs: This *Giglis* gat for himſelf the rich Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*; yea, we obſerve, that in that See a Team of Four b Italians followed each other.

1. *John* Giglis.
2. *Silveſter* Giglis.
3. *Julius* Medices, afterwards Clement the 7<sup>th</sup>.
4. *Hieronymus* de *Negutis*.

Thus as weeds in a garden, once got in, hardly got out, as ſowing themſelves, ſo theſe Italians having planted themſelves in that rich place, were never gotten out (pleading as it were preſcription of almoſt forty years poſſeſſion) till the power of the Pope was partly baniſhed *England*, and then *Hugh* Latimer was placed in the Biſhoprick.

22. Arch-Biſhop *Morton*, as one much meriting from the Pope, was not only honoured with a Cardinals Hat, of the title of *S<sup>t</sup> Anſelmus*, but alſo privileged from his Holineſs, to viſit all places formerly exempt from Archiepiſcopal juriſdiction. Impowring him alſo to diſpenſe his Pardons where he ſaw juſt cauſe. Hereupon *Rocheſter* Bridge being broken down (*Morton* to appear a *Pontifex* indeed, beſtowed remiſſion from e Purgatory for all ſins whatſoever committed within the compaſs forty dayes, to ſuch as ſhould Bountifully contribute to the building thereof.

23. The King had more then a moneths minde (keeping ſeven years in that humour) to procure the Pope to Canonize King *Henry* the ſixth for a Saint. For Engliſh Saint-Kings ſo frequent before the Conqueſt, were grown great dainties ſince that time. *France* lately had her King *Saint Lewis*, and why ſhould not *England* receive the like favour, being no leſs beneficial to the Church of *Rome*? Nor could the unhappineſs of our King *Henry* (becauſe Depoſed from his Throne) be any juſt bar to his Saintſhip, ſeeing generally Gods beſt ſervants are moſt ſubject to the ſharpeſt afflictions. His Canonizing would add much Luſtre of the Line of *Lancaſter*, which made his Kinſman and mediate ſucceſſor King *Henry* the ſeventh ſo deſirous thereof. Beſides, well might he be made a Saint who had been a Prophet. For when the Wars between *Lancaſter* and *Tork* firſt began, *Henry* the ſixth beſolding this *Henry* the ſeventh, then but a Boy playing in the Courts, ſaid to the ſtanders by, See this youth one day will quietly enjoy what we at this time ſo much fight about. This made the King with much importunity to tender this his requeſt unto the Pope. A requeſt the more reaſonable, becauſe it was well nigh forty years ſince the death of that *Henry*, to that onely the ſkeletons of his virtues remained in mens memories, the fleſh and corruption (as one may ſay) of his faults being quite conſumed and forgotten.

24. Pope *Alexander* the ſixth, inſtead of granting his requeſt, acquainted him with the requiſites belonging to the making of a Saint. Firſt, that to confer that honour (the greateſt on earth) was onely in the power of the Pope, the proper judg of mens merits therein. Secondly, that Saints

D d

Two Synods at *London*.  
a Antiquit. Brit. pag. 298.

Italians good at getting and holding.

b Godwin in his Catalogue of the Biſhops of Nor. p. 520.

Rocheſter Bridge repaired by Pardons.

c Antiquit. Brit. p. 298.

The King deſired King *Henry* then the ſixth to be Sainted.

The requiſites to a Canonization.

were not to be multiplied but on just motions, lest commonnels should cause their contempt. Thirdly, that his life must be exemplarily holy, by the testimony of credible witnesses. Fourthly, that such must attest the truth of real Miracles wrought by him after death. Fifthly, that very great was the cost thereof, because all Chanters, Choristers, \* Bell-ringers (not the least clapper in the steeple wagging, except money was tied to the end of the rope) with all the officers of the Church of Saint *Peter*, together with the Commissaries and Notaries of the Court, with all the officers of the Popes Bed-chamber, to the very Lock-smiths, ought to have their several fees of such Canonization. Adding that the total summe would amount to fifteen hundred Duckers <sup>a</sup> of Gold.

*Tanta Molis erat Romanum condere Sanctum.*

Concluding with that which made the charges, though not *infinite*, *indefinite*, that the costs were to be multiplied, *secundum Canonizati Potentiam*, according to the power or dignity of the person to be Canonized. And certain it was, the Court of Rome would not behold this *Henry* the sixth in the notion he died in, as a poor prisoner, but as he lived a King, so long as he had this *Henry* his Kinsman to pay for the same.

25. Most of these requisites met in King *Henry* the sixth, in a competent measure. First, the holiness of his life was confessed by all, save that some fullen persons suggested that his simplicity was above his Sanctity, and his life pious, not so much out of hatred, as ignorance of badness. As for Miracles, there was no want of them, if credible persons might be believed, two of whose Miracles it will not be amiss to recite.

25. *Thomas Fuller*, a very honest <sup>b</sup> man, living at *Hammersmith*, near *London*, had a hard hap accidentally to light into the company of one who had stolen and driven away Cattle, with whom, though wholly innocent, he was taken, arraigned, condemned, and executed; When on the Gallows, blessed King *Henry* (loving justice when alive, and willing to preserve innocence after death) appeared unto him, so ordering the matter, that the halter did not strangle him. For having hung an whole hour, and taken down to be buried, he was found alive; for which favour he repaid to the Tomb of King *Henry* at *Chertsey* (as he was bound to do no less) and there presented his humble and hearty thanks unto him for his deliverance. The very same accident *mutatis mutandis*, of place and persons (with some addition about the apparition of the Virgin *Mary*) hapned to *Richard Boyes*, dwelling within a mile of *Bath*, the story lo like, all may believe them equally true.

26. All the premises required to a Saint, appearing in some moderate proportion in *Henry* the sixth, especially if charitably interpreted (Saints themselves needs some favour to be afforded them) it was the general expectation that he should be suddenly Canonized. But Pope *Alexander* the sixth delayed, and in effect denied King *Henry's* desire herein, yea, *Julius* his next successor of continuance (not to mention the short liv'd *Pius* the third) continued as sturdy in his denial.

27. Men variously conjecture why the Pope in effect should deny to Canonize King *Henry* the sixth; a witty, but tart reason is rendered by a Noble <sup>c</sup> pen, because the Pope would put a difference betwixt a Saint and an Innocent: But others conceive King *Henry* not so simple himself, his parts only seeming the lower, being over-topped with a high spirited Queen; more probable it is what another <sup>d</sup> faith, that seeing King *Henry* held the Crown by a false title, from the true heir thereof; the Pope could not with good credit fasten a Saintship on his memory. But our great <sup>e</sup> Antiquary resolveth all in the Popes covetousness, *In causa fuit Pontificis avaritia*, demanding more then thirty King *Henry* the seventh would allow; Who at last

Anno Dom. 1494  
Anno Regis Hen. 6.  
to.

\* The Latin is *Parasenerius*.

a Antiq. Brit. pag. 259.

These applied to King Hen. 6.

A brace of Miracles wrought by King Hen. 6. b Harpsfield Hist. ecclesiastica seculo decimo quinto pag. 646.

Reasons why King Hen. 6. was not Sainted c The Lord Bacon.

d See Mr. Harington in the life of Ed. 4.

e Camd. Brit. & Surrey.

last contented himself (by the Popes leave hardly obtained) to remove his Corps from *Chertsey* in *Surrey*, where it was obscurely Interred, to *Windsor* Chappel, a place of greater reputation. Thus is he whom Authors have observed twice Crowned, twice Deposed, twice Buried; the best was, though he was not Canonized, yet there was plenty of Popish Saints beside him, wherewith the Calender is so overstocked, that for want of room they jostle one another.

28. But the Saintship of *Anselme*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, was procured on cheaper terms, though it cost Arch-Bishop *Morton* much money, who procured the same. Indeed *Anselme* being *alacris orbi Papa*, the Pope of the English world (as the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* was termed) no wonder if one Pope upon reasonable termes, did this courtesy for another. Besides, great was the merit of *Anselme* to the Church of Rome (little whereof goes far to obtain a Canonization) seeing he was the Champion and confessor of the Popes cause, about investing of Bishops, against two Kings successively, *William Rufus*, and King *Henry* the first.

29. Observable was the carriage of King *Henry* towards the Pope, the Clergie, and the poor *Lollards*. To the Pope he was submissive, not servile, his devotion being seldom without design, to using his Holiness, that he seldom stooped down to him in any low reverence, but with the same gesture he took up something in order to his own ends.

30. To the Clergie of desert he was very respectful, trusting and employing them in State affairs, more then his Nobility. To the dissolute and vicious Clergie he was justly severe, and pared their privileges, ordaining that Clerks <sup>a</sup> convicted should be burnt in the hand; both that they might taste a corporal punishment, and carry a brand of infamy. But for this good act, the King himself was afterwards branded by *Mack-King-Perkins* proclamation for an execrable breaker of the Rights of Holy Church. He also made a Law, that begging scholars, though Clerks, should be reputed Vagabonds, without they shew the Letters of the Chancellor of the University, from whence he faith he cometh.

31. To the *Lollards* (so were Gods people nick-named) he was more cruel then his predecessors; for he not only in the beginning of his Reign connived at the cruel persecutions which *Jo. Halfe* Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield* raised against them, but towards the end of his Reign appeared in his person very bloody unto them, if the story be true which is very lamely delivered unto us. There was in *Canterbury* an old Priest so resolute in *Wicliff's* opinions, that none of the Clergie there could convince him of the contrary: The King casually coming thither in the month of *May*, undertook the Priest himself, though we never read before of his Majesties disputing, save when he disputed *Bosworth* field with King *Richard* the third. The King, by what arguments we know not, converted this Priest, and then presently gave order he should be burnt, which was done accordingly. Surely there was more in the matter, then what appeared in the Record, or else one may boldly say, that if the Kings *Convers* had no better encouragement, this was the first he made, and the last he was ever likely to make.

32. Two most needless pieces of Cruelty were committed at this time, the one, an aged old man burnt in *Smithfield*, the other, one *Joan Baughston* widow, which seemeth a woman of some quality, as Mother to the Lady *Young* (who was afterwards Martyred) she being fourscore <sup>d</sup> years of age, was burnt for an Heretick, posting her to the Stake which was going to the Grave.

33. *William Smith*, sometimes Fellow of *Pembroke Hall* in *Cambridge*, and Bishop of *Lincoln*, this year began the Foundation of *Brazen-nose* Colledge in *Oxford*; I meet not with any farisfactory reason why so called, save the fancy of the Founder. Except any will say, it was so named, because built <sup>e</sup> where anciently *Brazen-nose Hall* stood, though this does not so much resolve

Arch-Bishop *Morton* procured the Sainting of *Anselm*.

The Kings carriage to the Pope.

Severe to the vicious Clergie.

a Lord Verulam in Hen. 7. pag. 65.

b Statutes undecimo Hen. 7. cap. 2.

Sad to be the Kings Convert.

c Fox Acts & Mon. pag. 556.

Needless cruelty.

d Fox, Ibid.

The Founding of *Brazen-nose* Colledge.

olve the Question, as put it a degree further off. But when such who cavil at the name, build a Colledge, it shall be left at their free liberty to call it according to their own pleasure. This Bishop lived not to finish his intentions, and therefore after his death *Richard Sutton* Esq; took upon him to perfect the same, and accomplished it accordingly.

Anno  
Dom.  
1458  
Anno  
Regi  
Hen. 7  
14

**Principals.**

*Matthew Smith,*  
*John Hawarden,*  
*Tho. Blanchard,*  
*Rich. Harris,*  
*Alex. Noel,*  
*Tho. Singleton,*  
*Dr Ratcliffe,*  
*Tho. Yates,*  
*Dr Greenhil.*

**Bishops.**

*Richard Barnes,*  
*Bishop of Durham,*

**Benefactors.**

*William Clifton,*  
*William Porter,*  
*Jo. Elton, alias*  
*Baker,*  
*Hum. Ogle,*  
*Edw. Darby,*  
*Jo. Claymond,*  
*Jo. Williamson,*  
*Brian Higden,*  
*Alexand. Noel,*  
*Joyce Frankland,*  
*Richard Harper,*  
*Sr Jo. Port,*  
*Jo. Lord Mordant,*  
*Dr Jo. Barnetson,*  
*Geo. Palin.*

**Learned men.**

*Richard Caldwell,*  
*Doctor of Physick,*  
*and a Founder of a Chirurgery Lecture in London.*

*Ro. Bolton, a famous Preacher.*

a Camden  
Elix. in Anno  
1585.

So that at this present the Colledge is much beautified with buildings, and ornaments, for the perfecting whereof, great summes have been expended within these few last years; maintaining a Principal, twenty Fellows, besides Scholars, Officers and Servants of the Foundation, in all Anno 1634. amounting to one hundred eighty six. *Cheshire-men*, whose County is called *Nobilitatis Altrix*, and those of *Lancashire* (most commendable *ob bonitatem habitudinis & decorem aspectus*) are in this Colledge most proper for preferment.

34. *John Morton* Cardinal and Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* deceased, many condemned him in his life for acting and putting the King forward to be burlenome to his Subjects with his Taxes; but his innocence appeared after his death, that he rather tempered the Kings covetousness then otherwise: He was a Learned man, and had a fair Library (*Relus'd with More in text and Tun* under it) partly remaining in the possession of the late *Earl of Arundell*. I finde him in the Catalogue of the Benefactors of *St John's Colledge in Cambridge*, understand it by his Executors, otherwise the first Brick of that House was laid nine years after the Arch-Bishops death. Now as this was a sad year to *Canterbury*, wherein their good Arch-Bishop departed, so was it a joyful year at *Rome* for the coming in of that Jubilee, which brought men and money there: Yet many went to *Rome* in effect, which staid in *England*, by commuting their journey into money, which was equally meritorious, the Popes Officers being come over to receive the same,

1500 16.

The Death of  
Arch-Bishop  
Morton.

The End of the Fifteenth CENTURY.

# THE Church-History OF BRITAIN E.

The Fifth Book.

CONTAINING THE REIGN  
OF  
KING HENRY  
THE EIGHTH.



LONDON,  
Printed in the Year, M. DC. LV.



To the Right Honourable,  
**LIONEL CRANFIELD,**  
 EARL of MIDDLESEX,  
 BARON CRANFIELD  
 OF  
 CRANFIELD, &c.



*S*aint PAUL gave a great charge to  
 \* Timothy to bring the Cloak  
 which he left at Troas, but especi-  
 ally the Parchments. Here we  
 have the Inventory of a Preachers  
 estate, consisting of a few Cloathes  
 and Books, what he wore, and what  
 he had written. But the Apostles  
 care was not so much concerned in his Cloathes (which  
 might be bought new) as in his Writings, where the damage  
 could not be repaired.

\* 2 Tim. 4:13.

I am sadly sensible (though far be it from me to com-  
 pare Scribling with Scripture) what the loss of a Library  
 (especially of Manuscripts) is to a Minister, whose  
 Books have passed such hands which made riddance of  
 many, but havock of more.

Was

*Was it not cruelty to torture a Library, by maiming and mangling the Authors therein? neither leaving nor taking them intire. Would they had took less, that so what they left might have been useful to me, or left less, that so what they took might have been useful to others. Whereas now, mischievous Ignorance did a prejudice to me, without a profit to its self, or any body else.*

*But would to God all my fellow Brethren, which with me bemoan the loss of their Books, with me might also rejoyce for the recovery thereof; though not the same numerical Volumes. Thanks be to your Honour, who have bestow'd on me (the Treasure of a Lord-Treasurer) what remained of your Fathers Library. Your Father, who was the greatest Honourer, and Disgracer of Students, bred in Learning. Honourer, giving due respect to all men of merit: Disgracer, who by his meer natural parts and experience, acquired that perfection of invention, expreision and judgment, to which those who make learning their sole study do never arrive.*

*It was a Gift I confess, better proportioned to your Dignity then my deserts, too great, not for your Honour to bestow, but for me to receive. And thus hath God by your bounty equivalently restored unto me, what the Locusts and the Palmer worme &c. have devoured, so that now I envy not the Popes Vatican, for the numerosness of Books, & variety of Editions therein, enough for use, being as good, as store for state, or superfluity for magnificence. However hereafter I shall behold my self under no other notion then as your Lordships Library-keeper, and conceive it my duty, not onely to see your Books dry'd and rubb'd (to rout those moaths which would quarter therein) but also to peruse, study and digest them, so that I may present your Honour with some choice Collections out of the same, as this ensuing History is for the main extracted thence, on which account I humbly request your acceptance thereof; whereby you shall engage my daily prayers*

*ers for your happiness, and the happiness of your most Noble Consort.*

*I have read how a Roman Orator, making a Speech at the Funeral of his deceased Mother in law, affirmed, that he had never been Reconciled unto her for many years: Now whilst his ignorant auditors condemned their mutual vindicativeness, the wiser sort admired and commended their peaceable dispositions, because there never happened the least difference between them, needing an agreement, as that bone cannot be set, which was never broken. On which account, that never any reconciliation may be between your self and other self, is the desire of*

Your Honours most

bounden Beadsmā,

THOMAS FULLER.

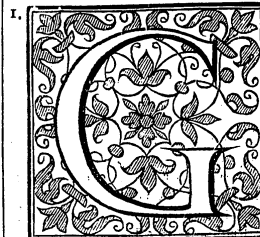
[Ee]

THE

Anno  
Regis Anno  
Dom.

THE  
CHVRCH-HISTORY  
OF  
BRITAIN.

BOOK V.

Hen. 7  
17. 1501

I. GOD hath always been ambitious to preserve and prefer *little things*, the *Jews* the least of all Nations, DAVID their King, least in his fathers family; little Benjamin the Ruler; little *Hill of Hermon*; the Virgin *Mary*, the lowliness of thy hand-maiden: Gods children severally are titled his *little ones*, and collectively make up but a *little flock*. And surely it renders the work of grace more visible and conspicuous, when the object can claim nothing as due to it self. A pregnant proof hereof we have in Divine Providence, at this time preserving the inconsiderable pittance of faithful professors against most powerful opposition. This handful of men, exercised to very hard duty, being constantly to stand *Sentinels* against an Army of enemies, till God sent *Luther* to relieve them, and the work was made lighter, with more hands to do it, as in the sequel of our story, God willing will appear. Mean time we must remember that *Henry Dean* succeeded in the place of Arch-Bishop *Morton*, lately deceased, and enjoyed his honour but two years, then leaving it to *William Warham*, one well qualified with learning and discretion.

22. 1506

2. Now it is no small praise to *Buckingham-shire*, that being one of the lesser Counties of *England*, it had more *Martyrs* and *Confessors* in it, before the time of *Luther*, then all the Kingdom besides: where *William Tysworthe* was burnt at *Amerstham*, (the Rendezvous of Gods children in those dayes) and

[E c 2]

Joan

Poor profes-  
sors still pre-  
served by  
Gods provi-  
dence.

Some burnt,  
some brand-  
ed, for the  
profession of  
the truth.

a Fox his Acts  
and Monu-  
ments, 1. Vo-  
lume. p. 1010.

b Fox 1011.

c *Gal. 6.17.*  
d *Mat. 5.29.*

cF2x p.1011.

The cruel  
killing of Tho-  
mas Chase.

The Pope and King Hen 7. share the money for Pardons betwixt them.

Antiq Brit.in  
Henrico De-  
aco.

Anno Dom. 1506
Anno Regi Hen. 22.

*Joan* his onely daughter, and a faithfull woman, was compelled with her *own hands* to set fire to her dear *a father*. At the same time sixty *fifteen* professors, and aboute, did bear *sagors* for their penance, and were enjoyned to wear on their right *leevers*, for some years after, a square piece of cloath, as a disgrace to themselves, and a difference from others. But what is most remarkable, a new *punishment* was now found out of branding them in the *cheek*. The manner thus : Their necks were tied fast to a post with *towels*, and their hands holden that they might not stir ; and so the hot *Iron* was put to their *cheeks*. It is not certain whether branded with *L for Lollard*, or *H for Heretic*, or whether it was onely a formlesse *print* of *Iron* (yet nevertheless painfully) this is sure, that they *bare* in their *bodies* the marks of the *Lords Jesus*. And no doubt they had so well learned our *Saviours* a precept, that rather then they would have revenged themselves, by unlawful means, to them that *smite them on the one cheek, they would have turn'd the other also*. Surely Ecclesiastical constitutions did not reach thus far, as to impose any corporal torture : and whether there be any Statute of the *Land* that enjoynes, (not to lay permits) such punishments, let the *learned* in the *Laws* decide. This I am sure, if it was the first time that they fell into this (supposed) *Heresie*, by the *Law* they were onely to abjure their errors ; and if it were the second time, upon relaps into the same again, their whole bodies were to be burnt. Except any will say, that such as by these bloudy *Laws* deserved death, were branded onely by the favour of *william Smith* Bishop of *Lincoln*, and one may have charity enough to encline him to this belief, when considering the same *william* (Founder of *Brazen-nose* Colledge in *Oxford*) was generally a lover of learning and goodnel, and not cruelly disposed of himself. However some of *Gowts children*, though burnt, did not dread the fire. And Father *Rover*, alias *Revue*, though branded at the time, did afterwards suffer at a stake ; for that the brand at the first did but take *Irvery* and *seisin* in his cheek, in token that his whole body should afterwards be in the fire and full possession of the *fire*.

3. They who desire further information of the number and names of such as suffer'd about this time, may repair to the *Ais and Monuments* of Mr Fox, onely *Thomas Chase of Amersham* must not be here omitted, being barbarously butchered by bloody hands in the Prison of *Woburne*. Who to cover their cruelty, gave it out that he had hang'd himself, and in colour thereof, caus'd his body to be buried by the high ways side, where a stake knock't into the *grave*, is the monument generally erected for Felons of *Se*. Fear not those (saith our Saviour) who kill the body, and afterwards have no more that they can do: But these mens malice endeavoured to do more, having kill'd his body, to murder his memory with slanderous reports; althougħ all in vain. For the Prison it self did plead for the innocence of the prisoner herein, being a place so low and little, that he could not stand upright. Besides the woman that saw his dead body, (a most competent witness in this case) declared, that he was so loaden with *Manicles and Irons*, that he could not well move either hand or foot. But we leave the full discussing, and finally deciding hereof to him, who makes inquisition for blood, at that day; when such things as have been done in *secret*, shall be made manifest.

4. By this time we may boldly say, that all the arrears of money due to the *Pope*, for *Pardons* in the year of *Jubilees*; five years since were fully collected, and safely returned to *Rome*, by the officers of his *Holiness*, the lagging money which was last sent thither, came soon enough to be received there. We with the *sellers* more honesty, and the *buyers* more wilddom. Yet we envy *Rome* this payment the less, because it was the last in this kind, she did generally receive out of *England*. Mean time time *King Henry* the seventh did enter common with the *Pope*, having part allowed to connive at the rest. Thus whilst *Pope* and *Prince* shared the wooll betwixt them, the people

Anno Regis Hen. 7 22.	Anno Dom. 1506
--------------------------------	----------------------

24.	1508
-----	------

Нен.  
I.

1509

people were finely fleeced. Indeed King Henry was so thrifty, I durst call him covetous, not to say fordid, had he been a private man, who knowing what ticklish termes he stood upon, lov'd a reserve of treasure, as being (besides his claims of Conquest, match, and dilcent) at any time a good title *ad Corroborandum*. (And we may the les wonder that this money was so speedily spent by his successor, a great part thereof being gotten by sin, was spent on sin :) Was it then charity or remorse, giving or restoring, that hereupon King Henry the seventh Founded the rich Hospital of the *Savoy* in the *strand*, with the finishing whereof he ended his own life. And it is questionable whether his body lies in more magnificence in that stately and costly Tomb and Chappel of his own erecting, or whether his memory lives more laffingly in that learned and curious History, which the Lord Bacon hath written of his Reign ?

5. *Henry* the eighth, his Son, succeeded him, one of a beautiful person, and majestick preference, infomuch that his picture in all places is known at the first sight. As for the character of his minde, all the vertues and vices of all his predecessors from the Conquest, may seem in him fully represented, both to their kinde and degree, learning, wisdom, valour, magnificence, cruelty, avarice, fury, and lust; following his pleasures whilest he was young, and making them come to him when he was old. Many memorable alterations in Church and State happen'd in his age, as God willing, hereafter shall appear.

6. On the third day of *June* he was solemnly Married to the Lady *Katharine* Dowager, formerly wife to his brother Prince *Arthur* deceased. Two Popes took the matter in hand to discuss and decide the lawfulness thereof, *Alexander* the sixth, and *Pius* the third; but both died before the business was fully effected. At last comes Pope *Julius* the second, and by the omnipotency of his dispensation, removed all impediments and obstructions, against the laws of God or man hindering or opposing the said marriage. We leave them for the present wedded and bedded together, and twenty years hence shall hear more of this matter; only know that this marriage was founded in covetous considerations, merely to save money; that the Kingdom might not be impoverished by restoring her Dowry back again into *Spain*, though hereupon a greater mass of coin was transported out of the Land, though not into *Spain*, into *Italy*. Thus such who consult with covetousness in matters of conscience, embracing sinister courses to save charges, will finde such thrift to prove expensive at the casting up of their audit; however Divine Providence over-rules all actions to his own glory; so ordered it, that the breaking off the Popes power, with the banishing of Superfluous out of *England*, is at this day the onely surviving issue of this marriage.

7. The beginning of this Kings Reign was but barren (as the latter part thereof, some will say, over-fruitleſſ) with eminent Church-ſeaſages. And therefore we will *ſave when we may*, and be brief in his hiſtory; that we may *ſpend when we ſhould*, in the larger deſcription of his latter years. Cruelty ſtill continued and increaſed on the poor *Lollards* (as they call them) after abjuration, forced to wear the ſaſhion of a faggot wrought in thread, or painted on their left ſleeves, all the dayes of their lives; it being death to put on their cloaths without that cognizance. And indeed to poor people it was true, *put it off, and be burned; keep it on, and be ſtarved*; ſeeing none generally would ſet them on work, that carried that badge about them.

8. On this account *William Sweeting*, and *James Brewster* were re-imprisoned. In vain did a *Brewster* plead, that he was commanded to leave off his badge, by the Controller of the Earl of *Oxford's* house, who was not to controul the orders of the Bishops herein. And, as little did *Sweetings* plead prevail, that the Parson of *Mary Magdalene's* in *Colchester*, cauled him to lay

Hen. 8. succ  
ceedeth his  
father.

He married  
the relict of  
his brother  
*Arthur.*  
*Sanders de*  
*schismate An-*  
*glicano, lib. 1*  
*PAG. 2.*

Abjured *Lol-*  
*lards* wear  
faggots.

*Sweeting and  
Brewster  
burnt.*  
a Fox, Volu  
2. pag. 12.



his faggot afide. Thefe, like *Ifaac*, firft bare their fagots on their backs, which loon after bare them, being both burnt together in *Smithfield*. The *Papifts* report, that they profpered at their death, again to abjure their opinions, the truth whereof one day fhall appear. Mean time, if true, let the unpartial but judge, which were moft faulty, thefe poor men for want of conftancy in tending, or their Judges, for want of charity, in not accepting their abjuration.

*Richard Hunn*  
murdered in  
Lollards-tow-  
er.

a Exam. of  
Fox his Mat.  
for the month  
of Decemb.  
1525, 27, and  
28.

Cardinal  
Bainbrigg  
why poifon'd  
at Rome.

b 1 Tm 3. 3.  
c Godwin in  
Cet. of Bith. of  
York, pag. 72.

The Found-  
ing of Corpus-  
Christi-Colledge  
in Oxford.  
d Godwin in  
the Bithops  
of Wincheſter,  
pag. 257.  
e *Pereus* de  
Adu. Oxon.  
pag. 35.

f *John White*  
in libro dia-  
coſ. &c.

9. *Richard Hunn*, a wealthy Citizen of *London*, imprifoned in *Lollards Tower*, for maintaining ſome of *Wicliff's* opinions, had his neck therein fe- cretly broken. To cover their cruelty, they gave it out, that he hang'd himſelf; but the *Coroners* inqueſt fitting on him, by neceſſary preſump- tions, found the impoſſibility thereof, and gave in their verdict, that the ſaid *Hunn* was murdered. Inſomuch that a *Perſons* hath nothing to reply, but, that the *Coroners* Inqueſt were ſimple men, and ſuſpected to be infected with *Wicliffian* herefies. But we remit the Reader to Mr *Fox* for ſatisfaction in all theſe things, whoſe commendable care is ſuch, that he will not leave an hoof of a martyr behind him, being very large in the reckoning up of all ſufferers in this kinde.

10. Cardinal *Bainbrigg*, Arch-Biſhop of *Tork*, being then at *Rome*, was ſo highly offended with *Rivaldis de Modena*, an Italian, his Steward (others ſay his Phyſician, and a Priſt) that he fairly cudgelled him. This his paſ- ſion was highly cenſured, as inconſiſtent with Episcopall gravity, who ſhould be no b ſtriker. But the Italian ſhewed a caſt of his Country, and with c poifon ſent the Cardinal to anſwer for his fact in another world, whoſe body was buried in the Engliſh Hoſpital at *Rome*.

11. *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Founded and endowed *Corpus-Christi-Colledge* in *Oxford*, beſtowing thereon Lands, to the yearly value of four d hundred and one pounds eight ſhillings and two pence. And, whereas this Foundation is characted by an *Oxford* c man, to be *Ex omnibus minimum, vel certè ex minimis unum*, at this day it acquircth it ſelf in more then a middle equipage amongſt other Foundations. *Erasmus* is very large in the praiſe thereof, highly affected with a Library, and Study of tongues, which, according to the Founders Will, flouriſhed therein; inſomuch that for ſome time it was termed, *The Colledge of the three learned Languages*;

f *Eſt locus Oxoniæ, licet appellare trilingue Muſeum, a Chriſti Corpore nomen habet.*

Sure I am, that for all kinde of Learning, Divine and Humane, this Houſe is paramount for eminent perſons bred therein.

Presidents.	Bishops.	Benefactors.	Learned writers.
* See more of him, Anno 1584.	Cardinal Poole. John Jewel.	Hugh Oldham, Bi- thop of Exeter. John Claymond, firſt President. Mr Mordent. William Froſt. M <sup>rs</sup> Moore. Dr John Raynolds. St George Paul, Knight.	George Etheridge.*  Richard Hooker.  Brian Twine, the induftrious An- tiquary of Ox- ford.  Dr Jackson.

So

Anno  
Regis  
Hen. 8.  
1510

11.  
39-4  
t.

So that a Preſident, twenty Fellows, twenty Scholars, two Chaplaines, two Clerks, and two Chorifters, beſides Officers and Servants of the Foundation, are therein maintained, which with other Students, Anno 1634. made up threeſcore and ten.

12. This, *Hugh Oldham*, in the front of Benefactors, becauſe he was Biſhop of *Exeter*, for names-ſake, intended his bounty to *Exeter Colledge*. But, ſuffering a repulſe from that Society (refuſing at his a requelt to make one *Atkin* a Fellow) diverted his liberality to *Corpus-Christi-Colledge*; ſo boun- tifull thereunto, that, as *Founder* is too much, ſo Benefactor is too little for him. He was one of more piety then learning, courteous in his deeds, but very harſh and rugged in his ſpeeches, making himſelf but bad *Orations*, yet good *Orators*, ſo many eloquent men were bred by his bounty. Nor let it be forgotten, that, as *Fox*, the Founder of this Houſe, was Fellow and Maſter of *Pembroke-Hall*; ſo *Oldham* alſo had his education in *Queens Colledge* in *Cambridge*; ſo much hath *Oxford* been beholding to her Nephews or Siſters Children. But as once *Ephron* c ſaid to *Abraham*, what is that be- twist me and thee? ſo, ſuch their mutual affection, it matters not, what fa- vour one Siſter freely beſtoweth on the other.

13. *John Collet*, Dean of *Pauls*, died this year [in the fifty third year of his age] of a peſtilential ſweating, at *Shene* in *Surry*. He was the eldeſt (and ſoleſurviving) child, of St *Henry Collet*, Mercer, twice Lord Major of *London*, who with his ten Sons and as many Daughters, are depicted in a glaſs window, on the North-ſide of St *Anthomes* (corruptly St *Anlins*) to which d Church he was a great Benefactor. His Son John Founded the FREE- School of St *Pauls*, and it is hard to ſay, whether he left better *Laws* for the government, or *Lands* for maintenance thereof.

14. A Free-School indeed to all Natives or Foraigners of what Country ſoever, here to have their education (none being excluded by their Nativity, which exclude not themſelves by their unworthineſs) to the number of one hundred fifty and three (ſo many e ſiſhes as were caught in the net by the Apo- ſtles) whereof every year ſome appearing moſt pregnant (by unpartial exa- mination) have ſcholarſhips allowed them for ſeven years, or untill they get better preferment, in the Church or Univerſity.

15. It may ſeem falſe *Latta*, that this *Collet* being Dean of St *Pauls*, the School Dedicated to St *Paul*, and diſtanced but the breadth of the Street from St *Pauls* Church, ſhould not be intruſted to the inſpection of his ſucceſſors, the Dean and Chapter of *Pauls*, but committed to the care of the Company of the *Mercers*, for the managing thereof. But f *Erasmus* rendreth a good reaſon, from the mouth and minde of *Collet* himſelf, who had found by ex- perience many Lay-men as conſcientious as Clergy-men in diſcharging this truſt in this kinde, conceiving alſo, that whole Company was not ſo eaſie to be bowed to corruption as any ſingle perſon, how publick and eminent ſo- ever.

16. For my own part, I behold *Collets* agt herein, not onely prudential, but ſomewhat Prophetical, as foreſeeing the ruine of Church-lands, and fearing that this his School, if made an Eccleſiaſtical Appendant, might in the fall of Church-Lands, get a bruife, if not loſe a limb thereby.

17. *William Lily* was the firſt School-maſter thereof, by *Collets* own ap- pointment. An excellent Scholar, born at *Odiam* in *Hampſhire*, and after- ward he went on Pilgrimage as far as g *Jeruſalem*: In his return through Italy he applied himſelf to his ſtudies. And becauſe ſome perchanſe would be pleaſed to know the *Lilies* of *Lily*, (I mean his Teachers and Inſtruders) know that *John Salpiſtus* and *Pomponius Sabinius*, two eminent *Criſtians*, were his principal informers: Returning home into his native Country well ac- compliſhed with Latin, Greek, and all Arts and Sciences, he ſet forth a Grammar, which ſtill goes under his name, and is univerſally taught all over *England*.

Hugh Oldham  
his bounty.  
a Godwin in  
the Bithops  
of Exeter, pag.  
473.

b See Jo. Scot.  
his Tabula.  
c Gen 23. 15.

The death of  
Dean Collet.

d *Stowes* Sur-  
vey, p. 265.

Founder of  
Pauls School.

e *John 21. 11.*

The *Mercers*  
made Over-  
ſeers thereof.

f In his Epi-  
ſtle unto Jo-  
ſeſus Jacobi.

Out of provid-  
ence preſi-  
dence.

W. Lilly firſt  
School-Ma-  
ſter.  
g *Vireus* de  
Ang. Scriptur.  
pag. 497.

18. Many

1. Grammer  
fearperard.

2. Grammer  
fearperard.

And privile-  
ged by au-  
thority.

Since amend-  
ed by many.

3. Grammer  
fearperard.

King Henry  
writes against  
Luther.

Sailed by the  
Pope Defen-  
der of the  
Faith.

c Jude 3.

His letters  
reply.

Wolsey his im-  
mortal pow-  
er and pride.

d Fitz Aids &  
Mounment.

18. Many were the Editions of this Grammer, the first set forth Anno 1513. (when Pauls School was Founded) as appears by that instance, *Mauritius sub Rege in Gallia*, relating to *Maximilian the German Emperour*, who then at the Siege of *Therouenne* in *Flanders*, fought under the banner of *King Henry* the eighth, taking an *hundred crowns* a day for his pay. Another Edition Anno 1520. when *audito Rege Dorotheum proficiscit*, refers to the Kings speedy journey into *Canterbury*, there to give entertainment to *Charles the fifth Emperour*, lately landed at *Dover*.

19. Formerly there were in *England* almost as many *Grammers* as *School-masters*, children being confounded, not only with their variety, but [some-times] *contrariety* thereof, rules being true in the one, which were false in the other. Yea, which was the worst, a boy, when removed to a new School, lost all he had learned before: Whereupon *King Henry* endeavoured an uniformity of *Grammer* all over his Dominions; that so youths, though changing their *School-masters*, might keep their learning. This was performed, and *William Lilies Grammer* enjoyed universally to be used. A stipend of four pounds a year was allowed the *Kings Printer* for Printing of it; and it was penall for any publickly to teach any other. I have been told how lately *Bishop Buckeridge* examining a *Free-School* in his Diocess of *Rochester*, the Scholars were utterly ignorant of *Lilies* rules, as used to others; whereat the Bishop exclaimed, *What are these Puritans also in Grammer?*

20. I deny not but some since have discovered *blasted leaves* in our *Lily*, observing defects and faults therein, and commendable many persons pains in amending them; however it were to be desired, that no needless variations be made, and as much left of *Lily* as may be: The rather, because he submitted his *Syntaxis* to the judgment of *Erasmus* himself, so that it was afterward printed amongst his works. Indeed *Quæ Genus* was done by *Thomas Robinson*, and the *Accidens* (as some will have it) by other Authors, after *Lily* was dead, and *Prince Edward* born, of and for whom it was said *Edwardus est my proper name*. And thus we take our leave both of *Lily* and *Pauls-School*, flourishing at this day as much as ever, under the care of Mr *John Laugly*, the able and *Religious School-master* thereof.

21. *King Henry* had lately set forth a Book against *Luther*, endeavouring the confutation of his opinions as novel and unfound. None suspect this *Kings* lack of learning, (though many his lack of leisure from his pleasures) for such a design; however it is probable, some other *Gardner* gathered the *flowers* (made the collections) though *King Henry* had the honour to wear the *posie*, carrying the credit in the title thereof.

22. To requite his pains, the Pope honoured him and his Successors with a specious title, *A Defender of the Faith*. Indeed it is the bounden Duty of every *Christian*, earnestly to contend for the faith which once was given to the *Saints*, but it is the Dignity of few men, and fewer *Princes*, to be able effectually to appear in *Print* in the Vindication thereof.

23. There is a tradition, that *King Henry's Fool* (though more truly to be termed by another name) coming into the Court, and finding the *King* transported with an unusual joy, boldly asked of him the cause thereof, to whom the *King* answered, it was because that the Pope had honoured him with a title more eminent than any of his Ancestours; O good Harry (quoth the Fool) let *Theu* and I defend one another, and let the faith alone to defend itself. Most true it is, that some of his Successors more truly deserved the Title, then he to whom it was given: Who both learnedly, then solidly engaged their pens in the asserting of true Religion.

24. At this time, though *King Henry* wore the sword, *Cardinal Wolsey* bare the *stroke* altho' re the Land; being Legate de *Latere*, by virtue whereof he visited all Churches and Religious Houses, even the *Friers Observants* themselves, notwithstanding their stoutness and stubbornness, that first opposed him. Papal and Royal power met in him, being the Chancellor of the

Anno Dom.  
1513  
Anno Regis Henr.  
8.  
11.

1521 13.

Anno Dom.  
1521  
Anno Regis Henr.  
8.  
13.

16. 1504

Land, and keeping so many Bishopricks in Commendam, his yearly income is said to equal, if not exceed the Revenues of the Crown.

25. The more the pity, that having of his own such a flock of preferments, nothing but the poor mans a *Ewe-lamb* would please him, so that being to Found two Colledges, he seized on no fewer then *fourty* small Monasteries, turning their inhabitants out of house and home, and converting their means principally to a Colledge in *Oxford*. This alienation was confirmed by the present Pope *Clement* the seventh, so that in some sort his Holiness may thank himself, for the demolishing of Religious Houses in *England*.

26. For the first breach is the greatest in effect: And Abbots having now lost their *Virginity*, (diverted by the Pope to other) soon after lost their *Chastity*, prostituted by the King to ordinary uses. And now the Cardinal was busy in building his Colledge, consisting of several Courts, whereof the principal is so fair and large, it would have equalled any *Princes Palace*, if finished according to the design, all the Chambers and other Offices being intended suitable to the magnificent Hall and Kitchen therein.

27. Indeed nothing mean could enter into this mans minde, but of all things his structures were most stately. He was the best Harbinger that ever *King Henry* had, not only taking up before-hand, but building up beautiful houses for his entertainments, which when finished [as *White-Hall*, *Hampden-Court* &c.] he either freely gave them to the King, or exchanged them on very reasonable considerations.

28. Some say he intended this his Colledge, to be an University in an Univeristy, so that it should have therein by it self professors of all Arts and Sciences: But we may believe that all these go but by guess, as not knowing the Cardinals minde, (who knew not his own) daylie embracing new designs of magnificence, on the emergency of every occasion. Yet let not the greatness of his buildings swallow up in silence the memory and commendable devotion of *Simon Islip Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, who Founded *Canterbury Colledge*, taken in with this Cardinals unfinished Foundation.

29. However too tart and bitter was the expression of *Rodolphus Gualterus* a Germane, who comparing the Cardinals project with his performance, said of him, *instituit Collegium & alibi Popinam*, he began a Colledge and built a Kitchen: For had he not been civilly defunct, before naturally dead, not a pane of glass, nor peg of wood had been wanting in it at Edifice.

30. More wit then *Truth* was in anothers return, who being demanded what he thought concerning the amplexes of this Foundation, made this homonymous answer, *Foundatione nihil amplius, there is nothing more, [or more stately] then this Foundation*; whereas indeed had he not he himself been unexpectedly stript of his estate, he had left more and better lands to this house, then *King Henry* conferr'd upon them, who conceiving Church-means fittest for *Christ-Church*, exchanged many of their best Manors for Improprations.

31. This Colledge did thrice change its name in seven years, accounting it no small credit thereunto, that it always ascended, and was advanced in every alteration; first call'd *Cardinals Colledge*, then *Kings Colledge*, and at last *Christs Church*, which it retaineth at this day.

32. *King Henry* took just offence that the Cardinal set his own Arms above the Kings, on the Gate-house, at the entrance into the Colledge. This was no verbal but a real *Ego & Rex meus*, excusable by no plea in Manners or Grammer; except onely by that (which is rather Fault then Figure) a harish down right *Hysteresis*; but to humble the Cardinals pride, some afterwards set up on a window, a painted Mastiff-dog, gnawing the spine-bone of a shoulder of Mutton, to misde the Cardinal of his extraction, being the Son of a Butcher, it being utterly improbable (that some have fancied) that that picture was placed there by the Cardinals own appointment, to be to him a *monument of humility*.

[F F]

Deans.

He was the first confounder of Abbies.  
a 2 Sam. 12 3.

A precedent quickly followed.

Wolsey a Royal Harbinger.

His vast design, why unknown.

An over-tare Sarcalme.

A second somewhat milder.

Three names to one Colledge.

The pride of the Cardinal humbled by others.  
b Rex Plate-nius pagina 44.  
c Idem p. 45.

Deans.	Bishops.	Benefactors.	Learned Writers.	Ann. Dom. 1524	Ann. Regi. Hen. 8. 16.
1. John Higdon. 2. Doct. Moore. 3. John Oliver. 4. Richard Cox. 5. Richard Marshall. 6. George Cawen. 7. Thomas Samson. 8. Thomas Goodwin. 9. Thomas Cooper. 10. John Piers. 11. Tobias Mathew. 12. William James. 13. Thomas Ravis. 14. John King. 15. William Goodwin. 16. Richard Corbet. 17. Brian Dappa. 18. Fell. 19. Edward Reynolds. 20. John Owen.	Richard Cox, Bishop of Eley. Thomas Goodwin, Bishop of Bath and Wells. Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester. John Piers, Archbishop of York. Herbert Westphaling, Bishop of Hereford. William James, Bishop of Durham. Thomas Ravis, Bishop of London. John King, Bishop of London. Richard Corbet, Bishop of Norwich. William Piers, Bishop of Bath & Wells. Brian Dappa, Bishop of Salisbury.	Otho Nicholson, one of the Examiners of the Chancery, bestowed eight hundred pound in building and furnishing a fair Library.	Sir PHILIP SIDNEY.  Sir WALTER RAWLEY. WILLIAM CAMDEN.  Robert Gomersall. JOHN GREGORY. Cartwright.		

Here I omit the many eminent Writers still surviving, Dr Merick Casaubon, and Dr George Morley, both no less eminent for their sound Judgments, than patient sufferings; Dr Barton Holiday, and Dr Jasper Main, who have refreshed their severer studies with Poetry, and fallies into pleasant learning, with many more in this numerous Foundation. Beholding, as for his wealth to King Henry the eighth, so for a great part of the Wit and Learning thereof to his Daughter Queen Elizabeth, whose School-boys at Westminster become as good School-men here; sent hither (as to Trinity Colledge in Cambridge) by her appointment; so that lately, there were maintained therein, One Dean, Eight Canons, Three publick Professors of Divinity, Hebrew, and Greek, Sixty Students, Eight Chaplains, Eight Singing-men, an Organist, Eight Choristers, Twenty-four Almshouses; at this present Students of all sorts, with Officers and Servants of the Foundation, to the number of Two hundred twenty three.

33. Know that John Higdon, first Dean of this Colledge, was a great Persecutor of poor Protestants, as by the ensuing Catalogue will appear.

a John Clark. John Frith. Henry Sumner. Baley.	+ John Fryer. Goodman. + Nicholas Harmer. + Michael Drumme.	William Betts. Lawney. Richard Cox. Richard Taverner.
---	--	--

All these were questioned for their Religion,\* being cast into a prison in a deep Cave under ground, where the salt fish of the Colledge was kept, the stench whereof

whereof made some of them to die soon after, and others escaped with great difficulty. Taverner was excellently skill'd in Musicke, on which account he escaped, though vehemently accused, the Cardinal pleading for him, that he was but a Musician, though afterward he repented, to have set tunes to so many Popish ditties.

34. We must not forget that all in the foresaid Catalogue, whose Christian names are expressed, were originally a Cambridge men, and invited by the Cardinal on promise of preferment, to plant his new Foundation; besides Florence, a Dominican, John Akers, and many more famous for their Learning, which at this time removed to Oxford, seasoned both with good Learning and true Religion.

35. Know also this, John Higdon, first Dean, was he, of whom Cardinal Wolsey (when fallen into distress) did borrow two hundred pounds, therewith to pay and reward some of his poorest servants, giving them money on this condition, that hereafter they should serve no subject, but only the King himself, as if this had been *suscipere gradum Simeonis*, for those who so long had attended on a Lord-Cardinal. But this happened many years after; we return to this proud Prelate, while he flourished in the height of his Prosperity.

36. Their heads will catch cold, which wait bare for a dead Popes Triple-Crown. Wolsey may be an instance hereof, who, on every avoidance of St Peters Chair, was sitting down therein, when suddenly some one or other, clapt in before him. Weary with waiting, he now resolved to revenge himself on Charles the Emperour, for not doing him right, and not improving his power, in preferring him to the Papacy, according to his promises and pretences. He intends to imite Charles through the sides of his Aunt, Katharine Queen of England, endeavouring to alienate the Kings affections from her. And this is affirmed by the generality of our Historians, though some of late have endeavoured to acquit Wolsey, as not the first perverter of the King divorce.

37. Indeed he was beholding, for the first hint thereof, to the Spaniards themselves. For, when the Lady Mary was rendered in marriage to Philip, Prince of Spain, the Spanish Embassadors seemed to make some difficulty thereof, and to doubt her extraction, as begotten on a mother formerly married to her husbands elder brother. Wolsey now put this scruple into the head of Bishop Longlands, the Kings Confessor, and he insinuated the same into the Kings conscience; advising him hereafter to abstain from the company of his Queen, to whom he was unlawfully married. Adding moreover, that after a divorce procured (which the Pope in justice could not deny) the King might dispose his affections where he pleased. And here Wolsey had provided him a second Wife, viz. Marguerite, Countess of Alençon, sister to Francis King of France; though heavens redreth that place, not for the Mistress, but her Maid, I mean Anna Bollen, who (after the return of Mary, the French Queen for England, attended in France for some time on this Lady Marguerite.

38. Tender needs no torch to light it, the least spark will presently set it on flame. No wonder if King Henry greedily resented the motion. Male issue he much wanted, and a young Female more on whom to beget it. As for Queen Katharine, he rather respected, then affected; rather honoured, then loved her. She had got an habit of mis-carrying, scarce curable in one of her age, intimated in one of the Kings private papers, as *morbus incurabilis*. Yet publicly he never laid either fault or defect to her charge; that, not dislike of her person or conditions, but only principles of pure conscience, might seem to put him upon endeavours of a Divorce.

39. The business is brought into the Court of Rome, there to be decided by Pope Clement the seventh. But the Pope at this time was not *ſui juris*, being a prisoner to the Emperour, who constantly kept a guard about him.

[F f 2]

Christ Church  
a Colony of  
Cambridge-  
men.

a Ceu de An-  
tis Cast. Acad.

Wolsey's pride  
in his ser-  
vants.

b Rex Pleu-  
niens, pag. 43.

Wolsey turns  
his waiting  
into revenge.

The scruple  
of the Kings  
marriage.

The King wil-  
lingly emu-  
laced the mo-  
tion.

The Pope a  
Captive.

Persecution  
in the Cardi-  
nals Colledge.

a Such whose  
names are no-  
ted with a  
cross, did af-  
terwards turn  
religion Pa-  
pists.

\* F. x. A. f. 8.  
Mon. p. 1032.

Fifthers thore  
plea.

44. As for the Queens Council, (which, though assigned to her, appear not dearly accepted by her, as chosen rather by others for her, then by her for her self) I finde at this present little of moment pleaded, or performed by them. Onely Bishop *Fisher* affirmed, that no more needed to be said for the validity of the marriage, then, *whom God hath joyed together, let no man put asunder.* A most true position in it self, if he could have cleared the application thereof to his Royal Client, but *Hoc restat probandum*; the contrary, that *God never joyed them together*, being vehemently urged by her adversaries.

The pleas of  
the Kings  
Council.

45. Notwithstanding the Queens absence, the Court proceeded: And first the Kings Proctors put in their exceptions against both *Bulls*, and *Breve* of Pope *Julius* the second, dispensing with the Kings marriage with his brothers wife; *viz.*

1. That they were not to be found amongst the Original Records in *Rome.*
2. That they were not extant in Chartaphylacio, amongst the King of *Englands* papers (most concerned therein) but found onely in *Spain*, amongst the writings of a State-Officer there.
3. That in them it was falsely suggested, as if the same were procured at the instance of *Henry, Prince of Wales*, who then, not being above thirteen years old, was not capable of such intentions.
4. That the Date thereof was somewhat discrepant from the form used in the Court of *Rome.*

Secrets sub  
figilla thalami.

46. After this, many witnesses on the Kings side were depofed: and though this favour is by custome indulged to the English Nobility, to *speake* on their Honours; yet the Canon-Law taking no notice of this their municipal priviledge, and for the more legal validity of their testimonies, required the same on oath, though two Dukes, one Dutcheis, one Marquess, many Lords and Ladies gave in their depositions. These attested,

1. That both were of sufficient age, Prince *Arthur* of fifteen years, the Lady *Katharine* somewhat elder.
2. That constant their cohabitation at board, and in bed.
3. That competent time of the fame, as full five moneths.
4. That entire their mutual affection, no difference being ever observed betwixt them.
5. That *Henry*, after his Brothers death, by an instrument produced in Court, and attested by many witnesses, refused to marry her, though afterwards altered by the importunity of others.
6. That, by several expressions of Prince *Arthur*'s, it appeared, he had carnal knowledge of the Lady *Katharine.*

The beds of private persons are compassed with curtaines, of Princes veiled also with canopies, to conceal the passages therein, to which modesty admitteth no witnesses. Pity it is, that any, with *Pharao*, should discover what is exchanged betwixt *Isaac* and *Rebekah*; all which are best stifled in secrecy and silence. However, such the nature of the present cause, that many privacies were therein discovered.

A throwd re-  
cordion.

47. Observe by the way, that, whereas it was generally alledged in favour of the Queen, that Prince *Arthur* had not carnal knowledge of her; because,

Anno  
Regis  
Hen. 8  
25.Anno  
Dom.  
1529.

because, soon after his marriage, his consumptionish body seemed unfit for such performances; this was retorted by testimonies on the Kings side, his witnesses deposing, that generally it was reported and believed, the Prince impaired his health, by his over liberal payment of *due benevolence.*

Off.  
22.

48. It was expected that the Cardinals should now proceed to a definitive sentence, according as matters were alledged, and proved unto them. The rather because it was generally reported, that *Campesius* brought over with him a *Bull Decretal*, to pronounce a nullity of the match, if he saw just cause for the same. Which rumor (like the *filken flie* wherewith Anglers cheat the fishes) was onely given out to tempt King *Henry* to a longer patience, and quiet expectation of the event. But by this time Queen *Katharine* had privately prevailed with the Pope, to *advoke* the cause to *Rome*, as a place of more indifference for a plea of so high concernment. Whereupon *Campesius* took his leave of the King, and returned into *Italy.*

An end in  
vain expect-  
ed.

49. The Papists tell us, that Cardinal *Campesius* sent over before him some amatorious Letters, which passed written with the Kings own hand, betwixt him and his dear *Wan*, as he termed her. These are said to import more familiarity then chastity betwixt them, and are carefully kept, and solemnly shewn in the *Vatican* to strangers, especially of the English Nation, though some suspect them to be forged. For though the King had wantonness enough to write such Letters, yet *Anna Bollen* had wit and wariness too much, to part with them. It would more advance the Popish project, could they shew any return from her to the King accepting his offers, which they pretend not to produce. Our Authors generally agree, her Jewells more inflamed the Kings desires. For though perchance nothing more then a woman was with'd by his wilde fancy, yet nothing less then an *husband* would content her conscience. In a word, to cunning she was in her chastity, that the farther she put him from her, the nearer she fastened his affections unto her.

Love-Letters  
of King Hen.  
kept in the  
Vatican.

50. Still was the Kings cause more delayed in the Court of *Rome.* If a melancholick School-man can spin out a speculative controversy with his *Pro's* and *Con's*, to some quires of paper, where the profit is little to others, and none to himself, except satisfying his curiosity, and some popular applause; no wonder if the *Casuits* at *Rome* (those cunning *Masters of Defence*) could lengthen out a cause of so high concernment, and so greatly beneficial unto them. For, English silver now was current, and our gold volant in the Popes Courts, whither such masses of money daily were transported, *England* knew not certainly what was expended, nor *Rome* what received herein. Yea, for seven years was this suit depending in the Popes Court; after which Apprentiship, the Indentures were not intended to be cancelled, but the cause still to be kept on foot, it being for the interest, to have it *always in doing, and never done.* For, whilst it depended, the Pope was sure of two great friends; but, when it was once decided, he was sure of one great foe, either the Emperour, or our King of *England.*

No haste to  
end the Kings  
cause at *Rome.*

51. It was a Maxime true of all men, but most of King *Henry*, *Omnis mora properanti nimia*: He (who would have not onely *what*, but *when* he would himself) was vexed with so many delayings, deferings, retardings, prorogations, prolongations, procrastinations, betwixt two Popes (as one may say) *Clement* that was, and *Wolsey* that would be. So that all this while, after *so much ado*, there was nothing done in his business, which now was no nearer to a final conclusion, then at the first beginning thereof. Yea, now began Cardinal *Wolsey* to decline in the Kings favour, suspecting him for not cordial in his cause, and ascribing much of the delay to his backwardness herein. More hot did the displeasure of Queen *Katharine* burn against him, beholding

King and  
Queen both  
offended with  
*Wolsey.*

Wolsey looks  
two ways in  
this design.

beholding him as the chief engine, who set the matter of her Divorce first in motion.

52. Be it here remembred, that in perswading the Kings Divorce, Wolsey drave on a double design: by the recells of the Kings love from Queen Katharine, to revenge himself of the Emperour; by the access of his love to Margaret of Alençon, to oblige the King of France. Thus he hoped to gain with both hands, and presumed, that the sharpness of his two-edged policy should cut on both sides: when God, to prevent him, did both blunt the edges, and break the point thereof. For, instead of gaining the love of two Kings, he got the implacable anger of two Queens; of Katharine decaying, and Anna Bullen increasing in the Kings affection. Let him hereafter look but for few fair dayes, when both the *Sun-rising*, and *setting*, frowned upon him.

Anno  
Dom.  
1529  
Hm.8  
25.

SECT.

Anno  
Regis  
Dom.

## SECT. II.

TO

M<sup>r</sup> THOMAS JAMES

OF

BUNTINGFORD in Hertford-shire.

CORNER STONES (*two walls meeting in them*) are polished with the more curiosity, and placed with more carefulness. So also corner bones (*as I may say*) which do double duty, and attend the service of two joynts, (*in the Elbow and Knee*) are rarely fixed by the providence of Nature.

This Section being in the turning of Religions, (*the going out of the Old, and coming in of the New*) ought to have been done with most industry, difficultie meeting therein with dark instructions. However I have endeavoured my utmost, (*though falling short of the merits of the matter, and doubt not but you will be as candid in the perusing, as I have desired to be careful in the writing thereof.*

Hm.8  
22. 1530



Know now in the next year, the Lords in Parliament put in a Bill of fourty four particulars against Wolsey. The most material was his exercising of power-Legative, without leave, to the prejudice of the Kings Crown and Dignity. The Bill is brought down into the *House of Commons*, where Mr Cromwel, then Servant to the Cardinal, chanced to be a *Burgess*. Here he defended his Master with such wit and eloquence, that even those who

hated the *Client*, yet praised the *Advocate* who pleaded in his behalf. This was the first time, that publick notice was taken of Cromwel his eminent parts, and advantageous *flaring* is more then *half the way* in the race to preferment, as afterwards in him it came to pass. As for Wolsey, though at this time he escaped with life and liberty, yet were all his goods, of inestimable value, confiscated to the King, and he outed of most of his Ecclesiastical promotions.

Accused in  
Parliament  
and well de-  
fended by  
Mr Cromwel  
his servant:

{ G g }

2. Court-

Referred  
to the  
King's  
Council  
at  
York.

He comes  
about  
1530.

He states it at  
York.

Arrested of  
treason and  
death.

Wolsey's credu-  
lity beforesaid  
with a dubi-  
ous Prophe-  
cy.

\* Hen. Lord  
Howard in his  
Book against  
Prophecies,  
c. 28. fol.  
130.

The King de-  
luded with  
delays at  
Rome.

a Hist. of  
Council of  
Trent, pag. 59.

2. Court-favourites, when it is once past noon, it is presently night with them, as here it fared with *Wolsey*. His enemies, of whom no want, follow the change given unto him. For they beheld him, rather in a *Sonn*, then as yet *Dead* in the Kings favour, and feared if his submission should meet with the Kings remembrance of his former services, they might produce his full restoration to power and dignity. The rather because the Cardinal was *craving* to improve all to his own advantage, and the King (as yet) not *cruel*, though too perfect in that lesson afterwards. His enemies would not trust the Cardinal to live at *London*, (nor at *Winchester* within fifty miles thereof) but got the King to command him away to *York*, sending him thither, whilst his confidence long since should have sent him, namely to visit his *Whores*, so large in extent, and reside therein.

3. Indifferent men thought that he had enough, his Foes that too much, onely himself that too little was left unto him. Pride accounts the greatest plenty, if without Pomp no better then Penury. Yet he had the whole revenues of *Tork Arch-Bishoprick* (worth then little less then four thousand pounds yearly) besides a large Pension paid him out of the Bishoprick of *Winchester*. Was not here *juet* enough, had there not been too much *fire* within, such his covetousness and ambition?

4. Earthly Kings may make men *humbled*, God alone *humble*. *Wolsey* began to *state* it at *Tork* as high as ever before, in proportion to his contracted revenue. Preparation is made in a Princely equipage for his Installation, attracting envie from such as beheld it. All is told unto the King, and all made worse by telling it, complaining *Wolsey* would never leave his pride, till life first left him. His old faults are revived and aggravated, and the King incensed afresh against him.

5. The Earl of *Northumberland* by the Commission from the King, Arrested him of high-Treason, in his own chamber, at *Carwood*. By flow and short journeys he setteth forward to *London*, meeting by the way with contrary messages from the King; Sometimes he was tickled with hopes of pardon and preferment, sometimes pinched with fears of a disgraceful death, so that he knew not how to dispose his minde, to Mirth or Mourning. Age and anguish, brought his disease of the dysentery, the pain lying much in his guts, more in his heart. Especially after *St William Kingston* was sent unto him, who being Lieutenant of the Tower seemed to carry a restraint in his looks. Coming to *Leicester* he died, being buried almost as obscurely as he was born.

6. I know not whether or no it be worth the mentioning here, (how-ever we will put it on the adventure) that *Cardinal Wolsey*, in his life time was inform'd by some Fortune-tellers, that he should have his end at *Kingston*. This his credulity interpreted of *Kingston* on *Thames*, which made him al-ways to avoid the riding through that Town, though the nearest way from his house to the Court. Afterwards understanding that he was to be com-mitted by the Kings express order to the charge of *St Anthony \* Kingston*, it struck to his heart, too late perceiving himself deluded by that Father of Lies in his homonymous prediction.

7. *Anna Bollen* did every day look fairer and fairer in the King's eyes, whilst the hopes of his marriage with her, seemed every day farther and farther from him. For, the Court at *Rome* meddled not with the merits of the cause, but fell upon by-points therein of lesser concernment. Yea, they divided his case into three and twenty particulars; whereof the first was, whether *Prince Arthur* had carnal knowledge with the *Lady Katharine*? This bare about a years debate; so that according to this proportion, King *Henry* would be, not onely past marrying, but past living, before his cause should be decided. This news put him into a passionate pensiveness, the rather, because meeting with sadness here, many populous places in *England*, and *Cambridge* particularly, being at the present visited with the sickness.

8. But

Anno  
Dom.  
1530

Nu.  
27.

30.

Anno  
Rege.  
Hen. 8  
22.

Anno  
Dom.  
1530

8. But, it is an evil plague which brings no body profit. On this oc-casion Dr *Crammer* retired to *Walham* with two of his Pupils, the sons of Mr *Cressly* (a name utterly extinct in that Town where God hath fixed my present habitation) long before the memory of any alive. But, consulting *Weavers \* Funeral-Monuments of Walham-Church* (more truly then neatly by him composed) I finde therein this Epitaph,

Here lyeth Jon and Jone Cressly,  
On whose souls Jesu hav mercy. Amen.

It seems paper sometimes is more lasting then bras; all the ancient Epitaphs in that Church being defac'd by some barbarous hands, who perchance one day may want a grave for themselves.

9. The King coming to *Walham*, Dr *Fox* his Chaplain and Almoner (af-terwards Bishop of *Hereford*) is lodged in Mr *Cressly*'s house: Discourting about the Kings Divorce; *Crammer* conceived that the speediest course was to prove the unlawfulness of his Match by Scripture; whence it would follow, that the Pope as first had no power to dispence therewith; and that the Universities of *Christendom* would sooner and truer decide the case, then the Court of *Rome*. This passage *Fox* reports to the King; who, well pleased therat, professes that this man had the b *Sow by the right ear*: An ear which the King never left that this man had the b *Sow by the right ear*, and effected his will therein: *Crammer* being sent for, comes to the King, who very lovingly entertains him. Indeed he was a most comely person, having an amiable eye (and as the soul sees much by the eye, so is it much seen in them) and pleasing countenance, as by his lively c *Picture* doth appear. Glad was the King to see, more to hear him enlarge himself on the former subject, that it was above the Popes power to dispen- ce with Gods work in the Kings case. And now what fitter *Nurse* for the Child, then the own Mother; what person more proper to manage this matter then *Crammer* himself, who first moved it. The King resolves, and *Crammer* consents he should be sent to the Pope, there to make God his possi- on. Leave we *Crammer* for a time, preparing himself for his long journey; and come briefly to state the Kings Controvercie out of Gods Word, and several Authors who have written thereof.

10. It plainly appears that a marriage with a Brothers Wife is unlawful, because expressely forbidden.

### LEVIT. 18. 16.

Thou shalt not uncover the Nakedness of thy Brothers Wife,  
it is thy Brothers Nakedness.

### Wherein we have

#### 1. A Prohibition.

Thou shalt not uncover the Na- kedness of thy Brothers Wife: See all these Laws are made to men; it being presumed that the weaker sex, (whose part it is to take, not tender; accept, not offer love) would be so modest, as not to adventure of themselves on any incestuous act, except first solicited by men thereunto.

#### 2. The Reason thereof.

It is thy Brothers Nakedness. God could ac- cording to his Dominion peremptorily have forbidden the same, without rendering a reason of his Prohibition; but that men might pay the more willing obedience to his Law, he maketh those who were to keep it, in some sort Judges of the justness there- of, endeavouring to convince their consciences, and make their souls sensible of the natural uncleanncs of such an act. It is thy Brothers nakedness.

[G g 2]

Such

Doct. Crammer  
comes to Wal-  
tham.

a In Essex, pag.  
645. But see  
the former  
part of *Cram-  
mers* life until  
this time, in  
our History of  
*Cambridge*.

Is employed  
by the King  
to the Pope.

b Fox Acts &c  
Mon. 1861.

c Which I  
have seen at  
Chebworth in  
the house of  
Sir Tho Dares,  
done at take  
it by Hans  
Holbein.

Marriage  
with Brothers  
Wives twice  
forbidden in  
Scripture.

Such marriages are again forbidden in another Text. Nor can I render other reason of this Duplicate, whereas others are but once, that this should be twice prohibited; save, that God, foreseeing in his providence mens corrupt inclinations, prone here to climb over, did therefore think fit to make a double fence.

## LEVIT. 20. 21.

*And if a man shall take his Brothers Wife, it is an unclean thing; he hath uncovered his Brothers Nakedness, they shall be Childless.*

Here we have the Prohibition backt with a Commination of being Childless, which is variously interpreted, either that they shall never have children, or if having them, they shall not survive their Parents, or if surviving, they shall not be counted children, but Bastards, illegitimate in the Court of Heaven. This Commination of being childless, as applied *ad hominem*, fell heavy on King Henry the eighth; who sensible that his Queen, though happy often to conceive, was unhappy almost as often to miscarry. Henry his only Christian son, by her, died before a full year old; a second was nameless, as never living to the honour of Baptism; and of many blasted in the bud, Mary onely survived to womans estate.

11. Such as inquire into the nature of this Law finde it founded in Nature it self, being onely declaratory of what true reason doth dictate to man. God in making this Law did not imprint a new writing in mens hearts, but only rub off some old rust from the same; wherefore it is added, *Levit. 18. 27, 28. For all these abominations have the men of the Land done, which were before you, and the Land is defiled; that the Land spue not you out also, when ye defile it, as it spued out the Nations that were before you.* Surely the Land would never have vomited out the Heathen for not observing a positive precept, never immediately delivered unto them, which plainly shews it was imprinted in nature, though partly obliterated by their corrupt customes to the contrary; and their consciences in their Lucid Intervals were apprehensive thereof. This would make one the more to admire, that any should maintain, that this Law, the breach whereof made the Country to avoid her Pagan Inhabitants, should be onely a *lex impossibilis* & Ecclesiastica, an imposed and Church-Law. To hear of a Church-Law amongst the Canaanites, is a strange Paradox.

12. It is objected this could not be a Law of Nature, because almost at the beginning of nature, men brake them by the consent and permission of the God of heaven; For Cain and Seth with the elder sons of Adam must be allowed to have married their own sisters, far nearer in nature then their Brothers wife.

13. It is answered, when God first created man-kinde, it was his pleasure all men should derive their original from Eve, as she from Adam. For had he made (as one may say) two distinct houles of Man-kinde, what falling out and fighting, what bickering and battling would have been betwixt them. If men now adays descended from the loyns of one general Father, and womb of one mother, are full of so fierce hatred, how many and keen may their differences be presumed, had they sprung from several Fountains, and then all their hatred would have been charged, not on their corruption, but on their Creation? God therefore (as the Apostle saith) *Acts 17. 26. hath made of one blood all nations.* Now in the beginning of Man-kinde absolute necessity gave Brethren liberty to marry their own sisters. Yea, God himself, interpretatively, signed and sealed the same with his own consent, because his wisdom had appointed no other means without miracle, for

This proved to be a Law of Nature.

a Senders de schism. Angli. p. 63. The Objection to the contrary.

Answered.

Ann. Dom. 1530. Sep. 20.

for the propagation of man-kinde. But when men began to be multiplied on the earth, that necessity being removed, the light of Nature dictated unto them the unlawfulness of such marriages, and of some others more remote, as coming within the compass of *incest*; though the corrupt practices of Pagan Societies trespassed in that kinde. God therefore being to give his Law to the Jews, cleared and declared that light of Nature, by his positive Law unto his people, to whom his Goodness gave a Garden, and set ad a Tree, so inconsiderable were those few prohibited, to the many persons permitted them in marriage. For whereas there came out of a Egypt about six hundred thousand men, besides children, fifty persons at the most (counting those forbidden, as well by consequence as exprelly) were interdicted unto them; amongst whom one was the Marriage with a Brothers Wife. For although God permitted this by a judicial Law to his own people in case of b raising up seed to a Brother deceased childless (the will of God being the Law of Laws), yet otherwise it was utterly unlawful, as whereon God had stamped (as is aforesaid) a double Note of natural uncleanness.

14. The Law then of forbidding marriage with a Brothers Wife, being founded in nature, it was pride, and presumption in the Pope to pretend to dispense therewith. Indeed we read that the dispensation of the Gospel (so free it dealt and distributed to several persons) was committed to c St Paul (whose joynt successour, with St Peter, the Pope pretends to be) but a Dispensation from the Law of God, to free men from the same, neither Paul nor Peter ever pretended unto. Let the Pope make relaxations of such Church Canons, which merely Ecclesiastical Authority hath made, there he may have the specious power to remit the rigour thereof at some times, places and persons, as he apprehendeth just occasion. But let him not meddle to grant liberty for the breach of Gods Law. The first Dispensation in this kinde is what Satan in the Serpent gave our first Parents in Paradise, *you shall not surely die*; and whether the Granter had less power therein, or the receivers less profit thereby, we their woful posterity have little comfort to decide.

15. Nor doth it any thing alter the case, (what was so much controverted in the Court of Rome) whether or no Prince Arthur had carnal knowledge of his wife, seeing we may observe, that in the Court of Heaven Marriages bear dates not from their Copulation, but from solemn Contract. And they thenceforward are esteemed Man and Wife before God. For it is provided, that if a Damsel be betrothed to a Husband still remaining a Virgin, and shall be layen with by another man, both of them shall be stoned to death, and she punished for an Adulteress, he for humbling his Neighbours wife. Be then the Lady Katharine known or unknown by Prince Arthur, due Benevolence is the effect, not the cause of Marriage, which was completed before God, and they two made one flesh, when solemnly joyned together in the face of the Congregation.

16. Such a Marriage with a Brothers wife, thus appearing against the Law of God, it is strange that any should maintain, that Publica honestas, publique honesty, was the onely obstacle of this marriage, which obstruction (say they) by the Popes dispensation was removed, because Publica Utilitas, the Publick Profit was greater; that redoubled by permitting this match. Now suppose this all the obstacle, the Position is dangerous and unsound; For, first, Christians are not sensible of utility (as falsely so called) which stands at distance with Publick Honesty. Secondly, the publickness of the Profit was not adequate to the publickness of the Scandal. The Profit or State-benefit thereby, onely extended to the Crowns of England and France as concerned therein; whilst the Scandal dilated it self to the People of all Christian Provinces, justly offended thereat. And although we confess, that in this respect the world is narrower to Princes then to private persons, as not affording so fit matches unto them; yet Kings have no Commision to enlarge themselves herein, by the actual breach of Gods Commandment.

a Ex. 12. 37.

b 1 Pet. 3. 10.

Gods Laws in-

dispensable

with by the

Pope. 1. 10

c 1 Cor. 9. 17.

d Gen. 3. 4.

d Gen. 3. 4.

Carnal know-

led not mat-

terial in this

controver-

see.

e Deut. 22. 24.

No Christian

utility incon-

sistent with

honesty.

Armies of  
writers pro &  
con in this  
point.

17. Thus far the summe of the sense of *Protestants* and others, no fewer then an hundred Authors, writing at this time against this Marriage, all which were produced by the King in the next *Parliament*. Yet very many *Papists* professed their judgments in print, on the contrary side, both English and outlandish *Divines*: and (to give them their due) brought very plausible Arguments. Of all these,

John Fisher Bishop of Rochester led the *Front*, whom some Catholics call St John, because beheaded like the *Baptist*, though on contrary accounts: John Baptist for saying, it is *not* lawful; John Fisher for saying, it is lawful for thee to have thy Brothers wife.

b Mark 6.18.

\* We order  
them by the  
seniority of  
their writings.

\* John Holman }  
John Clerke } Bishop of  
Cuthbert Danfall }  
Nicholas West }  
Bristol. } Thomas Abel  
Bath & Wells. } Edward Powel  
London. } Richard Featherstone  
Ely. } Ridley  
English-  
men, and  
Canonists.

c Properly  
people of  
France, living  
betwixt the  
Rivers of Ga-  
ronna and  
Seguana.

Francis Royas }  
Alphonse de }  
Verueze } Spaniards.  
Alphonse de }  
Castro }  
Sepulveda }  
Cardinal }  
Cajetan }  
Lewes Nuga- }  
rola } Italians.  
Alvarus Ga- }  
meius }  
John Cochle- }  
us } Portuguese.  
Portu-  
guese.  
High-  
German.  
Egwinarus }  
Baro }  
Franciscus }  
Duarenus }  
Convarius }  
c Celtia.  
Ludovicus a Schora,  
a Low-Country-  
man.

Erasmus, a greater Scholar then Divine, was very doubtful in his judgment herein. He is made by some modern Apocryphical Commentaries to be the Angel flying in *paradoxiis*, that is (as they will have it) in a middle distance betwixt Heaven and Earth, which how it agrees to the Text, I know not. It alludeth well to his dubious posture betwixt different opinions in Religion; and particularly in this Controversie, sometimes being for King Henry, and sometimes against him herein.

Crammer ac-  
companies co-  
thers in an  
Embassie to  
Rome.

18. Return we to Crammer employed now in his *Embassie* to Rome: The state whereof lay on Thom. Bullen, Earl of Wilt-shire, but the strength of it (as to the disputing part) on Dr Crammer, Dr Sikeley, Dr Carne, Dr Benner, &c. so that a little University of Learned men went along thither. These were well armed with Arguments; being to carry a challenge to all the *Canonists* at Rome. Coming thither, they found the Pope in his *Grandezza* proferring his *Toe* to them, which none offered to kiss, save the unmannerly *Spaniel* (to say no worse of him) to the Earl of Wilt-shire, whom the *Jesuits* calls a *Protestant-Dog*, for biting the *Popes Toe*; But let him tell us what Religion those Dogs were of, which eat up c Jezebel the harlot. The Earl presented the Pope a Book of Crammers penning, proving Gods Law indispensable with, by the Pope: A Book as welcome to his Holiness as a prison; beholding his own power therein limited and confined. Promise was made of a publick Disputation, but never performed. Onely the Pope (who is excellent at the making of nothing somethings, by the solemn giving thereof) made Crammer *Supreme Penitentiary* (an empty Title) throughout all his Dominions; This was onely to stay his stomach for that time, in hope of a more plentiful Feast hereafter, if Crammer had been pleased to take his *repast* on any Popish preformant.

Foreign Uni-  
versities de-  
termine for  
the King.

19. Mean time King Henry employed his Agents to the Universities in several parts of *Christendom*, to found their judgments in the matter of his Marriage. Some report that Reginald Poole, then living at Paris was practi-

Anno  
Dom.  
1530.  
Anno  
Regh.  
Hen. 8.  
22.

sed upon by promise of preferment, to act the University there in favour of the King: but he being a perfect *Katharinist* declined the employment. St Richard Morison, a learned Knight, was used by the King in Germany; a Edmund Bonner, afterwards Bishop of London, employed in Italy, and William Langie, a Native French-man, made use of in his own Country; so that ten of the Universities subscribed the Cause, that it was above the Popes power to dispense with the positive Law of God.

- |                           |            |                |           |
|---------------------------|------------|----------------|-----------|
| 1. Cambridg.              | } England. | 6. d Tholous   | } France. |
| 2. Oxford                 |            | 7. c Anjou     |           |
| 3. b Paris                | } France.  | 8. f Bituriges | } Italy.  |
| 4. c The Faculty of Paris |            | 9. e Bononia   |           |
| 5. Orleans                |            | 10. h Padua    |           |

Wonder not herein, at the silence of many Dutch Universities, Wittenberg, Heidelberg, Tubing, Basil, that they interposed not their opinions herein; for these having formerly utterly exploded the Popes power, were conceived partial, and therefore incompetent Judges in this point: Wherefore the King only solicited such Universities in this Cause, which [as yet] remained in fast and firm obedience to the See of Rome.

20. Of all the Universities declaring for the Popes inability to dispense with Gods positive command, most bold and daring (because largest, fullest clearly) was that of Bononia, the chief City in *Romanola*, a Province of *Peters Patrimony*, and that City the Popes retiring place. Nor can I omit the conclusion of their Declaration. We confidently do bold and witness, that such Marriage is horrible, accursed, and to be cried out upon, and utterly abominable, not onely for a Christian man, but for an Infidel, unfaithful or heathen, and that it is prohibited under grievous pains and punishments, by the Law of God, of Nature, and of man; and that the Pope, though he may do much, unto whom Christ gave the Keys of the Kingdom of heaven, hath no power to give a dispensation to any man to contract such Marriage. In witness whereof we confirm this our judgment, both under the Seal of our University, as also with the Seal of our Colleg of Doctors of Divinity, and have subscribed it in the Cathedral Church of Bonony, this tenth of June, in the year of our Lord, 1530.

21. Sanders hath little to say against so many and clear decisions of the Universities; onely he tells us, that all the Kings Agents had not equal success in their Negotiations: and particularly that one Hutton, the Kings instrument herein could not bow those of *Hamborough* and *Lubeck*, to express themselves against the Marriage. But surely these two places were onely *Gymnasias*, for I finde them not mentioned amongst the Dutch Universities. Also he saith that Richard Crook, another of the Kings *Emissaries*, prevailed nothing on many Germane Professors, and particularly he praifeth the University of *Colen*, for their reculancy therein. As for such who subscribed on the Kings side, he pretends that Bribes bought their judgments; as if our King Henry had learnt from King Solomon, that Money recompenceth all things. The best is, the cleanly hands of the Court of Rome, had never, no doubt any bribes sticking to their fair fingers. But though that English-Angels flew over to foreign Universities, yet there lieth a real distinction betwixt a Bribe and a Boon, freely bestowed, not to bow and bias their opinions; but to gratifie their pains, and remunerate their industry, in studying of the point.

22. As for our English Ambassadors at Rome, finding themselves onely fed with delays; no wonder if they were sharp set to return home. All came

a Hollinsh. in  
Hen. 8. pag.  
923.

The hold De-  
claration of  
the Universi-  
ty of Bononia.

i Speeds Chro.  
in H. 8. p. 166.

The Reculancy  
of other  
Universities.  
k Dr. schimant  
Anglic. p. 69,  
61.

l Eccles. 10. 19

Crammer tra-  
velled into  
Germany.

Anno  
Regh.  
Hen. 8.  
22.

Anno  
Dom.  
1530.

Mo  
b. 2.  
c. 7.  
f. 10.  
g. 10.  
h. 10.  
i. 10.  
j. 10.  
k. 10.  
l. 10.  
m. 10.  
n. 10.



came back again save Dr *Cranmer*, who took a journey to the *Emperours Court in Vienna*. Here he grew acquainted with *Cornelius Agrippa*, who had written a Book of the *Fancy of Sciences*, having much of the *Sciences*, but more of the *tautology* in himself. Here also he conversed with many great Divines, and sent home some of them out of Scripture and Reason, which formerly were uncontroverted in the unlawfulness of the Kings Marriage.

23. A Parliament was now called, wherein the *Clergie* were found guilty of a *Præsumptio*, because they had too much promoted the *Papal* interest, and acted by virtue of his power, to the damage and detriment of the *Crown of England*; whereupon being willing to redeem their whole estates forfeited by *Law*, they were glad to commute it into a summe of money: the *Clergie* of the Province of *Canterbury* alone, bestowed on the King, one hundred thousand pounds, to be paid by equal portions, in the same year, say some; in four years say others, and that in my opinion with more probability.

24. But the King would not be so satisfied with the payment of the money, except also they would acknowledge him to be *Supreme Head of the Church*. This was hard meat, and would not easily down amongst them, however being thoroughly debated in a Synodical way, both in the upper and lower houses of Convocation; they did in fine agree, on this expression, *(Ecclesie Anglicane singulari Proteſtorem, unicum & ſupremum Dominum, & quantum per Chriſti leges licet) ſupremum caput ipſius Maieſtatem recognoſcimus*.

25. This thus contented unto, and ſubſcribed by the hands of the *Clergie*, (as appears at large in the Records and Acts of the Convocation) and ſo preſented to the King in the name of his *Clergie*; was afterwards confirmed by Parliament, and incorporated into a ſolemn Act for the ratification thereof.

26. During theſe tranſactions, *William Warham*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* ended his life. A poliſtick perſon, well learned in the Laws, generally reputed a moderate man, though (ſpecially towards his latter end) a ſtill and ſilent perſecutor of poor Chriſtians. He was firſt Parſon of *Barly in Hertfordſhire* (as appears by an *a* inſcription in that Church) thence riſing by degrees to great preferment. In his *will* he requeſted his Succellour not to ſue his *b* Executors for Dilapidations, as having expended ſome thouſands of pounds in repairing his ſeveral Palaces. We verily believe his requeſt was granted, ſeeing *Cranmer* was free from all exacting in that kinde, *Sede vacante*, *John Stokesly* Biſhop of *London*, was Preſident in the Convocation.

27. Meſſengers are ſent into *Germany* for *Thomas Cranmer*, to finde him out, and fetch him home with all poſſible ſpeed, the Arch-Biſhoprick of *Canterbury* waiting his acceptance thereof. The Poſt eaſily doth the firſt, but *Cranmer* prolonged his journey by *c* ſeven weeks, at the laſt, hoping that in the mean time the King might forget him, and confer the place on another, being really unwilling to unbrace the preferment, having *aliquid in ſe*, ſomething within him, which reſiſtated againſt thoſe ſuperſtitious through which he muſt wade in the way thereunto. But there lieth no *Nolo Episcopatu* againſt King *Henry* his *Volo te Episcopum eſſe*; It being as mortal to reſuſe favours from him, as to offer injuries to him. *Cranmer* therefore now came home, muſt in his own defence be Arch-Biſhop, who, to ſerve the King and ſalve his own conſcience, uſed the expedient of a Proteſtation, whereof hereafter.

28. The Philoſopher gives us this note of direction, whereby to finde out a *virtue*, viz. that it is accuſed by both Extremes. Thus *Liberality* is charged by *Prodigals* to be Covetouſneſs, by covetous men to be Prodigality. By the ſame proportion *Cranmer* appears a worthy Prelate, taxed by *Papiſts* to be an *Heretick*, by others [no *Papiſts*] as guilty of *Superſtition*. We will endeavour his juſt defence, conceiving the *Proteſtants* cauſe much concerned therein, the

The Clergie  
of the Province  
of Canterbury.Acknowledg  
the King's  
Authority  
on the Church.Confirmed by  
Act of Parli-  
ament.The death of  
Arch-Biſhop  
Warham.a Weaver's Fu-  
neral Mon.b Antiq. Brit.  
Pag.Cranmer ſent  
for, and un-  
willing, ac-  
cepteth the  
Arch-Biſhop-  
rick.  
c Five Acts &  
Mon. p. 1703.A preparative  
to Cranmer's  
juſt defence.Anno  
Regis  
Hen. 8  
23.Anno  
Dom.  
153224.  
Mar.  
30.

1533

the Legality of his Conſecration having an influence on all the Biſhops made by him, that of the Biſhops making an impreſſion on the Priests and Deacons by them ordained, and their rightful ordination, deriving validity to the Sacraments by them adminiſtred to all the members of the Church of England.

29. A Papiſt a objects, *non fuit conſecratus ab ullo Epifcopo, ſed à ſolo Rege intruſus, that he was conſecrated by no Biſhop, but thruſt in by the King alone*. The falſeneſs whereof doth appear on publick Record, ſtill to be ſeen in the Register, being ſolemnly conſecrated by

{ John b Lincoln.  
John Exeter.  
Henry St Aſaph.

and none that pretendeth to ſkill in Canon Law, can deny the number inſufficient for ſuch a performance.

30. Another ureth him incapable of a Biſhoprick as debarr'd by Bigamy, even by the censure of the *a* Apoſtle, *Let a Biſhop be the husband of one wife*, *Cranmer* being ſucceſſively twice married. It is Anſwered, ſuch ſucceſſive marriage is no Bigamy, the Apoſtle only forbidding the having of many wives at once, (a fault faſhionable amongſt the Jews, then and many years after, by the teſtimony of a Juſtine Martyr) and the ſame is ſo expounded alſo by *c* S Hierom. *præcipit ut ſacerdotes ſingulas uno tempore habeant uxores*.

31. But grant *Cranmer* guilty but of one wife at once, even that made him (as his adverſaries rejoynd) incapable of the Arch-Biſhoprick, becauſe prohibited by the Canons, To which we anſwer, that *f* Spiridon, *8* St Hilary, *h* Gregory Nazianzen, and many other Biſhops, eminent for Learning and Sanctity in the Primitive times, are confeſſed married men by authentick Authors, in the beſt times accounted no bar to their Epifcopal juſtition. Yea, the Romanists are concerned to allow *Cranmer* a lawful Arch-Biſhop, becauſe allowing ſuch as were Conſecrated by him, as *Thomas Thyrleby*, Biſhop of *Ely*, *Anthony Kitchen*, Biſhop of *Landaff*, for lawful Biſhops, to whom he could not derive any orders, if not legally inveſted therein himſelf.

32. Paſs we now to ſuch acceptions which a *m* Modern writer (zealous againſt Popery) taketh againſt him, being no fewer then nine, as if he intended what they want in weight to make up in number. 1. *That he took the like Oath to the Pope which his Predeceſſors have done, and therefore was deeply charged of perjury by Martin a Papiſt*.

\* 33. I Anſwer, he took not the like Oath. His Predeceſſors took it abſolutely and ſimply. Not ſo *Cranmer*. Not that he was guilty of any clandeſtine equivocation or mental reſervation therein, but publickly entred a ſolemn Proteſtation, remaining on Record in his *n* office in manner and form following.

**I**N Dei nomine, Amen, Coram nobis, &c. Non eſt, nec erit mea voluntas aut intentionis per huiusmodi iuramentum vel iuramenta, qualiterque verba in ipſis poſita ſonare videbuntur me obligare ad aliquid, ratione eorumdem, poſſe dicendum, faciendum, aut attendendum, quid erit, aut eſſe videbitur contra legem Dei, vel contra illuſtriſſimum Regem noſtrum Angliæ, aut Rempublicam huius ſui Regni Angliæ, legesque, aut prerogativa ejuſdem; & quid non intendo per huiusmodi iuramentum vel iuramenta quovis modo me obligare, quo minus liberè loqui conſulere, & conſenſive valcam, in omnibus & ſingulis reformationem Religionis Chriſtianæ, gubernationem Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, ac prerogativam corone ejuſdem Reipublicæ! vi commoditatem quovis modo concernentibus, & ea ubique, exequi & reformare, que mihi in Eccleſiâ Anglicanâ reformanda videbuntur.

[H 1]

Cranmer law-  
fully conſe-  
crated.a Bezan. contr.  
Angl. c. 4. q. 9.  
n. 6.b Regiſt.  
Cranm. fol. 5.His double  
marriage vo-  
bar unto him.  
c 1 Tim. 3. 2.d In dial. cum  
Toſeph.  
e Eph. 8. 3.Biſhops mar-  
ried in the  
Primitive  
times.f Socræſtenor  
lib. 2. cap. 11.g Bagrifa  
Mannensis.  
h In carmine  
de viſit. ſuâ.Cranmer took  
not the like  
Oath with his  
predeceſſors.m Will. Pryn  
in his antipa-  
thy of preſby-  
tery to Monarchy,  
pag. 131.\* The copy of  
his proteſta-  
tion.n Ex Regiſt.  
Cranmer. fol. 4.

*videbuntur. Et secundum hanc interpretationem, & intellectum hunc, & non aliter, neq; alio modo dictum juramentum me præstiturum proteſtor, & præſteor, &c.*

Anno  
1533.  
Regis  
Henr. 8.  
24.

This Protestation he did not privately smother in a corner, but publickly interposed it three several times, viz. once in the Chapter-house before authentick witnesses; again, on his bended knees at the High-Altar, many people and Bishops beholding him when he was to be consecrated; and the third time, when he received his **Dall** in the same place.

No civil but  
a just charge.

34. Secondly, he accuseth him for having a hand in the condemnation and execution of *Lambert, Frith*, and other Godly Martyrs. This indeed cannot be denied. For though I am loath that *Crammer's* head should (by the weight and violence of his causid's detractors) be plucked under water, where he was innocent, I will leave him to sink or swim by himself where he was guilty. Onely adding, *In many things we offend all.*

A happy  
match in the  
event.  
a Mr Pryn,  
pag. 132.

35. His third accusation, he was a chief man in accomplishing King Henry's Divorce, which occasioned much trouble, dissension, and war. But he might have remembered, which also produced the perils Princess Queen Elizabeth, who perfected the Reformation, and by her long peaceable and victorious Reign, brought much honour, wealth and renown to our Nation. Besides, that Divorce is generally defended by Protestant writers, whose judgments thus accuter will rely on when it makes for his purpose.

A Rebels  
weapon.  
b Mr Pryn ut  
fruit.

36. Fourth accusation, the Lincolnshire Rebels, in their six Articles of their grievances presented to King Henry the eighth complain, that this Arch-Bishop, and other Prelates of his Graces late promotion, had *subverted the Faith of Christ, &c.*

Ill used a  
gainst a loyal  
subject.

37. I Answer, they were the Lincolnshire Rebels that said it, and this their pretended *subverting of the faith*, was the reforming and confirming thereof; *Crammer* serving the God of his Fathers in that way which they termed *Heretic*. Well therefore might this civil have been waved, good onely to swell the Volume.

The grand  
civill.  
c Mr Pryn, pag.  
133.

38. Fifth Cavil, though *Matthew Parker* reports (as this Delator coniects) that *Crammer* opposed this all of the six Articles at first, then caused it to be moderated, and at last to be repealed in King Edwards dayes, but others seem to imply that he gave consent thereto at first.

Answered.

39. To this I Answer three things: First, to imply is far less then to express, and such implications are often the bare surmises of a biased apprehension. Secondly, to seem to imply, is less then to imply, *nausa videtur que non sunt*. Thirdly, the Others by him mentioned, ought to have been nominated, this Author generally giving no scant measure in such wares; so that his margin (commonly over-thronged) is here quite empty of quotations. *Inopen nunc copia fecit.* We may assure our selves he would have alledged such Other Authors, but for several substantial reasons, whereof this was one, because he had none to alledge. And shall an uncertain, un-named No body, be believed against *Crammer*, before Mr Fox, and Dr Parkers clear testimonies in his behalf?

Violent no just  
depriving.

40. Seventh Cavil. He suffered Martyrdom, not while he was a Bishop, but when degraded and deprived. What of this? does this tend any thing to the disgrace of him or his order, seeing such an injurious and violent degradation, deprived him not of his Episcopal indeleble character, so that still in right he remained a Bishop?

God sent va-  
lour at last.

41. Eighth Cavil. He failed more in his Martyrdom, by reason of his cowardly recantation, thorow hopes of life, and restitution to his former dignity, then any of his fellow Martyrs. Answer, It is confessed: But his final constancy may well cover his intermediate failings. Better it is faintly and fearfully to bear in our body the marks of our Lord Jesus, then stoutly and stubbornly to endure the brands of our own indiscretion.

Anno  
1533.  
Regis  
Henr. 8.  
24.

42. Last Cavil. He was condemned for high Treason, for an all done by him as Arch-Bishop, and Councillor of State, for which he professed both his sorrow and repentance. Did he lo indeed, by the confession of this his adversity? The more unworthy man his acculer, after this his sorrow and repentance to upbraid him therewith. Mr Pryn might also remember that the two Lord chief Justices were in the same Treason (whole Education made them more known in the Laws of the Land) and our *Crammer* was last and least in the fault, it being long before he could be persuaded to subscribe to the dishonouring of Queen Mary.

Remember  
not what God  
had forgott.  
a Mr Pryn,  
134.

43. We appeal to the impartial Reader, upon the perusal of the promiss, whether an ordinary charity, might not, yea ought not to have paid by these accusations, and whether the memory of Arch-Bishop *Crammer* may not justly say of Mr Pryn, as once the King of Israel, of the King of Syria, *wherefore consider I pray you, and see how he seeketh a quarrel against me?* Indeed so great is his antipathy against Episcopacy, that if a Seraphim himself should be a Bishop, he would either finde or make some sick feathers in his wings.

An appeal to  
any indiffer-  
ent.

44. *Crammer* was now settled in his Arch-Bishoprick, and the first eminent act of his office was exercised in the Kings Divorce. A Court is called in the Priory of Dunstable in Bedfordshire, as a favourable place, indifferently distanced, but five miles from Amphis, where Queen Katharine resided. With *Crammer* were the Bishops of London, Winchester, Bath, and Lincoln, with many other great Prelates. These summoned Queen Katharine to appear before them, full fifteen dayes together, on whose refusal they not onely adjudged her contumacious, but also pronounced her match with the King as null and unlawful by Scripture; and soon after it was proclaimed, that hence forward none should call her Queen, but the Dowager of Prince Arthur. And thus a few dayes had dispatched that Divorce, which had depended many years in the Court of Rome.

Crammer Di-  
vorced King  
Henry.

45. And now I cannot call King Henry a Bachelor, because once married; nor a married man, because having no wife; nor properly a widower, because his wife was not dead. But he therefore a single, or rather a separated person, remaining so (if at all) but a very short time, as soon after solemly married to the Lady Anna Bollen, of whom largely hereafter.

Who Marri-  
eth a Lady,  
and a Bollen.

46. Now began Elizabeth Barton to play her tricks, commonly called the holy Maid of Kent, though at this day of Kent alone is left unto her, as whose Maiden-ship is vehemently suspected, and holiness utterly denied; she was famous on a double account. First, for knowing secrets past, and indeed she could tell any thing which was told her; conversing with Fryers her familiars, and other folks confessors, who revealed many privacies unto her. Secondly, she was eminent for foretelling things to come, and some of her predictions hit in the mark, procured to the rest the reputation of prophecy with credulous people. She foretold that King Henry should not be King a full twelve moneth, except he reassumed Queen Katharine to be his Wife.

The Impos-  
ture of Eli-  
zeth Barton.

47. I am heartily sorry that the gravity of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester should be so light, and the sharp sight of St. Thomas More so blinded, as to give credit to so notorious an Impostrix, which plunged them both into the Kings deep displeasure. As for Elizabeth Barton, soon after she was executed, with many of her complices and complotters. The Papiſt at this day, unable to defend her longevity, and unwilling to confess her cheating, seek to save all by pleading her to be distracted. Thus it succeeding the had been praised (and perchance Canonized) for her devotion; now failing she must be pardoned and pitied for her distraction.

Fisher & More  
bled by  
her forgery.

48. We may remember, how, not long since, the Clergie did own, and recognize King Henry the eighth, for Supreme Head of the Church, which was clearly carried by a plurality of voices in the Convocation. John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, was the only eminent Clergy-man, who openly opposed

Bish. Fisher  
imprisoned  
for refusing  
the Oath of  
Supremacy.



1. Called before the Conquest.
2. Called since the Conquest, but before the Statute of *Premunire* was made.
3. Called after the aforesaid Statute, but before another made in the Reign of King Henry the eighth, wherein the Clergie were bound up, for doing ought, without the Royal Assent.
4. Called after the twenty fifth year of the Reign of King Henry the eighth.

These did plainly differ in the several manners of their meetings, and degrees of power, of their acting in *Spiritual* matters.

3. As for *Councils*, called before the Conquest, whilst the Popes power, had not as yet Lorded it over the Kings of England, the Kings ever were (if not in person) in power present thereat; as by perusing *St Henry Spelmans Councils* plainly doth appear. Yea, matters both of Church and Common-wealth were often dictated and concluded in the same Meeting, *Communis consensum tam Cleri quam a Populi Episcoporum, procerum, comitum, nec non dignum Sapientium, Seniorum populorumque, totius Regni.*

4. For the second sort (called after the Conquest, but before the Statute of *Premunire*) the Arch-Bishops of *Canterbury* or *Tork*, used upon all extraordinary, and immergent cases, *toties, quoties*, as their own directions adjudging necessary or convenient, to assemble the Clergie of their respective *Provinces*, at what place they pleased; continuing *Convocations* in them so long, or dissolving them, as soon as they pleased. And thus they did, either as *Metropolitans*, or *Primates*, or as *Legati Nati* to the Pope of Rome, without any leave from the King afore obtained, and such *Canons*, and *Constitutions* then and there concluded on, were in that Age (without any further *Ratification*) obligatory to all subjected to their jurisdiction. Such were all the Synods from *Lauckfrank* to *Thomas Arundel*, in whole time the Statute of *Premunire* was enacted.

5. A Third sort of *Convocation* succeeds: For after the Statute of *Premunire* was made, (which did much restrain the Papal power, and subject it to the Laws of the Land) when Arch-Bishops called no more *Convocations* by their sole and absolute command, but at the pleasure of the Kings, as oft as his necessities and occasions with the distresses of the Church did require it. Yea, now their meetings were by virtue of a *Writ* or *Precept* from the Kings, and it will not be amiss here to exemplify the form thereof.

6. **R**EX, &c. Reverendissimo in Christo Patri, A. Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo totius Anglie primati, & Apostolica sedis legato salutem. Quibusdam arduis & urgentibus negotiis, defensionem & securitatem Ecclesie Anglicane, ac pacem, tranquillitatem, & bonum publicum, defensionem Regni nostri, & subditorum reformationem ejusdem concernentibus, vobis in fide & dilectione, quibus nobis tenemini rogando mandamus, quatenus premixtis debito intuitu attentis & ponderatis universis & singulis Episcopos nostre Provincie, ac Decanes, & Precores Ecclesiarum Cathedralium Abbates, Priores & alios Electos Exemptos, & non Exemptos, nec non Archidiaconos, Conventus, Capitula, & Collegia, totumque Clerum, cuiuslibet Dioceseos ejusdem Provincie, ad conveniendum eorum vobis in Ecclesia Sancti Pauli London, vel alibi prout melius expedire videritis, cum omni celeritate accommoda modo debito convocari faciat. Ad tractandum, consentiendum, & concludendum, super premixtis & aliis, quælibet clarius proponemur, tunc & ibidem ex parte nostra. Et hoc fieri nos & statum Regni nostri, & bonorem & utilitatem Ecclesie predictæ diligenter nullatenus omitatis. Telle me ipso, &c.

7. In

Kings Assent in Church matters before the Conquest.

a St Henry Spelman, Annos 1533, 1534, 1535. Of the second sort of Convocations.

Of the third sort of Convocations.

The form of ancient Writs of Convocations.

Anno Regis Hen. 8. 25.

Anno Dom. 1533.

7. In this *Writ* we may observe, first, that from the word *Convocari* faciat, the word *Convocation* took its denomination, being formerly called *Synods*, as lately (since our *Scotizing*) termed *Assemblies*. Secondly, that clause, *in Ecclesia Sancti Pauli London, vel alibi prout melius expedire videritis*, pointeth at a power placed, or rather a Liberty left to the Arch-Bishops, to call their Synods elsewhere, in case they adjudged it more convenient. But because the Arch-Bishops, and Bishops, might the better attend their business in Parliaments (henceforward commonly kept at the same time with *Convocations*) *St Pauls* in London was generally preferred for the place of their convention. Thirdly, this *Writ* was used even after the Reformation, *mutatis mutandis*, namely, the title of *Apostolical Legate* to the Arch-Bishop being left out, as also the names of *Priors*, and *Abbots* are extinguished. Lastly, of this third Sort of *Convocations*, was all those kept by *Thomas Arundel* and the Arch-Bishops of *Canterbury* his successors, unto *Thomas Cranmer*; or if you will, from the sixteenth of *Richard the second*, unto the twenty fifth of King Henry the eighth. These *Convocations* did also make *Canons* (as in *Lynwood* his Constitutions do appear) which were binding, although none other, then *Synodical* authority did confirm them.

8. The last sort of *Convocations* remains, called since the Statute, the twenty fifth of King Henry the eighth, that none of the Clergie should presume to attempt, alledge, claim, or put in ure, any *Constitutions* or *Ordinances* Provincial, or *Synodals*, or any other *Canons*, *Constitutions*, or *Ordinances* Provincial, (by whatsoever name or names they may be called) in their *Convocation* in time coming; (which always shall be assembled by the Kings *Writ*) unless the same Clergie may have the Kings most Royal Assent and Licence to make, promise and execute such *Canons*, *Constitutions* and *Ordinances* Provincial, or *Synodical*, upon pain of every one of the said Clergie doing the contrary to this Act, and thereof convicted to suffer imprisonment, and making Fine at the Kings will. Since this year, from Arch-Bishop *Cranmer* to Arch-Bishop *Laud*, all *Convocations* (so long as they lasted) are born tongue-tied, till the King did cut the string thereof with his *Letters Patent*, allowing them leave to debate on matters of Religion. Otherwile, what they conclude, are arrows without piles, daggers without points; too blunt to pierce into the practise of others, but sharp enough to wound themselves, and bring them within the compass of a *Premunire*. Yea, even such *Convocations* with the Royal assent, subject not any (for recalcancy to obey their *Canons*) to a civil penalty in person or property, until confirmed by Act of Parliament.

9. This I humbly conceive to be the difference betwixt the three kinds of *Convocations*, submitting what I have written to the censure and correction of the Learned in the Law, conscious of my own ignorance therein, as indeed such skill neither is to be expected or required in one of my profession, who am ready with willingness, yea, with cheerfulness, yea, with thankfulness to God and man, publicly to recall, and retract what any such convince me to have mistaken herein; hoping that my stumbling in so dark a subject, may prevent the falling of others.

10. There goeth a tradition (taken up by many without examination) that anciently the Clergie sat at one body with the Parliaments, and were not divided till in the Reign of King Henry the eighth, as a modern Author hath written in a Treat. But when I asked of Him, where he had read the same, he cited a French Letter of Cardinal *Sadolet*. Strange that a Foreigner should be more seeing herein, then any of our Native Authors and Records that I ever could behold. But it may be, the Error had its Original hence, because anciently Bishops sitting in the Parliament, did not always appear personally, or by the proxy of men of their own order, but sometimes sent one or more of the inferior Clergie to represent them, if it be true what I have read in a small English book, bearing the name of Mr *Selden* (but I question whether avowed by him) of the proceedings in Parliament.

Observations thereon.

The last sort of Convocations.

The Authors submission.

A vulgar Error.

\* Calabat Downing.

The Martyrdom of John Fyrb.

11. John Fyrb sealed the Truth with his bloud, one who justly may be said aged *sixty at six and twenty* (so young was he Martyred) such his learning, gravity, and constancy: It was chiefly charged on him, that he detested the believing of the *real presence* in the Sacrament (understand him *de modo* thereof) to be an Article of the Faith, though confessing *Christ really present* in the bread, so he might not be compelled to the worshipping thereof. But these things are set down largely in Mr Fox. Onely I will add, that persons out of groundlesse suggest two scandals on this good man, and his wives memory. One that he was guilty of some practise against the State, merely because he was committed to the Tower. The other that his wife being beyond the Seas with Mr Tyndal, expressing himself, content with the will of God, that for her sake she would not have the glory of God hindered, desired to be rid of her husbands life, that Mr Tyndal might the more freely enjoy her company. Thus this Jesuite, being himself a Ballard, measureth others by the chastity of his own Parents. Indeed the aforesaid Tyndal much exhorted Fyrb to patient suffering, but not as those Cowardly Captains, which encourage others to fight, and themselves forsake the field, because afterwards he valiantly brought up the rear, and suffered for the same cause two years after.

12. John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, was now prisoner in the Tower, where he was but courteously used, as appears by a Letter to Mr Secretary Crommel.

Furthermore I beleche yow to be gode Master unto me in my necessitie, for I have neither Shirt, nor Sute, nor yet other Clothes, that ar necessary to me to weare; but that be ragged and torn to shamefully. And now in mine Age, my stomack may not away but with a few kind of meats, which if I want, I decay forthwith, and fall into cofts, and dicates of my body, and cannot keep my selfe in health. And, as our Lord knoweth, I have nothing left unto me for to provide any better, but as my brother of his own purse laich out for me, to his great hinderance.

Wherefore gode Master Secretary, eftsones I beleche yow to have som pittie pon me, and let me have such things as bar necessary for me in mine Age, and especially for my health; and also that it may please yow by yowr high wysdome, to move the Kings Highnesse to take me unto his gracious favour againe, and to restore me unto my liberty, out of this cold and painfull Imprisonment; whereby ye shall bind me to be yowr pore beadman for ever unto Almighty God, who ever have yow in his protection and custody.

Other twain things I must also desyer upon yow; first, oon is, that it may please yow, that I may take some Preeft within the Tower, by the assignment of Master Livetenant, to have my confession against my holy tym.

That other is, that I may borrow some bookes to stir my devotion more effectually theis holy dayes, for the comfortte of my fowl. This I beleche yow to grant me of yowr charity. And thus our Lord send yow a mery Christenmas, and a comfortable to yowr heart desyer. Att the Tower this xxij. day of December.

Your poor Beadman

JOHN ROFFE.

His first petition for cloaths was granted him, (having execution thereof at his execution) and it is probable the other two petitions being so reasonable were not denied him.

19. During

Ann. Dom. 1533.  
Ann. Regis Hen. 8. 25.

19. During his durance in the Tower, he was often and strictly examined, before Sir Edmund Walsingham Lieutenant thereof, by Thomas Bedell, and Richard Layton Clerks of the Councill, and was sworn in *verbo Sacerdotii*, to answer to many Interrogatories, but chiefly concerning four subjects.

First, about the King's Divorce; wherein he was always constant to what he had printed of the unlawfulness thereof.

Secondly, about His Supremacy, which (at last) he peremptorily denied.

Thirdly, about his concealing the Imposture of Elizabeth Barton, the Maide of Kent; wherein, he confessed his weaknesse, and over-cashe beliefe; but utterly denied any ill Intentions to the King's Person.

Fourthly, about the Statute of Succession, wherein (as appears by his Letter to Secretary Cromwell) he was content to subscribe, and swear to the body, but not to the Preamble thereof.

20. Which words therein, so offensive to Fisher (except there be any other unprinted Preface to this statute) were these: The Bishop of Rome and See Apostolick, contrary to the great and inviolable grants of Jurisdiction by God immediately to Emperours, Kings, and Princes, in Succession to their Heires, hath presumed in times past to invest, who should please them to inherit in other mens Kingdomes and Dominions: which thing we Your most humble Subjects, both Spiritual and Temporal, doe most abhorre and detest.

21. Here I know not whether more to commend the policy or charity of Bishop Crumme desiring in a Letter to Secretary Cromwell, that this partial description which Bishop Fisher proffered, to the Statute of Succession, might be altered: adding that good use might be made thereof, to the King's advantage, and general reputation the World had of this Bishop's Learning, and of Sir Thomas Moore's: both which, it seems, went the same path and pace, and in this point, ended, run, and stopt together. Indeed, it was not good to strain such fine springs too high, which possibly moistened with milde usage, might in procelle of time, have been stretched to a further compliance. But, it seems, nothing at present would fascitie; except both of them came up to the full measure of the King's demands.

22. As for Bishop Fisher his concealing the pretended Prophecies of Elizabeth Barton, it was so farre waved, that he was never indicted for the same. And indeed he made an ingenuous Plea for himself; namely, that the said Elizabeth had told him, she had acquainted the King therewith; yea, he had assurance thereof from the Archbishop. And therefore, knowing the King knew of it; before, he was loath to hazard His displeasure in that, which was no revealing what was unknown, but repeating what would be unwelcome to His Grace.

23. But not long after, he was arraigned of high Treason, and it will not be amisse to insert the King of the Indictment out of the Original.

\* May 7.

*Di versis Domini Regis veris, subditis false malitiose & proditorie loquebatur & propalabat videlicet. The King owre Sovereigne Lord is not Supreme Hed yn erthe of the Cherche of England. In dicti Domini Regis immund. despect. & vilipendium manifest.*

Of this he was found guilty, had Judgment, and was remanded to the Tower, where, for a time, we leave him, and proceed.

[ I i ]

24. Thus

His Grace's  
Majesties.

Officer in  
the Tower

\* Extract in  
Thomas Gyles  
Library.

Fisher's  
Letter to  
the Tower.  
See in prin-  
t. Statutes,  
of Hen. 8.  
cap. 1. p. 510.

A Bishop  
Crumme  
his  
policy, char-  
ity.  
b. ex Lib. MS.  
in Bib. Cotton.

Fisher con-  
cealing Barton  
togethers  
waved.

e in his Letter  
to the King,  
in Bib. Cotton.

Y<sup>e</sup> how in-  
dicted, why  
condemned.

\* His words  
were spoken  
May 7. in the  
Tower of Lon-  
don, but he ar-  
ranged after-  
wards.

Bishop Fisher's Letter for new cloaths and a Confessor.

a. ex Inter in Bibliotheca Cottoniana.

b. Robert Fisher.

The Martyrdom of John Fryth.

11. John Fryth sealed the Truth with his blood, one who justly may be said aged *sixty six and twenty* (so young was he Martyred) such his learning, gravity, and constancy. It was chiefly charged on him, that he denied the believing of the real presence in the Sacrament (understand him *de modo* thereof) to be an Article of the Faith, though confessing Christ really present in the bread, so he might not be compelled to the worshipping thereof. But these things are set down largely in Mr Fox. Only I will add, that persons out of groundless suggest two scandals on this good man, and his wives memory. One that he was guilty of some practice against the State, merely because he was committed to the Tower. The other that his wife being beyond the Seas with Mr Tyndal, expressing himself, content with the will of God, that for her sake she would not have the glory of God hindered, desired to be rid of her husbands life, that Mr Tyndal might the more freely enjoy her company. Thus this Jesuite, being himself a Ballard, measureth others by the chastity of his own Parents. Indeed the aforesaid Tyndal much exhorted Fryth to patient suffering, but not as those Cowardly Captains, which encourage others to fight, and themselves forsake the field, because afterwards he valiantly brought up the rear, and suffered for the same cause two years after.

12. John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, was now prisoner in the Tower, where he was but courteously used, as appears by a Letter to Mr Secretary Cromwell.

Furthermore I beseeche yow to be gode Master unto me in my necessitie, for I have neither Shirt, nor Sute, nor yet other Clothes, that are necessary to me to weare; but that be ragged and torn to shamefully. And now in mine Age, my stomake may not away but with a few kind of meats, which if I want, I decay forthwith, and fall into cofts, and dicates of my body, and cannot keep my selfe in health. And, as our Lord knoweth, I have nothing left unto me for to provide any better, but as my brother of his own purse laich out for me, to his great hinderance.

Wherefore gode Master Secretary, cōfones I beseeche yow to have som pittie pon me, and let me have such things as bar necessary for me in mine Age, and especially for my health; and also that it may please yow by yowr high wysdome, to move the Kings Highnesse to take me unto his gracious favour againe, and to restore me unto my liberty, out of this cold and painful Imprisonment; whereby ye shall bind me to be yowr pore beadmān for ever unto Almighty God, who ever have yow in his protection and custody.

Other twain things I must also desyer upon yow; first, on is, that it may please yow, that I may take some Preeft within the Tower, by th assignment of Master Livetenant, to have my confession against my hooly tym.

That other is, that I may borrow some bookes to stir my devotion mor effectually theis hooly dayes, for the comfotte of my fowl. This I beseeche yow to grant me of yowr charitie. And thus our Lord send yow a mery Christenmas, and a comfortable to yowr heart desyer. Att the Tower this xxij. day of December.

Your poor Beadmān

JOHN ROFFE.

His first petition for cloaths was granted him, (having exchange thereof at his execution) and it is probable the other two petitions being so reasonable were not denied him.

19. During

Bishop Fisher's Letter for new cloaths and a Confessor. a. 62 Interim in Bibliotheca Cottoniana.

b. Robert Fisher.

1534 26.

Anno Domini 1533. Anno Regis Hen. 8. 25.

Anno Domini 1533. Anno Regis Hen. 8. 27.

19. During his durance in the Tower, he was often and strictly examined, before Sir Edmund Walsingham Lieutenant thereof, by Thomas Bedell, and Richard Layton Clerks of the Council, and was sworn in verbo Sacerdotii, to answer to many Interrogatories, but chiefly concerning four subjects.

First, about the King's Divorce; wherein he was always constant to what he had printed of the unlawfulness thereof.

Secondly, about His Supremacy, which (at last) he peremptorily denied.

Thirdly, about his concealing the Imposture of Elizabeth Barton, the Maide of Kent; wherein, he confessed his weakness, and over-cashe beliefe; but utterly denied any ill Intentions to the King's Person.

Fourthly, about the Statute of Succession, wherein (as appears by his Letter to Secretary Cromwell) he was content to subscribe, and swear to the body, but not to the Preamble thereof.

20. Which words therein, so offensive to Fisher (except there be any other unprinted Preface to this Statute) were these: The Bishop of Rome and See Apostolick, contrary to the great and inviolable grant of Jurisdiction by God immediately to Emperours, Kings, and Princes, in Succession to their Heires, hath presumed in times past to inveist, who should please them to inherit in other men's Kingdomes and Dominions: which thing we Your most humble Subjects, both Spiritual and Temporal, doe most abhorre and detest.

21. Here I know not whether more to commend the policy or charity of Archbishop Cranmer desiring in a Letter to Secretary Cromwell, that this partial subscription which Bishop Fisher proffered, to the Statute of Succession, might be accepted: adding that good use might be made thereof, to the King's advantage, such general reputation the World had of this Bishop's Learning, and of Sir Thomas Moore's: both which, it seems, went the same path and pace, and in this point, started, ran, and stopt together. Indeed, it was not good to strain such fine strings too high, which possibly moistened with milde usage, might in proesse of time have been stretched to a further compliance. But it seems, nothing at present would satisfie, except both of them came up to the full measure of the King's demands.

22. As for Bishop Fisher his concealing the pretended Prophecies of Elizabeth Barton, it was so farre waved, that he was never indicted for the same. And indeed he made an ingenious Plea for himself; namely, that the said Elizabeth had told him, she had acquainted the King therewith; yea, he had assurance thereof from the Archbishop. And therefore, knowing the King knew of it; before, he was loath to hazard His displeasure in that, which was no revealing what was unknown, but repeating what would be unbecomely to His Grace.

23. But not long after, he was arraigned of high Treason, and it will not be amisse to insert the sting of the Indictment out of the Original.

\* May 7.

*D*iversis Domini Regis veris, subditis falsè malitiose & proditorie loquebatur & propalabat videlicet. The King owre Sovereigne Lord is not Supreme Hed yn erthe of the Cherche of England. In dicti Domini Regis immund. despect. & vilipendium manifest.

Of this he was found guilty, had Judgment, and was remanded to the Tower, where, for a time, we leave him, and proceed.

[I i]

24. Thus

Historical examinations.

Off set up in the tower.

\* Exam in the Thomas Gutter Library.

Fisher's Letter to the Pope. a. 62 Interim in Bibliotheca Cottoniana.

A children's drawing of the policy charity. b. 62 Interim, MS. in Bib. Cotton.

Fisher's concealing Barton's treasons. waved.

c. in his Letter to the King, in Bib. Cotton.

Yet how indicted, why condemned.

\* His words were spoken May 7. in the Tower of London, but he was arraigned afterwards.

Papists unjustly charge us for Schismatics.

Three Essentials in Reformation.

The grosse errors in Popery.

The impossibility of a free general Council.

The power of a National Church well improved.

Objection to the contrary.

Answer 1.

Answer 2.

Answer 3.

24. Thus was the power of the Pope totally abolished out of England, where-  
of the Romanists at this day doe bitterly complain, but can revenge themselves  
no other way, save by asperging us as guilty of *Schisme* and *Separation* for ren-  
ding our selves from the *Mother Church*. Blame us not, if loath that the *Church*  
of England (in whole *Dollrine* and *Discipline* we were born, and bred, and desire  
to die) should lie under so foule and false an *Imputation*, which by the follow-  
ing *Narrative* may fully be confuted.

25. Three things are Essential to justify the English Reformation, from the  
scandal of *Schisme*, to shew, that they had

1. Just cause for which they deceded from Rome.
2. True authority by which they deceded from Rome.
3. Due moderation in what

26. The first will plainly appear, if we consider the *abominable Errors*, which con-  
trary to *Scripture* and *Primitive practise* were then crept into the *Church of Rome*.  
As the denying the Cup to the *Laitie*; *Worshipping of Images*; *locking up the Scrip-  
tures* in *Latine*, and performing prayers in an unknown *Tongue*, with the *monstrosity*  
of *Transubstantiation*, unexcusable *practises*. Besides, the *Behemoth* of the  
Pope's *Infalibility*, and the *Leviathan* of his *Univerfall Jurisdiction*, so exclaimed  
against by *Gregory the great*, as a *Note of Anti-Christ*.

27. Just cause of Reformation being thus proved, proceed we to the *Authority*  
by which it is to be made. Here we confesse the most regular way, was by order  
from a *Free and General Council*, but here alas no hope thereof. *General* it could  
not be, the *Greeks* not being in a capacity of repairing thither; nor *Free*, such the  
*Papall Usurpation*; For before men could trie the *Truth*, hand to hand, by dint of  
*Scripture* (the *Sword* and *Buckler* thereof, by God's appointment) the Pope took off  
all his *Adversaries*, at distance, with (those *Guns of Hellish Invention*) his *Infalli-  
bility* and *Univerfall Jurisdiction*, so that no approaching his presence to op-  
pose him, but with certainty of being pre-condemned.

28. Now seeing the *Complaints* of the conscientious in all Ages, against the  
*Errors* in the *Romish Church*, met with no other entertainment than *frowns* and  
*frets*, and afterwards *fire* and *fogot*, it came seasonably into the mindes of those  
who steered the *English Nation*, to make use of that power which God had be-  
stowed upon them. And seeing they were a *National Church* under the civil  
command of one *King*, He by the advice and consent of his *Clergie* in *Convoca-  
tion*, and *great Council* in *Parliament*, resolved to reform the *Church* under His  
inspection from grosse abuses crept into it, leaving it free to other *Churches* either  
to follow His example, or continue in their former condition: and on these terms  
was the *English Reformation* first advanced.

29. But the *Romanists* object, that England being first converted to *Christiani-  
ty*, by the zeale and care of the *Church of Rome*, (when Pope *Gregory the great*  
sent *Augustine* over to preach here) cannot, not only without *great Ingrati-  
tude*, but *flat Undisfinesse* depart from the *Church* which first taught it true Re-  
ligion.

It is answered, First, this *Argument* reacheth not west of *Severne* into *Wales*,  
where the *antient Britains* by general confession, were converted before the  
time of *Augustine*.

Secondly, this first favour received from *Rome*, puts not on England so strict  
and servile an obligation of perpetual continuance, that she may and must not serve  
God without asking her leave. It ties England onely to a faire and grateful re-  
spect, which she alwaies tender'd, till the Insolency of the *Church of Rome*, made  
Us unwilling to pay, and Her unworthy to receive it.

Thirdly, some strength may be allowed to this *Objection*, if *Rome* could be  
proved the same in *Dollrine* and *Discipline*, when under the Reign of King *Henry*  
the eighth, England divided it self from it, with *Rome*, when in the time of *Grego-*

Ann.  
Dom.  
1535.Ann.  
Regis.  
Hen. 8.  
27.Ann.  
Dom.  
1535.Ann.  
Regis.  
Hen. 8.  
27.

ry the great, it was converted by God's blessings on his endeavours. But since that  
time the *Church of Rome* hath been much corrupted in *Opinions* and *practise*, easie  
to prove, but that it is not the set work of our History.

30. But again the *Papists* object, that the most judicious Protestants doe in-  
geniously confesse, that the *Church of Rome* maintaineth all the *Fundamentals* of  
*Religion*. England therefore cannot be excused from *Schisme*, for dividing from  
that *Church*, which, by their own confession, still retaineth the true *Foundation* of  
*Christianity*.

31. It is answered: if some Protestants be so civil in their censures on *Papists*,  
it appears thereby, though they have left *Rome*, they have not left their civility,  
nor their *Charity*. But grant (which is disputable) the Errors of the *Church* of  
*Rome* not *Fundamental*, they are *Circa Fundamental*, grating on the very *Foun-  
dation*. Besides, we are bound to avoid, not onely what is deadly, but what is  
*hurtful*; not onely what may destroy the life, but what may prejudice the health of  
our *Souls*.

But our *Adversaries* persist to object, that our Reformation took its rise, from  
King *Henry's* pride, to pluck down a Power which crossed His designs, from His  
covetousnesse to compass the *Revenues* of *Abbeys*, and from His wantonnesse,  
to exchange His old Embracings, for new ones. Well therefore may the *English*  
blush at the *Babe*, when they behold its Parents, and be ashamed of their *Refor-  
mation*, considering the *vitious Extraversion* thereof.

Answer. Malice may load the Memory of *K. Henry* about His demerit; yet grant  
yet the charge true, that bad inclinations first moved Him to the Reformation, yet  
He acted therein nothing, but conformable to the Law Divine and Humane. It  
is usual with God's wisdom and goodness, to suffer Vice to found the first Alarm  
to that fight, wherein Virtue is to have the Victory. Besides, King *Henry's* *Refor-  
mation* hath since been Reformed, by successive Princes of England, who cannot  
justly be taxed with any vitious reflexion therein.

32. It remaineth that we take notice of the moderation of the Reformers, who  
being acted not with an Opposition to all which the *Papists* practised, but with an  
affection to Truth, disclaimed onely the Ulcers and Sores, not what was found  
of the *Romish Church*, retaining still what was consonant to Antiquity, in the *Four*  
*first General Councils*.

33. Matters thus ordered, had the *Romanists* been pleased to joyn with us,  
there had been no complaining of *Schisme* either in their Streets, or ours. But such  
their pride and peevishnesse, to persist obstinate, to this day incense many people  
their pride and peevishnesse, to persist obstinate, to this day incense many people  
(who listen more to the loudnesse, than weigh the justnesse of Complaints) accusing  
us of wilfull Separation; But the Premises well considered, England may pay to  
*Rome*, \* Pharex, she breach be upon thee, who (with \* Athaliah, crying Treason,  
treason, being her self the prime Traytour) taxeth us with *Schisme*, when she the  
onely *Schismatick*.

34. We enter now on a subject, which we must not omit, such is the concern-  
ment thereof, in our History; yet which we cannot compleat, so intimate the  
nature thereof, and so short and doubtfull our intelligence therein; namely, to  
give a general estimate (particulars being impossible) of the *Papall Revenues* of  
England.

35. Here be it premised that I humbly conceive, the Pope's Income ran the  
highest in England under King *Henry the third*, and King *Edward the first*, before  
the Statute of *Mortmaine* (and after it that of *Premunire*) was made, for these  
much abated his Intrado. And although, I deny not, but under King *Henry* the  
eighth, he might receive more Money, (as then more plentiful in England, yet his  
profit formerly, was greater, if the standard of Gold and Silver be but stated pro-  
portionably.

36. However, the vast summes *Rome* received hence at the time of *Refor-  
mation*, will appear by the ensuing commodities. For, first *Agnus Dei's*, this is  
here set by *Synecdoche*, to signifie all *Papish Trinkets*, *Medals*, *consecrated Beads*, &c.  
which

2. Origin  
of the Roman-  
ists.

The Answer.

3. Objection.

The Answer.

The moderation  
of Reform-  
ers.The Conclusi-  
on of the con-  
troversy.\* Gen. 38. 29.  
\* 1 King 11.  
11. 14.The Popes re-  
venues out of  
England.Greatest under  
King Hen. 3.Popes profit by  
sale of Tin-  
kets.



which I as little know what they be, as *Papists*, why they use them: Of these were yearly brought over from *Rome*, into *England*, as many, as would fill the *shop* of a *Haberdasher* of *Holy-Wares*. Now, though their *prices* were not immediately paid into the *Pope's* purse, but to such his subordinate *Officers* who traded therein; Yet they may be accounted part of the *Papall Revenues* (the *King* hath what the *Courtiers* have by His *consent*) and if such trading was not permitted unto them, the *Pope* must either abate of his *Train*, or finde his *Officers* other waies of *subsistance*.

37. Secondly, for *Annates*, so called, because they were the intire *Revenues* of one *Yeare* (in the nature of *first Fruits*) which the *Bishops* and inferior *Clergie* paid to the *Pope*; We have no light concerning the latter, but can present the Reader with an exact account, what every *Bishop* in *England*, (new elected or translated to a *See*) paid at his entrance to his *Holiness*.

## BISHOPRICK

paid

* <i>Canterbury</i>	10000. F.
Besides for his <i>Pall</i>	5000. F.
<i>London</i>	3000. F.
<i>Winchester</i>	12000. D.
<i>Ely</i>	7000. D.
<i>Lincolne</i>	-----
<i>Coventrey and Lichfield</i>	1733. D.
<i>Salisbury</i>	4500. * Cr.
<i>Bath and Wells</i>	430. D.
<i>Exeter</i>	6000. D.
<i>Norwich</i>	5000. D.
<i>Worcester</i>	2000. F.
<i>Hereford</i>	18000. F.
<i>Chichester</i>	333. F.
<i>Rocheſter</i>	-----
<i>St. Davids</i>	1500. F.
<i>Landaffe.</i>	700. F.
<i>Bangor.</i>	126. F.
<i>St. Aſaph</i>	126. F.
<i>Yorke,</i>	10000. D.
Besides for his <i>Pall</i>	5000. D.
<i>Durham</i>	9000. F.
<i>Carlisle</i>	1000. F.

In this account [F] stands for *Florenes*, being worth 4s.-6d. in our *English* money. [D] for *single Duckes* sufficiently known for 8 shillings. *Lincolnes*, not being valued, I behold as a meet casual omission in this Catalogue; but can render a reason, why *Rocheſter* not rated, who being accounted as *Chaplain*, to the *Arch-bishop*

By his Annates.

\* This Catalogue was extracted out of Bishop Gwynne.

\* This stands for Crown.

bishop of *Canterbury*, (and antiently in his *Donation*) may be supposed valued in the high valuation of his *Patron*. That *Bath* and *Wells* then so high in *Wealth*, should be so low in *first Fruits* (whereat my *Antibour* wonders) plainly shows that *Favour* was fashionable, (as in all other *Courts*, so) in the *Court* of *Rome*. The rest of the *English Bishops* were not in being, before the *Reformation*.

39. Thirdly, by *Appeals*: The *Pope* having learn'd this policy from the *Council of Fezbro to Moses*, \* every *Great* thing they shall bring unto thee; but every *Small* matter they will: the 70 *Elders* shall Judge; referred to himself the *definitive* sentence in all high *Controversies*, which brought no small profit unto him.

40. Fourthly, by *K. Athelph's Pension* given by him to the *Pope*, Anno 852. whereof largely before; A distinct payment from *Peter-pence*, (with which some confound it) as *finited* to three hundred Marks; whereas the other were casual, and increased according to the number of *Houses*.

41. Fifthly, for *Dispensations*. Oh the *charity* of the *Pope*, to lay heavy *Burdens* on mens *consciences*, (without command from *God's Word*) too heavy for them to bear! but then so mercifull he was, for *Money* to take them off again; thus *Li-cences* to marry within degrees forbidden; for *Priests* [bale] *Sonnes*, to succeed their *Fathers* in a *Benefice*, and a hundred other particulars brought yearly a *Nemo ſcit*, into the *Papal Treasury*.

42. Sixtly, *Indulgencies* are next, though I know not how essentially distinguished from *Dispensations*, nor date warrant the distinction, that the former was against, the other above *Canon Law*. As when *Abbeys*, and other places were freed from *Episcopal Jurisdiction*, and many other *Privileges* and *Exemptions* both *personal* and *conventual*.

43. Seventhly, by *Legatine Levies*, these though not *Annual*, yet came [almost] as often, as the *Pope's* needs, or covetousness would require them.

44. Eightly, *Mortuaries*, due, at the death of great *Prelates*, though, I finde not in what *manner* and *proportion* they were paid.

45. Ninthly, *Pardons*: He saveth his credit the best, who makes no conjecture at the certainty of this *Revenue*. And though the *Pope*, (as then too politicly) openly to confess his profits by granting; so since he too proud publicly to become his losse, by stopping of these *Pardons*, yet is he secretly and sadly sensible of a great emptiness in his *Treasure* thereby.

46. Tenthly, *Peter-pence* succeed, granted by *Ina*, King of the *West Saxons* to *Pope Gregory* the second, Anno 626. It was a *peny* paid for every *Chimney* that smoked in *England*, which in that *Hospital Age* had few smokeless ones; the device of *Cypher Tunnels* or mock *Chimneys* merely for uniformity of building, being unknown in those days. Indeed, before the *Conquest*, such only paid *Peter-pence*, who were worth \* thirty pence in yearly revenue, or half a mark in goods, but afterwards it was collected generally of all solvable *Houſekeepers*, and that on most heavy penalties.

47. Now though none can tell what these amounted to, yet conjecture may be made, by descending to such proportions, which no rational man will deny. Allowing nine thousand *Parishes* (abating the odd hundreds) in *England* and *Wales*, a hundred houses in every *Parish*, two chimneys in every house, one with another, it ariseth unto a yearly summe of seven thousand five hundred pounds. Here I say nothing of the *intrinſecal* value of their *Peny*, worth two pence in our Age.

48. Eleventhly, *Pilgrimages* follow, many persons of quality going yearly to *Rome*, sometimes perchance with bare feet, but never with empty hands. But the *Pope's* principal harvest was in the *Fabile* (which of late recurred every five) and twenty years) when no fewer than two hundred thousand strangers have been counted at *Rome* at once. Of these, more than the tenth part may be justly allowed *English*, it being always observed, that distance encreaseth devotion; and the farthest off, the forwardest, in *Will-worship* of this nature.

[113]

49. Twelfthly,

b. See mirror  
G. in his  
Catalogue of  
Bishops, p. 417  
By appeals.  
\* Exod. 18. 21.

By King Athel-  
wulf's Pen-  
sion.  
c. See Sir Henry  
Spelman's  
Councils,  
p. 353.  
By his Dispen-  
sations.

By Indulgen-  
cies.

By Legatine  
Levies.

By Mortua-  
ries.

By Pardons.

By Peter-  
pence.

\* See Spelman's  
Councils,  
p. 625.

To what they  
amounted.

By Pilgrima-  
ges.



By Tenth.

**All cannot be  
truly counted.**

\* AAs 19.27.

*Polidore Virgil*  
Collector of  
the English  
Peter-pence.

Be-lawrelleth  
the Quire of  
Wells.

**A Malefactor  
to Posterity for  
burning MS.**

Two-edged  
Verses.

49. Twelfthly, we conclude with *Tenets*, and on what *Title* they were paid to the *Pope*, largely hereafter.

49. Here we speak not of the accidentals, as Legacies bequeathed by the death of Princes and great Persons, and other Casualties, and Obventions; Sixtus the fourth being wont to say, that a Pope could never want money, while he could hold a Pen in his hand; (understand him to grant general Indulgencies) though Luther's holding a pen in his hand, hath since much marred his Mass herein. Now certainly Demetrius could tell better, what was gotten by making *silver Shrines* for Diana, than S. Paul himself: and while some Protestants compute the Papal profit, to be a hundred and fifty thousand pounds per annum, some more, some less, but all making it above the King's Revenues ) they do but state his Income at random.

51. Only *Polidore Virgil*, if alive, and willing, were able to give a certain account of the *Peter pence*, (a good guffe as the *hst* of *Papall Revenues*) Knowing them, as well, as the *Begger knows his dsh*, as holding the *Baſon* into which they were put, being *Collected* by *General of Peter pence* all over *England*. But this *Italian* was too proud to accept them as *gratuities*, (in which nature they were first given) but exacted them in the *notion* of a *Rent* and *Tribute* due to the *Pope his Majer*. *Polidore Virgil*, who was *Dignitary* of the *Cathedral* of *Wells*,

52. This is that *Polidori Virgil*, who was *Dignitary* of the Cathedral of *Went*,  
(and, as I take it, *Archdeacon* of *Taunton*) on the *Quire* whereof he bestowed  
*Hangings* flourished with the *Lawrel Tree*, and as I remember, wrote upon them,  
SUNT POLIDORI MUNERA VIRGILII.

But would he had spared his *benefaction* to the Church of Wells, on condition he had been no Malefactor to the Church of England; yea, to Religion and Learning, if it be true what commonly is reported.

ing in general, if it be true what commonly is reported.

53. For he wrote a *Latine History of Britain*, from the *Original of the Nation*, untill Anno Dom. 153 . the year of King Henry the eighth, out of many rare Manuscripts, which he had collected together. Now, partly to raise the reputation of his own Writings, (that he might seem no *late Transcriber*) partly, to render himself out of the reach of Confutation (being suspected not over-faithfull in his Relation) he is said to have burnt all those rare Authours, which he could compass into his possession. Thus Tyram-like he cut down those stairs whereby he ascended the Throne of his own knowledge. If this be true, the World may thank Polidore Virgil, for his work, de Inventionis Rerum; but have cause to chide, (not to say, curse) his Memory, for his A & Perditiōe Librorum.

54. I have met with a paper of *Verfes*, which like a two-edged Sword cut on both fides, plainly at *Polidore Virgil*, but obscurely at a later Plagiary, and in my opinion, not unworthy to be inferred.

### Leyland's supposed Ghost.

Am I deceiv'd ? or doth not Leyland's Ghost  
Complain of wrong / unjustified after death ;  
As Virgil's Polditore accus'd a base theft,  
The Tracian King for cruel breach of Faith,  
And Treasures gain'd / by stopping of his breath:  
Ah greedy Gardian ! 't enjoy his goods,  
Dilute plunage his Princely Ward into the floods.  
Am I deceiv'd ? or doth not Leyland's Spirit  
Complain with'th Ghosts of English Nobles  
Whom Polditore Virgil robb'd of merit,  
Bereft of Name, and sacks of Histories,  
While (wretch) he ravish'd English Libraries  
At wicked Book-thief whose error did it,  
Should One burn all, to get one single Credit.

Am I deceiv'd? or dost thou not Leysland: spirit  
Make head & cry, for som Book-treasure Feels,  
Rising his works, and vazing Name & Merit,  
Whereby are smother'd a Prince-given wealth,  
A Learned Writer's Travel, Wits, and Health,  
All this he spends to doe his Country pleasure,  
O! save his name, the World may know his treat-  
I am deceiv'd, for Leysland's doth deyle, (I swe-  
From plains & crys, with founts of blessed mead;  
But Heaven and Hamane Laws cannot digest,  
That such rare fruits of a laborious Pen,  
Came to be drown'd in such a thankless Den,  
Thou Heaven and all Humanity dost see,  
That Leysland dead, may have his Titles due.

Who this second Plagiarius was, complained of for plundering Leyland, if the Reader cannot conjecture, I will not tell, such the honour I bear to his admirable performances, though herein not to be excused.

54. *Papal*

Ann.  
Dom.  
1535:

Ann.  
Regis  
H.E.8  
27

55. *Papal power* thus extinguished in *England*; it is worth our enquiry, where the same for the future was fixed, which we finde, not intirely settled in any *One*, but according to *justice* and *equity*, divided amongst many *Sharers* therein.

56. And first, Give unto God the things which are Gods. What the Pharisees said, was true in the Doctrine, though false in the Use thereof, (as applied to our Saviour whom they mistook for a meer man \*Who can forgive sins but God alone?)

57. Refitution was made to the *second Person in the Trinity*, of that *Universal Jurisdiction* over the *whole Church* as belonging to *Christ* alone, who is the *Shepherd and Bishop of souls*, and a *badge of Antichrist* for the *Pope* proudly to assume the same.

58. To the *Holy Ghost* was restored that *Infallibility*, which to him doth properly pertain, as being the *Spirit of Truth*, which neither will deceive, nor can be deceived, and which hath promised to lead his *Church* in generall into *all Truth*; but never fixed any *inerrability*, on any particular *person*, or succession of *single persons* whatsoever.

59. And now give unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's. The King comes to claim His own right, what the Kings of Judah (his Predecessors in Sovereignty) had by the Word of God, and Christian Emperours by the *prædile* of the Primitive times, did possess. In order whereunto the Parliament did notify and declare, that Ecclesiastical power to be in the King, which the Pope had formerly unjustly invaded. Yet so, that they referred to themselves (besides other *priviledges* which we leave to the Learned in the Law) the confirming power of all *Canons Ecclesiastical*; so that the person or property of *Refusers*, should not be subjected to temporal penalty without consent of Parliament.

60. Of this power thus declar'd in the King, part thereof He kept in Himselfe, as to call, and dissolve *Convocations* at His pleasure; to grant or deny them Commiſſion to debate of Religion; to command *Archbishops* and *Bishops* to be choſen in *vacant Sees*; to take order for the due *Administration of the Word and Sacraments*.

61. The other part of *power Ecclesiastical*, the King passed over to the *Archbishop of Canterbury*, as His *Subsistant*, first, to grant *Faculties* in cases not repugnant to the Law of God, necessary for Honour and Security of the King, formerly wont to be remedied in the *See of Rome*. Secondly, to determine Causes Ecclesiastical in his Court, whence lay an Appeal to the Court of *Delegates*, &c.

62. The representative Clergie had power by the King's leave, to make Canons and Constitutions, whilst each Bishop in his respective Diocese, Priest in his Parish, were freer than formerly in execution of their Office, acquitted from Palnal dependance.

63. Lastly, every English Lay-Man, was reftored to his Chriftian Birth right, namely, to his *judgment of praetical difcretion* ( in perfuing the Scriptures in his own Language ) formerly fwallowed up in the Ocean of the Pope's Infallibility. Thus on the depulping of the *Pope* every bird had his own feather : in the parage whereof, what he had gotten by *facerilege*, was reftored to *God*; what by *ufurpation*, was given back to the *King, Church, and State*; what by *oppreffion*, was remitted to *particular Chriftians*.

How Papal  
power in Eng-  
land was can-  
toned.  
God first had  
his share.

\* Mark 7.

Christ his due.  
1 Pet. 2.25.

The holy Spirit his portion.  
John 15.26. & 16.23.

The King assumes his share.

SECT.

Ann.  
Reg.Ann.  
Dom.

## SECTION III.

TO  
Master HENRY BARNARD,  
LATE OF  
LONDON, Merchant.

**T**Hough lately you have removed your habitation into Shropshire, My pen is resolved to follow after and finde you out: Seeing the hand of your bounty hath had so long a reach, let the legs of my gratitude take as large a stride: When you shall be disposed to be Solitary, and desirous to have Society, at the same time peruse this Book, whereby you shall attain your desired Condition.

H.E.S.  
17.  
June  
15.

1537.



OR twelve Moneths had Bishop Fisher (formerly condemned) now lived in durance, and so was likely to continue, untill (in all probability) his soul at the same time, should be freed from *two Prisons*, I mean, that of his *body*, and that of the *Tower*. For, his life could doe the King no hurt, whose death might procure Him hatred, as of one generally pitied for his age, honoured for his learning, admired for his holy conversation. Besides, it was not worth the while, to take away his life, who was not onely *mortalis*, as all men; and *mortificatus*, as all good men; but also *moriturus*, as all old men, being past seventy six years of age. But now an unseasonable act of the Pope accelerated his execution, in making him Cardinal of S. *Vitalis*; a title which Fisher so little affected, that he professed, *If the Hat lay at his feet, he would not stoop to take it up.*

2. His Holinesse could not have studied a more destructive way against Fisher's life, than to fasten this injurious favour upon him. This heightened the King's anger into fury against him. He expounded the Pope's act, or rather the act expounded it self (as capable of no other comment) as done in his defiance, and

C c c

there.

Fisher made  
Cardinal.The King en-  
raged thereat.

a *Pisium de*  
*Script. Anglia*,  
pag. 80;  
b *Mr. Hall*,  
Eiq. Rector of  
Cambridge.

Bishop Fisher  
his last, and  
breeding.

therefore a Warrant is sent to the Lieutenant for his execution. Let not the Reader grudge his pains, if we describe this Bishop, from his cradle, to (I cannot say his coffin, or winding-sheet, being made to believe he had neither, but) his grave: The rather, because I collected the same out of his Manuscript-life, compiled by *Richard Hall*, of *Christ Colledge* in *Cambridge*, and communicated to me by a worthy friend. Onely be it premised, that the same *Hall* was a stiffe Roman Catholick, and therefore accordingly must abatement be made in his relations.

3. This *John Fisher*, born at *Beverly* in *Torke shire*, of *Robert*, his Father (a wealthy-man, and a kinde of Merchant) Anno 1459, was by his Parents sent to *Cambridge* to have his education in *Michael House*, under Mr. *William Melton*, his Tutor.

Admitted -----	1484.	} Proctour -----	1495.		
Commenced {	Bache- lour { of Arts		1488.	} made Doctour -----	1502.
	Master {		1491.		Master of the House, thereabouts.
} Bishop of <i>Rocheſter</i> -----		1504.			
} Chancellour of <i>Cambridge</i> -----		chosen -----	1505.		
		confirmed, -----	1514.		

He was Chaplain, and Confessour to the Lady *Margaret*, Countesse of *Richmond*, at whose instance, and by whose advice, She founded, and endowed *Christ*, and *S. John's Colledge* in *Cambridge*. Employed in building of the latter (her posthume Colledge of *S. John's*) and effectually advancing that work, he wanted the accommodation of a convenient Lodging, when Dr. *Thomas Winkinſon*, President of *Queens Colledge*, opportunely departed this life: and that Society requested Bishop *Fisher* to succeed in his place, which he gratefully accepted, faithfully discharged, and thereby had the advantage to finish his new Colledge in the lesse time, to his greater contentment.

4. Here I meet with two descriptions of *Fisher*, as contrary each to other, as the Religions of the two Describers, whereof the one was a rigid Papiſt, the other a zealous Protestant:

**HALL,**  
In his aforeſaid *Manuscript*. **ASCHAM.**  
Commendatitiarum, Ep. 1.

Different cha-  
racters of  
*Fisher*.

c In favour of  
*Fisher* I have  
left the words  
untranslated.

*Fisher* is made by him a very wealehy man, having much plate, and furniture, of a great value; and, as for his Library, no Bishop in *Europe* had the like unto him, inſomuch as he intended (as appeareth ſomewhere in his Letter to *Erafmus*) to found a Colledge of his own: but afterwards, reverſing his reſolution, in his life-time he beſtowed all his rich plate, furniture, and Books, on *S. John's* in *Cambridge*, and borrowed the ſame of it again by Indenture under his hand and ſeal, for his uſe during life. But it hapned, that at his attainure the King's Officers ſeiſed on all he had.

For mine own part, I conceive no Covetouſneſſe (much leſſe ſuch Sacrilege) can be charged on *Fisher's* account, it being notoriously known, that King *Henry the eighth* (Who formerly favoured him) proferred to remove him from *Rocheſter*, to *Lincolne*, or *Elie*, (treble the other in Revenue) which *Fisher* reſuſed, both in word,

Ann.  
Dom.  
1531.

Ann.  
Reg.  
H. 8.  
27.

Ann.  
Reg.  
H. 8.  
27.

Ann.  
Dom.  
1537.

word, and print; *Habeant alii* (ſaith the) *proventus pinguiores* &c. being uſed to ſay, *He would not change his little old wife, to whom he had been ſo long wedded, for a wealthier.*

5. It is no wonder if a Papiſt, and a Protestant, cannot agree about *Fisher's* character, when we finde two ſtiffe Papiſts at a vaſt diſtance about his Eſtate. *Hall*, as is aforeſaid, makes him very wealthie, which is not improbable, conſidering, he had a paternal bottom, whereon; competency of revenue, where-with; long continuance of time, wherein; and commendable frugality, where-by to build an eſtate. Not to ſpeak that he ſerved a good Miſtreſſe, the Lady *Margaret*, known to have rich coffers, and her Confeſſour could command the keys thereof. But on the contrary, *Sanders* makes him as poor as *Job*; inſomuch, that Souldiers coming to leiſe on his ſuppoſed wealth, found (what was quickly told) nothing at all belonging to him, ſave a great barred-cheſt. Theſe, from the facing of Iron, concluded the lining thereof Silver at leaſt: and, having broken it open, found nothing therein but Sackcloth, and a Whip; which put them all to penance, and ſoundly laſhed their covetous expectation. But, leaving his life, come we now to the manner of his death.

6. After the Lieutenant of the Tower had received the Writ for his execution, becauſe it was then very late, and the Priſoner aſleep, he was loth to diſturb him from his reſt. But in the morning, before five of the clock, he came to him in his chamber, in the *Bell-Tower*, finding him yet aſleep in his bed, and waking him, told him, *He was come to him on a meſſage from the King, to ſignifie unto him, that his pleaſure was he ſhould ſuffer death that forenoon. Well!* (quoth the Biſhop) *if this be your errand, you bring me no great news, for I have looked a long time for this meſſage, and I muſt humbly thank His Maſteſty, that is pleaſeth him to ride me from all this worldly buſineſſe. Yet, let me by your patience ſleep an hour or two, for I have ſlept very ill this night, not for any fear of death, I thank God, but by reaſon of my great infirmity, and weakneſſe.*

7. The King's pleaſure is farther (ſaid the Lieutenant) that you ſhall uſe as little ſpeech as may be, eſpecially of any thing touching His Maſteſty, whereby the people ſhould have any cauſe to think of Him, or His proceedings otherwiſe than well. For that (ſaid he) you ſhall ſee me order my ſelf, as, by God's grace, neither the King, nor any man elſe, ſhall have occaſion to miſlike of my words. With which answer the Lieutenant departed from him, and ſo the Priſoner, falling again to reſt, ſlept ſoundly two hours, and more; And, after he was awaked, called to his man to help him up. But firſt commanded him, to take away his ſhirt-of-haire (which cuſtomably he wore) and to convey it privily out of the houſe; and, inſtead thereof, to lay him forth a clean white ſhirt, and all the beſt apparel he had, as cleanly brushed as might be. And, as he was arraying himſelf, his man, ſecing in him more curioſity, and care, for the fine, and cleanly wearing of his apparel that day, than was wont, demanded of him, *What this ſudden change means?* ſaying, *That his Lordſhip knew well enough, that he muſt put off all again, within two hours, and loſe it. What of that?* (ſaid he) *Doeſt not thou mark, that this is our marriage-day? and, that it behoveth us therefore to uſe more cleanlineſſe for ſolemnity thereof.*

8. About nine of the clock the Lieutenant came again, and, finding him almoſt ready, ſaid, *He was now come for him.* Then ſaid he to his man, *Reach me my ſurced-Tippet to put about my neck.* Oh my Lord! (ſaid the Lieutenant) what need ye be ſo careful for this little time, being, as your ſelf knows, not much above an hour? I think no otherwiſe (ſaid he) but yet in the mean time, I will keep my ſelf as well as I can. For, I tell you truth, though I have, I thank our Lord, a very good deſire and willing minde to die at this preſent, and ſo truſt of his infinite mercy and goodneſſe he will continue it, yet will I not willingly hinder my health in the mean time one minute of an hour, but ſtill prolong the ſame as long as I can, by ſuch reaſonable waies and means as Almighty God hath provided for me. And with that, taking a little book in his hand, which was a New Teſtament lying by him, he

[C c c 2]

made

I In his *Deſcrip.*  
Epiph. to the Bi-  
shop of *Wint.* in  
his place a-  
gainſt *Occo-*  
*lampinus*. . . .  
Variance be-  
twix: Papiſts a-  
bout *Fisher's*  
wealth.

c De *Sciſm.*  
Ang. lib. i.  
pag. 123.

He welcomes  
the newes of  
his death.

Yet labours to  
preſerve his  
life.

Prepareth him-  
ſelf for his  
death.

He advanced  
to the place of  
his execution.

[Job, 17, 3, &c.

The manner of  
his mourning  
the scaffold.

His speech to  
the people.

His execution.

made a cross on his forehead, and went out of his prison-dore with the Lieutenant, being so weak, as that he was scant able to go down the stairs, wherefore at the stairs-foot he was taken up in a chair between two of the Lieutenant's men, and carried to the Tower-gate, with a great number of weapons about him, to be delivered to the Sheriff of London for execution.

9. And, as they were come to the uttermost precinct of the liberties of the Tower, they rested there with him a space, till such time as one was sent before to know in what readinesse the Sheriffs were to receive him. During which space he rose out of his chair, and standing on his feet, leaned his shoulder to the wall, and lifting his eyes towards Heaven, he opened a little Book in his hand, and said, *O Lord! this is the last time that ever I shall open this book, let some comfortable place now chance unto me, whereby I thy poor servants may glorifie thee in this my last houre.* And with that, looking into the Book, the first thing that came to his sight were these words, *Hæc est autem vita æterna, ut cognoscant te solum verum Deum, & quem misisti Jesum Christum. Ego te glorificavi super terram, opus consummavi quod dedisti mihi &c.* and with that he shut the Book together, and said, *Here is even learning enough for me to my lives end.* And so the Sheriffe being ready for him, he was taken up again among certain of the Sheriffs men, with a new and much greater company of weapons than was before, and carried to the Scaffold on the Tower-hill, otherwise called East-Smithfield, himself praying all the way, and recording upon the words which he before had read.

10. When he was come to the foot of the Scaffold, they that carried him offered to help him up the stairs, but, said he, *Nay Masters, seeing I am come so farre, let me alone and ye shall see me shift for my self well enough:* And so went up the stairs without any help, so lively, that it was a marvel to them that before knew his debility and weaknesse. But as he was mounting the stairs, the South-east Sun shined very bright in his face, whereupon he said to himself these words, lifting up his hands, *Accedite ad eum, & illuminamini, & facies vestra non confundetur.* By that time he was upon the Scaffold, it was about ten a clock; where the Executioner, being ready to doe his office, kneeled down to him (as the fashion is) and asked him forgiveness. *I forgive thee* (said he) *with all my heart, and I trust thou shalt see me overcome this storm lustily.* Then was his gown and tippet taken from him, and he stood in his doublet and hose in sight of all the people, whereof there was no small number assembled to see the execution.

11. Being upon the Scaffold, he spake to the people in effect as followeth:

Christian people,

*I am come hither to die for the faith of Christ's holy Catholick Church, and I thank God hitherto my stomach hath served me very well therunto, so that yet I have not feared death; wherefore I desire you all to help and assist with your prayers, that at the very point and instant of death's stroke, I may in that very moment stand stedfast without fainting in any one point of the Catholick Faith, free from any fear. And I beseech Almighty God of his infinite goodness to save the King and this Realm, and that it may please him to hold his holy hand over it, and send the King a good Council.*

These words he spake with such a cheerful countenance, such a stout and constant courage, and such a reverend gravity, that he appeared to all men, not only void of fear, but also glad of death.

12. After these few words by him uttered, he kneeled down on both his knees, and said certain prayers. Among which (as some reported) one was the hymn of *Te Deum laudamus*, to the end; and the Psalm, *In te Domine speravi.* Then came the Executioner and bound an handkerchief about his eyes; and so the Bishop lifting up his hands and heart to heaven, said a few prayers, which were not long, but fervent and devout. Which being ended, he laid his head down over the midst of a little block, where the Executioner, being ready with a sharp and heavy Ax, cut asunder his slender Neck at one blow, which bled so abundantly, that many

Ann.  
Dom.  
1535.

Ann.  
Reg.  
HE. 8.  
37.

Ann.  
Reg.  
HE. 8.  
37.

Ann.  
Dom.  
1535.

many (saith my Authour) woodred to see so much blood issue out of so lean and slender a body: Though in my judgement, that might rather have translated the wonder from his leanesse to his age, it being otherwise a received tradition, *That lean folk have the most blood in them.*

13. Thus died John Fisher in the seventy-seventh year of his age; on the two and twentieth of June, being St. Alban's-day, the Procomartyr of England, and therefore with my Authour most remarkable. But surely no-day in the Romish Kalender is such a Skeleton, or so bare of sanctity, but (had his death hapned thereon) a Priest would pick a myserie out of it. He had a lank, long body, full six foot high, toward the end of his life very infirm; inasmuch that he used to sit in a chair when he taught the people in his Diocesse.

14. His corpe (if our Authour speaketh truth) was barbarously abused, no winding-sheet being allowed it, which will hardly enter into my belief. For, suppose his friends durst, his foes would not afford him a shroud, yet some *meniers* betwixt both (no doubt) would have done it out of common civility. Besides, seeing the King vouchsafed him the Tower, a noble prison; and beheading; an honourable death; it is improbable He would deny him a necessary equipage for a plain and private buriall. Wherefore when Ball tells us, *That the Souldiers attending his execution, could not get spades to make his grave therewith, but were faine with halberds, (in the North-side of the Church-yard of All-Hallows Barking) to dig a hole wherein they cast his naked corpe:* I listen to the relation as inflamed by the Reporters passion. Be it here remembered, that Fisher in his life time made himself a Tomb on the North-side of the Chappel in St. John's-Colledge, intending there to be buried, but therein disappointed. This Fisher was he who had a Cardinals Hat sent him, which (stopp'd at Callis) never came on his head; and a Monument made for him, wherein his body was never deposited.

15. Our Authour reporteth also, how Queen Anna Bolen gave order his head should be brought unto Her (before it was set up on London-bridge) that She might please Her self at the sight thereof, and like another *Medusa* insult over the head of this John Her professed enemy. Nor was the contrait alone to revile his ghost with taunting terms, but out of spite, or sport, or both, struck Her hand against the mouth of this dead head brought unto her; and it hapned, that one of Fisher's teeth, more prominent than the rest, struck into her hand, and not only pained Her for the present, but made fo deep an impression therein, that She carried the mark thereof to Her grave. It seems this was contrary to the proverb, *Mortui non mordent.* But enough, yea, too much of such damnable falsehoods. Pass we from Fisher to More, his fellow prisoner, whom Fisher's execution had not mollified into conformity to the King his pleasure, as was expected.

16. Son he was to Sir John More, one of the Judges of the Kings Bench, who lived to see his Son preferred above himself. Bred a Common-Lawyer, but withall, a general Schollar, as well in polite, as solid learning; a terse Poet, near Orator, pure Latinist, able Grecian: He was chosen Speaker in the House of Commons, made Chancellor first of Lancaster-Duchie, then of all England, performing the place with great integrity and discretion. Some ground we have in England, neither so light, and loose as sand; nor so stiffe and binding as clay, but a mixture of both, conceived the surest soil for profit, and pleasure to grow together on: such the soil of this Sir Thomas More, in which facetiousnesse and judiciousnesse were excellently tempered together.

17. Yet some have taxed him, that he wore a feather in his cap, and wagg'd it too often: meaning, he was over-free in his fancies and conceits. Inasmuch, that on the Scaffold (a place not to break jests, but to break off all jesting) he could not hold, but bestowed his cofts on the Executioner and standers-by. Now, though innocency may smile at death, surely it is unfit to flout thereat.

18. But the greatest fault we finde justly charged on his memory, is his cruelty in persecuting poor Protestants, to whom he bare an implacable hatred. Info-

[C c c 3]

much

His age, and  
figure.

His mean, not  
to fly (if true)  
by vicious  
triall.

An impudent  
improbable  
Lie.

Sic Tho. More's  
execution and  
education.

Charged for  
his over-much  
jesting.

A great Anti-  
Protestant.

much that in his life-time he caused to be inscribed, as parcell of his *Epitaph* on his Monument at *Chelsey*, that he ever was *Euribus, Homicidis, Hæreticis, molesto*: a passing good praise. *Save after the way which he there calleth Heresie*, pious people worship the God of their fathers: He suffered the next month after *Fisher's* execution in the same place, for the same cause July 6. and was buried at *Chelsey*, under his Tomb afore said, which being become ruinous, and the *Epitaph* scarce legible, hath few years since been decently repaired at the cost (as I am informed) of one of his near Kinsmen.

19. At this time *Katherine Dowager*, whom we will be bold still in courtie to call a Queen (notwithstanding King *Henry's* Proclamation to the contrary) ended her wofull life at *Kimbolton*. A pious woman toward God (according to Her devotion) frequent in prayer, which She alwaies performed on Her bare knees, nothing else between Her and the earth interposed; little curious in Her clothes, being wont to say, *She accounted no time lost, but what was laid out in dressing of Her*; though Art might be more excusable in Her, to whom Nature had not been over-bountifull: She was rather staid, than stately; reserv'd, than proud; grave from Her cradle, inasmuch that She was a matrone, before She was a mother. This Her naturall gravity encreased with Her apprehended injuries, settled in Her reduced age into an habit of melancholie, and that terminated into a consumption of the spirits. She was buried in the Abby-Church of *Peterborough*, under an Herse of black Say, probably by Her own appointment, that She might be plain when dead, who neglected bravery of clothes when living. A noble pen tells us, that in intuition to Her corpse here interred, King *Henry*, at the destruction of Abbies, not only spared the Church in *Peterborough*, but also advanced it into a Cathedral. If so, it was civilly done of Him not to disturb Her in Her grave whom He had so disquieted in Her bed. The news of Her departure was not unwelcome to Queen *Anna Bullen*, who, though too good a Christian to wish Her death, was too wise a woman to be over-jorrowfull for the same: seeing formerly She was the King's Wife but by *sequestration*, the true possessor of His bed being yet alive; whereas now *Reheboth*, She conceived God had made room for her.

20. This *Anna Bullen* was great-grand child to a Citizen, Sir *Jefferie Bullen*, Lord Major of *London*; grand-child to Sir *William Bullen* Knight, who lived respectably in his Country; daughter to *Thomas Bullen* Earle of *Wiltshire*, a great Courtier: and, she had Her birth in *England*; blood, by her Grand-mother, from *Ireland*; and breeding in *France*, under *Mary* the French Queen: so that so many relations meeting in Her, accomplished Her with an acceptable behaviour to all qualities and conditions of people. Of an handsome person, and beautifull face; and therefore that reports Her lean-visaged, long-sided, gobber-toothed, yellow-complexioned, with a wen in her neck, both manifest his malice, and disparageth the judgement of King *Henry*, whom all knew well read in books, and better in beauties; who would never have been drawn to so passionate a love, without stronger load-stones to attract it. This Queen, remembering how Her Predecessour lost the King's love with her over-austerity, tuned Her self to a more open and debonaire behaviour, even generally to all with whom She conversed. Which being observed by Her adversaries, was improved by them to Her overthrow; so that She, but for a very short time had the sole and peaceable possession of Her Husband. In a word, She was a great Patronesse of the Protestants, Protector of the persecuted, Preferrer of men of merit (among whom *Hugh Latimer*) a bountifull Reliever of the poor, and the happy Mother of Queen *Elizabeth*.

21. On the eighth of *June* began a short, but sharp Parliament (dissolved the eighteenth of *July* following) effecting much in little time, matters it seems being well prepared afore-hand, and the House assembled not to debate, but doe the King's desires. The parallel Convocation began the day after, being one new-modelled, and of a fashion different from all former Convocations. Therein the

The death and character of Qu. Katherine Dowager.

a Sanders de Schismate Anglicano.

b Lord Herbert in his Henry the eighth.

c Gen. 22. 13.

The character of Queen Anna Bullen.

d Daughter to Thomas Earl of Ormond.

e Sanders de Schismate Anglicano.

The first reform Convocation.

Ann. Dom. 1535.  
Ann. Reg. H. 8. 27.

July 6.

Jan. 2.

June 8.  
9.

Ann. Reg. H. 8. 27.

Ann. Dom. 1535.

June 16.

11.

Lord *Cromwell*, prime Secretary, late in state above all the Bishops, as the King's Vicar, or Vicegerent-General in all spiritual matters. Deformi facie (testisculo) (such my Author) indolito Laico catui presidente sacrorum Antistitum, omnium, quos ante hac tempora Anglia nunquam habuisset, doctissimum. In one respect, that place had better become the person of King *Henry*, than this Lord His Proxie, all allowing the King a very able Scholar. But *Cromwell* had in power and police what he lacked in learning, if he may be said to lack it, wlio, at pleasure, might command the borrowing thereof, from the best brains and pens of those of his own partie in the Convocation.

22. This Convocation consisted of two Houses: the Lower, of the Clerks, and Proctors, of their respective Cathedrals, and Dioceses, with the Deans, and Arch-Deacons therein: the Upper, of the Bishops, with the Lord Abbots, and Priors (I mean so many of them as voted as Barons in Parliament) as may appear by their several subscriptions. However, I finde not the Abbots active in any degree, in canvassing matters of Religion. Whether this proceeded from any desire of ease, their laziness being above their learning; or, out of humility, counting it more proper to permit such disputes to the sole disposal of the Bishops, as most concern'd therein, or, out of fear, loth to stickle on religion, knowing on what ticklish terms they stood. For in this very Parliament, all Abbies, which could not dispend 200 li. a year, were dissolved, and bestowed on the King; and those rich Abbots (which had more than so many thousands yearly) knew that Maxime in Logick to be true, *Magis & minus non variant speciem, More and lesse doe not alter the kinde*; and might say with him on the Croffe, *They were in the same condemnation*, though as yet the sentence was not passed upon them.

23. We will observe the daily motions in this Convocation, as with mine own hand I have faithfully transcribed them out of the Records: *Hugh Latimer*, Bishop of *Worcester*, made the Latine-Sermon, taking for his Text, *The children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light*. On the Friday following, *Richard Gwent*, Arch-Deacon of *London*, was presented, and confirmed Prolocutor, in this Convocation. On the same day Master *William Peter*, Doctor of the Laws, came into the House, as deputed from his Master the Lord *Cromwell*, who could not be present, because of his greater employment in Parliament. This Dr. *Peter* claimed the highest place in the House, as due to his Master the Lord *Cromwell*, & petit dictum locum sibi, tanquam Procuratori dicti Magistris; and he (shall I say requested or) required the same precedence, as due to him, being his Proctor, and obtained it accordingly, without any dispute. Though some, perchance, might question, whether a Deputie's Deputy (as one degree farther removed) might properly claim His place, who was primitively represented. Next Wednesday came in the Lord *Cromwell* in person, and having judiciously seated himself above all, tendered unto them an Instrument to be publickly signed by all the Convocation, concerning the nullitie of the King's marriage with the Lady *Anna Bullen*.

24. Some ten daies before, Archbishop *Cranmer* at *Lambeth* had held an open Court, in the presence of *Thomas Audley*, Lord Chancellour; *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolke*, and most of the Privie Councel. Wherein the King and Queen were cited to appear, as they did by their Proxies, Doctor *Richard Sampson* being the Kings, and Doctor *Nicholas Wooten* the Queens. Then proceeded the Archbishop to discuss the validity of their marriage, and at the last, by his definitive Sentence, pronounced the same invalid, frustrate, and of none effect. No particular cause is specified in that Sentence, (still extant in the Record) and though the Judge and Court seemed abundantly satisfied in the Reasons of this Nullitie, yet concealing the same unto themselves, they thought not fit to communicate this treasure to posterity; except they shut their coffers on purpose, because there was nothing in them. Sure I am, there is no dashing on the credit of the Lady, nor any the least insinuations of inchastry in that Instrument; *Præclara Domina, & Serenissima Regina*, being the worst titles that are given her therein.

25. Men

The silence in the Abbots of the Convocation.

g Conc. datum erat per Honorarium utrum (Cromwell) & Ricardus Abbatem & Priorem Demum superioris Adm. Convocationis celebrata, An. 1536. fol. antepenult.

The Diurnal of this Convocation.  
b Luke 16. 8.

i Records of Cons. An. Dom. 1536. fol. 9.

Cranmer solemnly divorced Anna Bullen from the King.

What might be the King's designs in this divorce.

The Convocation bucksome to please the King in all things.

Amos 3. 8.

A Catalogue of erroneous opinions complained of in the Convocation.

Erroneous opinions (as then accounted) complained of in the Convocation.

25. Men may justly marvel what King Henry meant by this solemn and ceremonious Divorce, which the edge of the Ax, or Sword was more effectually to perform the day after, Her death being then designed. Was it because He stood on this *punctilio* or criticisme of credit, that He might not hereafter be charged with cruelty for executing His Wife, that first He would be divorced from Her, and so cannot be said to put His Queen, but *Anna Bollen* to death? Or, did He first but barely intend Her divorce, and afterwards suspecting this would not make sufficient avoidance in His bed, to clear all claims, took up new resolutions to take away Her life? Or, was it because He conceived the execution would only reach the *root*, the Queen Her self, and not blast the *branch*, the Lady *Elizabeth*, whom by this divorce He desired to render illegitimate? Whatever His aims were, He got Her divorce confirmed both by Convocation and Parliament, intersting all equally therein, that hereafter none should accuse Him of this act, but first they must condemn themselves. However, after ages take the boldnesse to conceive, that the greatest guilt of *Anna Bollen* was King Henry's better fancying of another, which made Him, the next day after Her death, to mourn so passionately for Her in the embraces of a new and beautifull Bride, the Lady *Jane Seymour*.

26. But, to return to the Convocation. That Instrument of Divorce was no sooner tendred therein, but all subscribed it. The Papists willingly, the Protestants faintly, but all publicly. Yea, in this Convocation nothing was pronounced in the King's name, but it passed presently. Oh the operation of the *purge* of a *Premunire*, so lately taken by the Clergie (and an hundred thousand pounds paid thereupon!) How did the remembrance thereof still work on their spirits, and made them meek and mortified? They knew the temper of the King, and had read the Text, *The lion hath roared, who will not fear?* Gardiner the fox, durst not so much as bark to oppose the King, nor the proudest in the place. As for *Edmond Bonner*, Arch-deacon of *Leicester*, present, and active in this Convocation, I may say, *Bonner was no Bonner yet*, but a perfect *Cromwellis*, and as forward as any to promote his designs.

27. On the Friday following, Mr. *Gwent* the Prolocutour, brought to the Upper House of Convocation, a Book containing the *Mala dogmata*, those erroneous doctrines, then (as he complained) publicly preached, printed, and professed; requesting reformation thereof, that order might be taken against the future propagation of such dangerous positions. Behold them here transcribed out of the Record, partly for novelty sake (because to my knowledge never printed before) and partly, because (though many wilde and distempered expressions be found therein, yet) they contain the Protestant Religion in *oare*, which since, by God's blessing, is happily refined.

28. The Protestation of the Clergie of the Lower House, within the Province of *Canterbury*, with declaration of the faults and abuses which heretofore have, and now be within the same, worthy special reformation:

**I**n very humble and reverent manner, with protestation, That we the Clergie of the Lower House within the Province of *Canterbury*, neither in word, deed, or otherwise, directly, or indirectly, intend any thing, to speak, attempt, or doe, which, in any wise, may be displeasing unto the King's Highnesse, our most dread Sovereign Lord, and supreme Head of the Church of England; but in all things, according to the command of God to be most obedient to His Grace, to Whom accordingly we submit our selves, minding in no wise by any colourable fashion, to recognize, privately, or openly the Bishop of Rome, or his usurped authority, or in any wise to bring in, defend, or maintain the same, into this noble Realm, or Dominions of the same: but that the same Bishop of Rome, with his usurped authority, utterly for ever with his riter, abuses, ordinances, and fashions, to be renounced, forsaken, extirpated, and abolished; And that we sincerely additt our selves to Almighty God, his

Ann. Dom. 1536.  
Ann. Regin. HE 8. a8.

July 23.

Ann. Dom. 1536.  
Ann. Regin. HE 8. a8.

laws, and unto our said Sovereign Lord the King, our supreme Head in earth, and His Laws, Statutes, Provisions and Ordinances made here within His Graces Realm. We stink in our consciences and opinions these errors and abuses following, to have been, and now to be, within this Realm, causes of dissention, worthy speciall reformation. It is to wete,

1. That it is commonly preached, taught and spoken, to the slander of this noble Realm, disquietnes of the people, dammage of Christian souls, nor without fear of many other inconveniences and perils, That the Sacrament of the Altar is not to be esteemed: For divers light and lewd persons be not ashamed or asfearde to say, *Why should I see the sacring of the high Masse? Is it any thing else but a piece of bread, or a little predie round Robin?*

2. Item, That they deny *Extreme Unction* to be any Sacrament.

3. Item, That Priests have no more authority to minister Sacraments than the Lay-men have.

4. Item, That Children ought not in any wife to be confirmed of the Bishops afore they come to the age of discretion.

5. Item, That all Ceremonies accustomed in the Church, which are not clearly expressed in Scripture, must be taken away, because they are mens inventions.

6. Item, That all those are Antichrists, that doe deny the Lay-men the Sacrament of the Altar, *sub varagae specie*.

7. Item, That all that be preside at Masse, and doe not receive the Sacrament with the Priest, are no partakers of the said Masse.

8. Item, That it is preached and taught, That the Church, that is commonly taken for the Church, is the old Synagogue; and, that the Church is the congregation of good men only.

9. Item, It is preached against the *Letany*, and also said, That it was never merry in England, *forbence the Letany was ordained*, and *Sancta Maria, Sancta Catharina &c.* sungen and said.

10. Item, That a man hath no Free-will.

11. Item, That God never gave grace nor knowledge of holy Scripture, to any great estate or rich man, and that they in no wise follow the same.

12. Item, That all Religions and Professions, whatsoever they be, are clean contrary to Christs religion.

13. Item, That it be preached and taught, That all things ought to be commune, and that Priests should have Wives.

14. Item, That Preachers will in no wife conform themselves ad *Ecclesiam Catholicam*, nor admit or receive Canonices, & probatos Auctores, but will have their own fancies and inventions preached and set forward.

15. Item, That Images of Saints are not in any wife to be revered. And, that it is plain idolatry and abomination to set up any lights before any Images, or in any place of the Church the time of Divine Service, as long as the Sun giveth light.

16. Item, That it is idolatry to make any Oblations.

17. Item, That it is as lawfull to Christian a Child in a Tub of water at home, or in a Ditch by the way, as in a Font-stone in the Church.

18. Item, That the Water in the Font-stone is alone a thing conjured.

19. Item, That the Hallowed-oyle is no better than the Bishop of Rome his greale or butter.

20. Item, That Priests crowns be the Whores marks of Babylon.

21. Item, That the Stole about the Priest's neck is nothing else but the Bishop of Rome's rope.

[D d d]

22. Item

22. *Item*, That *Images*, as well of the *Crucifix*, as of other *Saints*, are to be put out of the Church, and the *Reliques of Saints* in no wise to be revered. And, that it is against God's commandment, that *Christian men* should make *courtesie* or *reverence* to the *Image of our Saviour*.

23. *Item*, That it is no sin of offence to eat *white meats*, *eggs*, *butter*, *cheese*, or *flesh* in the *Lent*, or other *Fasting-daies* commanded by the Church, and received by consent of *Christian people*.

24. *Item*, That it is lawfull to eat *flesh* on *Good-Friday*, as upon *Easter-day*, or other times in the year.

25. *Item*, That the sinner offending in the *Lent*, or other high *Fasts* of the year, is worthy no more punishment than he that transgresseth in any other time.

26. *Item*, That *Confession auricular*, *Abolusion*, and *Penance*, are nother necessary nor profitable in the Church of God.

27. *Item*, That *auricular Confession* is onely invented and ordained to have the secret knowledge of mens hearts, and to pull money out of their purses.

28. *Item*, That the *ghostly Father* cannot give or enjoyn any penance at all.

29. *Item*, That it is sufficient for a man or woman to make their *confession* to God alone.

30. *Item*, That it is as lawfull at all times to *confesse* to a *Lay-man* as to a *Priest*.

31. *Item*, That *confession* is but a *whispering* in a *Priests* care, and is as well to be made, a multitude being present, as secretly.

32. *Item*, That it is sufficient that the sinner doe say, *I know my self a sinner*.

33. *Item*, That *Bishops Ordinaries* and *Ecclesiastical Judges* have no authority to give any sentence of *excommunication* or *censure*; ne yet to absolve or lose any man from the same.

34. *Item*, That it is not necessary or profitable to have any Church or Chappel to *pray in*, or to doe any *divine service* in.

35. *Item*, That the Church was made for no other purpose, but other to keep the people from winde and rain, other else that the people upon *Sondaies* and *Holy-daies* should resort thither to have the Word of God declared unto them.

36. *Item*, That *buryings* in Churches and Church-yards be unprofitable and vain.

37. *Item*, That the *rich* and *costly ornaments* in the Church are rather high displeasure than pleasure or honour to God.

38. *Item*, That it is pity that ever the *Mass*, *Mattens*, *Even-song*, or any other *Divine Service* was made, or suffered to be read, said, or sung within any Church, because it is onely to the deluding of the people.

39. *Item*, That *Saints* are not to be *invoked* or *honoured*: and that they understand not, nor know nothing of our *Petitions*, nor can be *Mediours* or *Intercessours* betwixt us and God.

40. *Item*, That our *Lady* was no better than another woman; and like a bag of pepper or saffron when the spice is out: and that she can doe no more with *Christ* than another *fnfull woman*.

41. *Item*, That it is as much available to pray unto *Saints*, as to hurl a stone against the winde: and that the *Saints* have no more power to help a man, than a man's wife hath to help her husband.

42. *Item*, That *Dirige*, *Commendations*, *Mass*, *Suffrages*, *Prayers*, *Alms-deeds*, or *Oblations*, done for the souls of them that be departed out of this world, be but vain and of no profit.

43. *Item*,

Ann.  
Reg.  
1536.  
18.

43. *Item*, That the Souls departed goe straight to Heaven, other to Hell.

44. *Item*, That there is no mean place between heaven and hell, where in souls departed may be afflicted.

45. *Item*, That if there be a place where they be punished, God is not yet born, nor he that shall redeem the world.

46. *Item*, That *Prayers*, *Suffrages*, *Fasting*, or *Alms-deeds*, doe not help to take away any sin.

47. *Item*, That there is no distinction of sins after this sort, sin to be *venial*, and sin to be *mortal*.

48. *Item*, That all sins, after that the sinner be once converted, are made by the merits of *Christ's passion* *venial sins*, that is to say, *sins clean forgiven*.

49. *Item*, That *Almighty God* doth not look for, nor yet require of a sinner after his conversion from sin any *fasting*, *alms-deed*, or any other penance; but only that the sinner be sorry for his sins, amending his life, and sinning no more.

50. *Item*, That *hallowed-water*, *hallowed-bread*, *hallowed-candles*, *hallowed-alms*, *hallowed-palm*, and such like ceremonies of the Church are of none effect, and to be taken as trifles and vanities to seduce the people.

51. *Item*, That *Holy-daies* ordained and instituted by the Church are not to be observed and kept in reverence, inasmuch as all daies and times be like: and that *servile works*, as *plowing* and *casting* may be done in the same, without any offence at all, as in other *ferial daies*.

52. *Item*, That the *singing* or *saying* of *Mass*, *Mattens* or *Even-song*, is but a *roaring*, *howling*, *whistling*, *mumming*, *tomring* and *juggling*: and the playing at the *Organs* a *foolish vanity*.

53. *Item*, That *pilgrimage*, *fasting*, *alms-deeds*, and such like are not to be used: and that a man is not bound to the Church, but onely to the preaching.

54. *Item*, That it is sufficient and enough to believe, though a man doe no good works at all.

55. *Item*, That men be not content to preach of certain abuses found in *pilgrimages*, in *fasting*, in *prayer*, in *invocation* of *Saints*, in *reverencing* of *Images*, in *alms-deeds*, but they will have needs the thing self taken away, and not enough the abuses to be reformed.

56. *Item*, That by preaching, the people have been brought in opinion and belief, that *nothing is to be believed, except it can be proved expressly by Scripture*.

57. *Item*, That it is preached and taught, that *forasmuch as Christ hath shed his blood for us and redeemed us, we need not to doe any thing at all but to believe and repent, if we have offended*.

58. *Item*, That there is of late a new *Confiteor* made after this form, *Confiteor Deo cali & terre, peccavi nimis cogitatione, locutione, & opere, mea culpa. Ideo deprecor maiestatem tuam, ut tu Deus deleas iniquitatem meam, & vos orare pro me*.

59. *Item*, That it is preached, that because *auricular Confession* hath brought forth innumerable *vices*, it is clearly to be taken away.

60. *Item*, That the canon of the *Mass* is the comment of some foolish, unlearned *Priest*: and that the names of the *Saints* there expressed are not to be rehearsed.

61. *Item*, That *water running* in the chanel or common river, is of as great vertue as the *holy-water*.

62. *Item*, That *holy-water* is but *jugg'led water*.

63. *Item*, That the *holy-water* is more favoury to make sauce with than

[D d d 2]

than the other, because it is mixt with salt; which is also a very good medicine for an horse with a gall'd back: yea, if there be put an onyon thereunto, it is a good sauce for a gibbet of mutton.

64. *Item*, That no humane constitutions or laws doe binde any Christian man, but such as be in the *Gospels*, *Paul's Epistles*, or the *New Testament*: and that a man may break them without any offence at all.

65. *Item*, That besides seditious preaching, letting unity to be had, there are many slanderous and erroneous books that have been made and suffered to goe abroad indifferently, which books were the more gladly bought, because of these words, *Comm. privilegio*: which the ignorant people took to have been an expresse approbation of the KING, where it was not so indeed.

66. *Item*, That where heretofore divers books have been examined by persons appointed in the Convocation, and the said books found full of heresie and erroneous opinions, and so declared, the said books are not yet by the Bishops expressly condemned, but suffered to remain in the hands of unlearned people, which ministreth to them matter of argument, and much unquietnesse within the Realm.

67. *Item*, That Apostates, abjured persons, and of notable ill conversation, and infamed, have without licence of the King's Grace, or the Ordinary, taken upon them to preach slanderously.

Dissempred  
expressions  
partly excused.  
\* Jer. 24. 3.

29. The Reader hath no sooner perused their opinions, but well he may conceive himself to have put his hand into *Jeremie's* basket of figs, \* *Those that are good, exceeding good; and those that are bad, exceeding bad*: Most of these *tenets* being true in themselves, grounded on God's Word, and at this day professed by the Protestants; But blended with these are some, rather *expressions* than *opinions* (and those probably *worse spoken than means; worse taken than spoken*) which we will not go about in any degree to defend, only may the impartial Reader take this into consideration. It happeneth in all *heights* and *beats* of oppositions, as in *horse-races*; wherein the Rider, if he doth not go beyond the *post*, cannot come to the *post*, so as to *win the prize*; for being upon the heat of contest upon the very career of their souls, because of their passions, cannot stop short at the very mark they ayme at, but some extravagancies must be indulged to humane infirmity, which in their reduced thoughts they will correct and amend. As some Protestants, no doubt, now lashing out so farre in their language, retrenched them afterwards to a just proportion of truth.

Two contrary  
parties in the  
Convocation.

\* Lord Herbert  
in the Life of  
Henry the 8th.

30. Two contrary interests visibly discovered themselves in the Upper-house of this Convocation betwixt the Bishops therein; and certainly in the Lower-house, their Clerks and Chaplains adhered to the parties of their Lords and Masters. An honourable \* pen hath stated the principal parties, whom we implicitly follow herein; onely, where he mentions their bare Sees, we will add their names and surnames for the better clearing thereof:

### Protestants

#### for the Reformation.

1. *Thomas Cranmer*, Archb. of *Canterbury*.
2. *Thomas Goodrich*, Bishop of *Elie*.
3. *Nich. Shaxton*, Bishop of *Sarum*.
4. *Hugh Latimer*, Bishop of *Worcester*.
5. *Edw. Fox*, Bishop of *Hereford*.
6. *John Hilsey*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*.
7. *Will. Barlow*, Bishop of *S. Davids*.

### Papists

#### against Reformation.

1. *Edward Lee*, Archb. of *York*.
2. *John Stokesley*, Br. of *London*.
3. *Cuthbert Tunstall*, Br. of *Durham*.
4. *Steven Gardiner*, B. of *Winchester*.
5. *Rob. Sherborne*, Br. of *Chicheſter*.
6. *Richard Nix*, Br. of *Norwich*.
7. *John Kite*, Bishop of *Carlisle*.

Oh!

Ann.  
Reg.  
116. k.  
28.

Ann.  
Dom.  
1536

Oh! what tugging was here betwixt these opposite sides? (For, I dare not take Bishop *Latimer's* phrase, as he took it out of his text, *Betwixt the children of this generation, and the children of light*) whilst with all earnestnesse they thought to advance their severall designs. But, as when two stout and sturdy travellers meet together, and both desire the way, yet neither are willing to fight for it, in their passage they so shove & shoulder one another, that dividing the way betwixt them both, and yet neither get the same; so these two opposite parties in the Convocation were fain at last in a drawn battell to part the prize between them, neither of them being conquering, or conquered: but, a medlie-Religion, as an expedient, being made up betwixt them both, to salve (if not the consciences) the credits of both sides.

31. Some Zealots of our Age will condemn the *Laodicean temper* of the Protestant-Bishops, because if sticking to purpose, and improving their power to the utmost, they might have set forth a more pure and perfect Religion. Such men see the faults of Reformers, but not the difficulties of Reformation. These Protestant-Bishops were at this time to encounter with the Popish-Clergie, equal in number, not inferior in learning; but, farre greater in power and dependencies. Besides, the generality of the people of the Land being nussed in ignorance and superstition, could not on a sudden endure the extremity of an absolute Reformation. Should our eyes be instantly possted out of mid-night into noon-day, certainly we should be blinded with the suddennesse and excellency of the lustre thereof. Nature therefore hath wisely provided the twilight, as a bridge, by degrees to passe us from darknesse to light. Yea, our Saviour himself did at the first connive at the calamity of this Apostles, and would not put us wine into old bottles for fear of breaking. Yea, he had some commandements, which as yet they were not able to bear; and therefore till they could bear them, his widome did bear with them. Thus the best of Artists doe not alwaies work to the height of their own skill, but according to the aptnesse of the instruments wherewith, and the capacity of the subjects whereon, they employ themselves.

34. And here we present the Reader with the aforesaid medley-Religion passed in this Convocation, and confirmed with Royal assent; requesting him, though it be somewhat long, not to grudge his time and pains, seriously to peruse it. Partly for the authenticalnesse thereof, being by me transcribed out of the Acts of the Convocation: partly for its usefulness, shewing by what degrees the Gospel insinuated it self into the souls of men. What said *Zeresh, Haman's* wife to her husband? *If thou hast begun to fall before Mordecai, thou shalt not prevail against him, but shalt surely fall before him*. Seeing Popery began even now to reel and stagger, within few years we shall have it tumble down and lay prostrate with the face thereof at the foot-stool of truth.

The Protestants  
Bishops their  
moderation  
vindicated.

4 Mat. 9. 17.

1 John 16. 12.

The draught of  
the twilight  
Religion, con-  
firmed in this  
Convocation.

1 Esther 6. 13.

35. *HENRY the Eighth*, by the grace of God, KING of *England*, and of *France*, Defensour of the Faith, Lord of *Ireland*, and in earth Supreme Head of the Church of *England*; to all, and singular, our most loving, faithfull, and obedient Subjects, greeting,

Amongst other cures appertaining unto this Our Princely Office, whereunto it hath pleased Almighty God of his infinite mercy and goodnesse to call Us, We have alwaies esteemed and thought, like as We also yet esteem and think, that it

D d d 3

most



most chiefly belongeth unto Our said charge, diligently to foresee and cause, That not onely the most holy Word and Commandements of God should most sincerely be believed, and most reverently be observed and kept of Our Subjects; but also that unity and concord in opinions, namely, in such things as doe concern Our Religion, may encrease & goe forthward, and all occasion of dissent and discord, touching the same, be repressed and utterly extinguished.

For the which cause, We being of late to Our great regrette, credibly advertised of such diversity in opinions, as have grown and sprongen in this Our Realm, as well concerning certain Articles necessary to Our salvation, as also touching certain other honest and commendable ceremonies, rites, and usages, now a long time used and accustomed in Our Churches, for conservation of an honest politie, and decent and seemly order to be had therein: minding to have that unity and agreement established through Our said Church concerning the premises. And, being very desirous to eschew, not onely the dangers of souls, but also the outward unquietness, which, by occasion of the said diversity in opinions (if remedy were not provided) might perchance have ensued; have not onely in Our own Person, at many times taken great pain, study, labours, and travails; but also have caused Our Bishops, and other the most discreet and best learned men of Our Clergie of this Our whole Realm, to be assembled in Our Convocation, for the full debatement and quiet determination of the same. Where, after long and mature deliberation had, of, and upon the premises, finally they have concluded, and agreed upon the most special points, and Articles; as well such as be commanded of God, and are necessary to our salvation, as also divers other matters, touching the honest ceremonies, and good and politick orders, as is aforesaid. Which their determination, debatement, and agreement, for so much as We think to have proceeded of a good, right, and true judgment, and to be agreeable to the laws, and ordinances of God, and much profitable for the stablishment of that charitable concord, and unity in Our Church of England, which

Ann.  
Dom.  
1536.

Ann.  
Reg.  
H.E.8.  
26.

which We most desire, We have caused the same to be published, willing, requiring, and commanding you to accept, repute, and take them accordingly. And farther, We most heartily desire, & pray Almighty God, that it may please him, so to illuminate your hearts, that you, and every of you, may have no lesse desire, zeal, and love to the said unity and concord, in reading, divulging, and following the same, than We have had, and have, in causing them to be thus devised, set forth, and published.

And, for because We would, the said Articles, and every of them, should be taken, and understanden of you, after such sort, order & degree, as appertaineth accordingly; We have caused by the like assent & agreement of our said Bishops, & other learned men, the said Articles to be divided into two sorts; whereof the one part containeth such as be commanded expressly by God, and be necessary to our salvation; and the other containeth such things as have been of a long continuance, for a decent order & honest polity, prudently instituted & used in the Church of Our Realm, & be for that same purpose & end to be observed & kept accordingly, although they be not expressly commanded of God, nor necessary to our salvation. Wherefore, We will & require you to accept the same, after such sort as We have here prescribed them unto you, & to conform your selves obediently unto the same: whereby you shall not only attain that most charitable unity & loving concord, whereof shall ensue your incomparable comodity, profit & lucre, as well spiritual as other; but also you shall not a little encourage Us to take farther travails, pains, & labours, for your commodities in all such other matters, as in time to come, may happen to occur, and as it shall be most to the honour of God, the profit, tranquility & quietness of all you Our most loving Subjects.

#### The principal Articles concerning our Faith.

First, As touching the chief and principal Articles of our Faith, it is thus agreed, as hereafter followeth, by the whole Clergie of this Our Realm. We will, that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach Our people by Us committed to their spiritual charge, that they ought and must most constantly believe and defend all those things to be true which be comprehended in the whole body and Canon of the Bible; and also in the three Creeds or Symbols, whereof one was made by the Apostles, and

is the *common Creed* which every man useth: The second was made by the *Council of Nice*, and is said daily in the *Mass*: And the third was made by *Athanasius*, and is comprehended in the *Psalm*, *Quicumque voluit*. And, that they ought, and must take and interpret all the same things, according to the self-same sentence and interpretation, which the words of the self-same Creeds or Symbols doe purport, and the holy approved doctrines of the Church doe intreat and defend the same.

*Item*, That they ought, and must repute, hold, and take all the same things for the most holy, most sure, and most certain and infallible words of God, and such as neither ought, ne can be altered, or convell'd by any contrary opinion or authority.

*Item*, That they ought, and must believe, repute, and take all the Articles of our Faith contained in the said Creeds, to be so necessary to be believed for mans salvation. That, whosoever being taught, will not believe them, as is aforesaid, or will obstinately affirm the contrary of them; he, or they, cannot be the very members of Christ, and his Spouse the Church, but be very Infidels or Hereticks, and members of the Devil, with whom they shall perpetually be damned.

*Item*, That they ought, and must, most reverently and religiously observe and keep the self-same words, according to the very same form and manner of speaking, as the Articles of our Faith be already conceived and expressed in the said Creeds, without altering in any wise, or varying from the same.

*Item*, That they ought, and must utterly refuse and condemn all those opinions contrary to the said Articles, which were of long time passed, condemned in the *four holy Councils*, that is to say, in the *Council of Nice*, *Constantinople*, *Ephesus*, and *Calcedon*, and all other since that time in any point consonant to the same.

### The Sacrament of Baptism.

*Secondly*, As touching the holy Sacrament of Baptism, We will, that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach Our people committed by Us unto their spiritual charge, that they ought, and must of necessity believe certainly all those things, which have been alwaies by the whole consent of the Church, approved, received, and used in the Sacrament of Baptism; that is to say, that the Sacrament of Baptism was instituted and ordained in the *New Testament* by our Saviour *JESUS CHRIST*, as a thing necessary for the attaining of everlasting life, according to the saying of Christ, *A No man can enter into the kingdom of heaven, except he be born again of water, and the Holy Ghost*.

*Item*, That it is offered unto all men, as well Infants, as such as have the use of reason, that by Baptism they shall have remission of sins, and the grace and favour of God, according to the saying of Christ, *Whosoever believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved*.

*Item*, That the promise of grace & everlasting life, (which promise is adjoynted unto this Sacrament of Baptism) pertaineth not onely unto such as have the use of reason, but also to infants, innocents, and children: and, that they ought therefore, and must needs be baptized; and, that by the Sacrament of Baptism they do also obtain remission of their sins, the grace and favour of God, and be made thereby the very sons and children of God. Inasmuch as infants and children dying in their infancy shall undoubtedly be saved thereby, and else not.

*Item*, That infants must needs be christened, because they be born in original sin, which sin must needs be remitted, which cannot be done but by the Sacrament of Baptism, whereby they receive the Holy Ghost, which

d John 3. 5.

e Mark 16. 16.

Ann.  
Dom.  
1536.Ann.  
Reg.  
1536.

exerciseth his grace and efficacy in them, and cleanseth and purifieth them from sin by his most secret virtue and operation.

*Item*, That children, or men, once baptized, can, ne ought ever to be baptized again.

*Item*, That they ought to repute, and take all the *Anabaptists*, and the *Pelagians* their opinions, contrary to the premises, and every other man's opinion agreeable unto the said *Anabaptists*, or *Pelagians* opinions in this behalf, for detestable heresies, and utterly to be condemned.

*Item*, That men, or children, having the use of reason, and willing and desiring to be baptized, shall by the virtue of that Holy Sacrament obtain the grace and remission of all their sins, if they shall come thereunto perfectly and truly repentant; and contrite of all their sins before committed: and also perfectly and constantly confessing and believing all the Articles of our Faith, according as it was mentioned in the first Article.

*And finally*, If they shall also have firm credence and trust in the promise of God, adjoynted to the said Sacrament, that is to say, that in and by this said Sacrament which they shall receive, God the Father giveth unto them, for his son Jesus Christ's sake, remission of all their sins, and the grace of the Holy Ghost, whereby they be newly regenerated and made the very children of God; according to the saying of *S. John*, and the Apostle *S. Peter*, *I Doe penance for your sins, and be each of you baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, and you shall obtain remission of your sins, and shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost*. And according also to the saying of *S. Paul*, *God hath not saved us for the works of justice which we have done, but of his mercy by baptism, and renovation of the Holy Ghost: Whom he hath poured out upon us most plentifully, for the love of Jesus Christ our Saviour, to the intent that we being justified by his grace, should be made the inheritours of everlasting life, according to our hope*.

f Acts 2. 38.

g Tit. 3. 5.

### The Sacrament of Penance.

*Thirdly*, concerning the Sacrament of Penance, We will, that all Bishops, and Preachers, shall instruct and teach Our people committed by Us unto their spiritual charge, that they ought, and must constantly believe, that that Sacrament was institute of Christ in the *New Testament* as a thing so necessary for man's salvation; that no man, which after his baptism is fallen again, and hath committed deadly sin, can without the same be saved, or attain everlasting life.

*Item*, That like as such men, which after Baptism doe fall again into sin, if they doe not penance in this life, shall undoubtedly be damned forever, whensoever the same men shall convert themselves from their naughty life, and doe such penance for the same as Christ requieth of them, they shall without doubt attain remission of their sins, and shall be saved.

*Item*, That the Sacrament of perfect Penance, which Christ requieth of such manner persons, consisteth of three parties; that is to say, Contrition, Confession; and the Amendment of the former life; and a new obedient reconciliation unto the laws, and will of God; that is to say, exterior acts in works of charity, according as they be commanded of God, which be called in Scripture, *The worthy fruits of penance*.

b Luke 3. 8.

*Furthermore*, As touching Contrition, which is the first part, We will, that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach Our people committed by Us unto their spiritual charge, that the said Contrition consisteth in two special parts, which must alwaies be conjoynted together, and cannot be disjoyned; that is to say, The penitent and contrite man must first knowledge the filthiness and abomination of his own sin, unto which knowledge he is brought by hearing and considering of the will of God,

[E c c]

declared

declared in his laws; and feeling and perceiving in his own conscience, that God is angry and displeased with him for the same. He must also conceive not only great sorrow and inward shame, that he hath so grievously offended God, but also great fear of Gods displeasure towards him, considering he hath no works or merits of his own, which he may worthily lay before God, as sufficient satisfaction for his sins. Which done, then afterward with this fear, shame and sorrow, must needs succeed and be conjoynd, the second part, that is to wit, a certain faith, trust and confidence of the mercy and goodness of God, whereby the penitent must conceive certain hope and faith, that God will forgive him his sins, and repute him justified, and of the number of his elect children, not for the worthiness of any merit or work done by the penitent, but for the onely merits of the blood and passion of our Saviour JESU CHRIST.

*Item*, That this certain faith and hope is gotten, and also confirmed and made more strong by the applying of Christs words and promises of his grace and favour contained in his Gospel & the Sacraments instituted by him in the New Testament. And therefore to attain this certain faith, the second part of Penance is necessary, that is to say, *Confession to a Priest*, if it may be had; for, the absolution given by the Priest was instituted of Christ to apply the promises of God's grace and favour to the penitent.

*Wherefore*, as touching Confession, We will, that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach Our people committed by Us to their spiritual charge, that they ought, and must certainly believe, that the words of absolution, pronounced by the Priest, be spoken by the authority given to him by Christ in the Gospel.

*Item*, That they ought and must give no lesse faith and credence to the same words of absolution, so pronounced by the Ministers of the Church, than they would give unto the very words and voice of God himself, if he should speak unto us out of heaven, according to the saying of Christ, *Whosoever sins ye doe forgive, shall be forgiven; whose sins soever ye doe retain, shall be retained.* And again in another place, Christ saith, *Whosoever heareth you, heareth me.*

*Item*, That in no wise they doe contemn this *Auricular Confession*, which is made unto the Ministers of the Church, but that they ought to ascribe unto the same as a very expedient and necessary mean, whereby they may require and ask this absolution at the Priest's hands, at such time as they shall finde their conscience grieved with mortal sin, and have occasion so to doe; to the intent, they may thereby attain certain comfort and consolation of their consciences.

*Item*, As touching to the third part of Penance, We will, that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach Our people committed by Us to their spiritual charge, that although Christ & his death be the sufficient Father for the sake; satisfaction, and recompense, for the which God the Father forgiveth and remitteth to all sinners, not only their sin, but also eternal pain due for the same; yet all men truly penitent, contrite and confessed, must needs labour for the fruits of penance, that is to say, Prayer, Fasting, Alms-deeds: and must make restitution or satisfaction in will and deed to their neighbours in such things as they have done them wrong and injury, and also must doe all other good works of mercy and charity; and expresse their obedient will in the executing and fulfilling of Gods commandments outwardly, when time, power, and occasion shall be ministered unto them, or else they shall never be saved. For, this is the expresse precept and commandment of God, *Doe you the worthy fruits of penance*: And S. Paul saith, *Like as in times past you have given and applied*

Ann.  
Dom.  
1536.  
Ann.  
Reg.  
Hen.  
8.  
28.

John 10.13.

Luke 10.16.

Luke 1.8.

Rom. 6.19.

*applied your selves, and all the members of your body, to all filthy living and wickednesse, continually encreasing the same; in like manner now, you must give and apply your selves wholly to justice, encreasing continually in purity and cleanness of life.* And in another place he saith, *I chastise and subdue my carnal body, and the affections of the same, and make them obedient unto the spirit.*

*Item*, That these precepts and works of charity, be necessary works to our salvation, and God necessarily requireth, that every penitent man shall perform the same whensoever time, power and occasion shall be ministered unto them so to doe.

*Item*, That by penance and such good works of the same, we shall not onely obtain everlasting life, but also we shall deserve remission or mitigation of these present pains and afflictions in this world, according to the saying of Saint Paul, *If we would correct and take punishment of our selves, we should not be so grievously corrected of God.* And Zecharias the Prophet saith, *Turn your selves unto me, and I will turn again unto you.* And the Prophet Esay saith, *Break, and deal thy bread unto the hungry, bring into thy house the poor man, and such as want harbour. When thou seest a naked man, give him clothes to cover him with, and refuse not to succour and help the poor and needy, for he is thine own flesh.* And, if thou wilt thus doe, then shall thy light glister out as bright as the sun in the morning, and thy health shall sooner arise unto thee, and thy justice shall goe before thy face, and the glory of God shall gather thee up, that thou shalt not fall. And, whensoever thou shalt call upon God, God shall hear thee: and, whensoever thou shalt cry unto God, God shall say, *Loe: here I am ready to help thee; then shall thy light overcome all darknesse, and thy darknesse shall be as bright as the sun at noon-daies: and then God shall give unto thee continuall rest, and shall fulfill thy soul with brightness; and shall deliver thy body from adversity: and then thou shalt be like a garden, that most plentifully bringeth forth all kinde of fruits, and like the well-spring that never shall want water.*

*These things*, and such other, should be continually taught and inculked into the ears of Our people, to the intent to stirre and provoke them unto good works, and by the self-same good works to exercise and confirm their faith and hope, and look for to receive at God's hand mitigation and remission of the miseries, calamities and grievous punishments, which God sendeth to men in this world for their sins.

### The Sacrament of the Altar.

*Fourthly*, As touching the Sacrament of the Altar, We will, that all Bishops & Preachers shall instruct and teach Our people committed by Us to their spiritual charge, that they ought, and must constantly believe, that under the form & figure of bread & wine, which We there presently do see & perceive by outward senses, is verily, substantially & really contained and comprehended the very self-same body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the Crosse for our redemption. And, that under the same form and figure of Bread and Wine, the very self-same body and blood of Christ is corporally, really and in the very substance exhibited, distributed, and received unto, and of all them which receive the said Sacrament. And, that therefore the said Sacrament is to be used with all due reverence and honour; and, that every man ought first to prove and examine himself, and religiously to trie and search his own conscience before he shall receive the same, according to the saying of S. Paul, *Whosoever eateth this body of Christ unworthily, or drinketh of this blood of Christ unworthily, shall be*

[E c c 2]

guilty

1 Cor. 9.27.

1 Cor. 11.31.

Zech. 1.3.

Isa. 58.7,8,9, &c.

1 Cor. 11.27.

guilty of the very body and blood of Christ. Wherefore let every man first prove himself, and so let him eat of this bread, and drink of this drink; for, whosoever eateth it, or drinketh it unworthily, he eateth and drinketh to his own damnation, because he putteth no difference between the very body of Christ, and other kindes of meat.

### Justification.

*Fifthly*, As touching the order and cause of our *Justification*, We will, that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by Us to their spiritual charge, that this word *Justification* signifieth remission of our sins, and our acceptance or reconciliation into the grace and favour of God, that is to say, our perfect renovation in Christ.

*Item*, That sinners attain this *justification*, by *contrition* and *faith* joyned with *charity*, after such sort and manner as we before mentioned and declared. Nor, as though our contrition, or faith, or any works proceeding thereof, can worthily merit or deserve to attain the said justification: for the onely mercy and grace of the Father promised freely unto us for his Sons sake Jesus Christ, and the merits of his blood and passion, be the onely sufficient and worthy causes thereof. And yet, that, notwithstanding, to the attaining of the same justification, God requireth to be in us, not onely inward contrition, perfect faith and charity, certain hope and confidence with all other spiritual graces and motions; which, as we said before, must necessarily concur in remission of our sins, that is to say, our justification: but also he requireth and commandeth us, that after we be justified, we must also have good works of charity and obedience towards God, in the observing and fulfilling outwardly of his laws and commandments. For, although acceptance to everlasting life be conjoynd with justification, yet our good works be necessarily required to the attaining of everlasting life. And, we being justified be necessarily bound, and it is our necessary duty to doe good works, according to the saying of S. Paul, *We be bound not to live according to the flesh, and to fleshly appetites; for, if we live so, we shall undoubtedly be damned. And contrary, if we will mortifie the deeds of our flesh, and live according to the spirit, we shall be saved. For, whosoever be led by the spirit of God, they be the children of God: And Christ saith, If you will come to heaven, keep the commandments. And Saint Paul, speaking of evil works, saith, Whosoever commit sinfull deeds, shall never come to heaven.* Wherefore, We will, that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct & teach Our people committed by Us unto their spiritual charge, that God necessarily requireth of us to doe good works commanded by him, and that not onely outward and civil works, but also the inward spiritual motions and graces of the Holy Ghost: that is to say, to dread and fear God, to love God, to have firm confidence and trust in God, to invoke and call upon God, to have patience in all adversities, to hate sin, and to have certain purpose and will not to sin again, and such other like motions and virtues. For Christ saith, *Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven: that is to say, We must not only do outward civil good works, but also we must have these foresaid inward spiritual motions, consenting and agreeable to the law of God.*

### Articles

f Rom. 8. 12, &c.

f Mat. 19. 17.

u Gal. 5. 21.

u Mat. 5. 20.

Ann. Dom. 1536.  
An. Reg. Hen. 8.

### Articles concerning the laudable Ceremonies used in the Church of Christ; and first of Images.

*As touching Images*, truth it is, that the same have been used in the Old Testament, and also for the great abuses of them, sometime destroyed and put down. And in the New Testament they have been also allowed, as good Authors doe declare. Wherefore We will, that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach Our people committed by Us to their spiritual charge, how they ought and may use them. And first, that there be attributed unto them, that they be representers of virtue and good example. And, that they also be by occasion, the kindlers and stirrers of mens mindes, and make men oft to remember and lament their sins and offences, especially the images of Christ and our Lady. And, that therefore it is meet that they should stand in the Churches, and none otherwise to be esteemed. And, to the intent that rude people should not from henceforth take such superstition as in time past, it is thought, that the same hath used to doe. We will, that Our Bishops and Preachers diligently shall teach them, and according to this doctrine reform their abuses: for, else there might fortune idolatry to ensue, which God forbid. And as for sensing of them, and kneeling and offering unto them, with other like worshippings, although the same hath entered by devotion, and false to customs, yet the people ought to be diligently taught, that they in no wise doe it, nor think it meet to be done to the same images; but onely to be done to God and in his honour, although it be done before the images, whether it be of Christ, of the Crosse, of our Lady, or of any other Saint beside.

### Of honouring of Saints.

*As touching the honouring of Saints*, We will, that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach Our people committed by Us unto their spiritual charges, that Saints, now being with Christ in heaven, be to be honoured of Christian people in earth, but not with that confidence and honour which are onely due unto God, trusting to attain at their hands that which must be had onely of God. But, that they be thus to be honoured, because they be known the elect persons of Christ, because they be passed in godly life out of this transitory world: because they already doe reigne in glory with Christ: and, most specially to laud and praise Christ in them for their excellent virtues, which he planted in them, for example of, and by them, to such as yet are in this world, to live in virtue and goodnesse: and also not to fear to die for Christ and his cause, as some of them did. And finally, to take them in that they may, to be the advancers of our prayers and demands unto Christ. By these waies, and such like, be Saints to be honoured and had in reverence, and by none other.

### Of Praying to Saints.

*As touching Praying to Saints*, We will, that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach Our people committed by Us unto their spiritual charge, that albeit, grace, remission of sin and salvation cannot be obtained, but of God onely, by the mediation of our Saviour CHRIST, which is onely sufficient Mediatour for our sins; yet, it is very laudable

to pray to Saints in heaven everlastingly living, whose charity is ever permanent to be Intercessors, and to pray for us, and with us, unto Almighty God, after this manner:

*All holy Angels and Saints in heaven, pray for us, and with us, unto the Father, that for his dear Son Jesu Christi his sake, we may have grace of him, and remission of our sins, with an earnest purpose, (not wanting ghostly strength) to observe and keep his holy commandments, and never to decline from the same again unto our lives end. And in this manner we may pray to our blessed Lady, to Saint John Baptist, to all, and every of the Apostles, or any other Saints particularly, as our devotion doth serve us: so that it be done without any vain superstition, as to think that any Saint is more mercifull, or will hear us sooner than CHRIST; or that any Saint doth serve for one thing more than another, or is patron of the same. And likewise we must keep Holy-daies unto God, in memory of him and his Saints, upon such daies as the Church hath ordained their memories to be celebrate, except they be mitigated and moderated by the assent and commandment of His the Supreme Head, to the Ordinaries, and then the Subjects ought to obey it.*

### Of Rites, and Ceremonies.

*As concerning the Rites and Ceremonies of Christ's Church, as, to have such vestments in doing Gods service, as be, and have been most part used: as sprinkling of Holy-water to put us in remembrance of our Baptism, and the blood of Christ sprinkled for our redemption upon the Crosse: Giving of Holy-bread to put us in remembrance of the Sacrament of the Altar, that all Christian men be one body mystical of Christ, as the bread is made of many grains, and yet but one loaf; and to put us in remembrance of the receiving of the holy Sacrament and body of Christ, the which we ought to receive in right charity, which in the beginning of Christ's Church, men did more often receive, than they use now adaies to do: Bearing of Candles on Candle-mas-day, in memory of Christ the spiritual Light, of whom Simeon did prophesie, as is read in the Church that day: Giving of Ashes on Ash-wednesday, to put in remembrance every Christian man in the beginning of Lent, and penance, that he is but ashes and earth, and thereto shall return, which is right necessary to be uttered from henceforth in our Mother-tongue alwaies on the Sunday: Bearing of Palms on Palm-Sunday, in memory of the receiving of Christ into Hierusalem a little before his death; that we may have the same desire to receive him into our hearts: Creeping to the Crosse, and humbling our selves to Christ on Good Friday before the Crosse, and there offering unto Christ made upon the Crosse: kissing of it in memory of our redemption by Christ made upon the Crosse: Setting up the Sepulture of Christ, whose body after his death was buried: The hallowing of the Font, and other like exorcismes and benedictions by the Ministers of Christs Church, and all other like laudable Customes, Rites and Ceremonies, be not to be contemned and laudable, to put us in remembrance of those spiritual things that they doe signifie, not suffering them to be forgotten, or to be put in oblivion, but renewing them in our memories from time to time; but none of these Ceremonies have power to remit sinne, but only to stirre and lift up our mindes unto God, by whom onely our sinnes be forgiven.*

Of

Ann.  
Dom.  
1536.  
18.

### Of Purgatorie.

*Forasmuch as due order of charity requireth, and the Book of Malacca bees, and divers ancient Doctours plainly shewen, That it is a very good and charitable deed to pray for Soules departed; and, forasmuch also as such usage hath continued in the Church for many years, even from the beginning: We will, that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach Our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that no man ought to be grieved with the continuance of the same; and, that it standeth with the very due order of charity, a Christian man to pray for Soules departed, and to commit them in our prayers to God's mercy, and also to cause other to pray for them in Masses and Exequies, and to give alms to other to pray for them, whereby they may be relieved and holpen of some part of their pain. But, forasmuch as the place where they be, the name thereof, and kinde of pains there also, be to us uncertain by Scripture, therefore this, with all other things, we remit to Almighty God, unto whose mercy it is meet and convenient for us to commend them; trusting that God accepteth our prayers for them, referring the rest wholly to God, to whom is known their estate and condition. Wherefore it is much necessary that such abuses be clearly put away, which under the name of Purgatorie, hath been advanced, as to make men believe, that through the Bishop of Rome's Pardons, Soules might clearly be delivered out of Purgatorie, and all the pains of it. Or, that Masses said at Scals calli, or elsewhere in any place, or before any Image, might likewise deliver them from all their pain, and send them straight to heaven. And other like abuses.*

36. Nothing else of moment passed in this Convocation, save that on the 20 of July, Edward Bishop of Hereford, brought in a Book containing the King's Reasons, conceiving it unfit, in Person, or by Proxie, to appear at the General Council, lately called by the Pope at Mantua, (afterward removed to Trent) and then the Convocation having first confirm'd the King's Reasons, was dissolved. It was transacted in relation to Church, or Church-men, in the contemporary Parliament:

1. That Felons for abjuring Petty Treason, should not have Clergie.
2. That every Ecclesiastical and Lay-Officer shall be sworn to renounce the Bishop of Rome, and his authority, and to resist it to his power, and to repulse any Oath taken in the maintenance of the said Bishop, or his authority, to be void. And the refusing the said Oath being tendered, shall be adjudged High Treason.
3. That Fruits, during the vacation of a Benefice, shall be restored to the next Incumbent, whose charge for first-fruits shall begin from the first vacation.
4. Which Spiritual persons shall be resident upon their Benefices, and which not, and for what causes.
5. Release of such who have obtained Licences from the See of Rome.

But all these are set down at large in the printed Statutes, and thither we referre the Reader for satisfaction: as to our History of Abbies to be informed about the Rebellion in the North, occasioned in this year by these alterations in Religion.

The Convocation dissolved, and what acted in Parliament.

x See them in the Statutes at large. y Cap. 1.

z Cap. 10.

z Cap. 11.

b Cap. 16.

The birth, breeding, full perfection, & far travelling of William Tyndal, c. Baleus, de script. Brit. pag. 658.

He translated the New, and most part of the Old Testament.

c. Bale, ut prius.

f. Fox Martyrs, vol. 2. pag. 364.

Faults in his Translation confessed and excused.

Tyndal and his Translation both martyred with fire.

g. Fox, ut prius.

b. Rem. 13. r.

37. Towards the end of this year, the faithfull servant of God, William Tyndal, alias c. Hichins, was martyred at *Tyford* in *Flanders*, born about *Wales*, bred first in *Oxford*, then in *Cambridge*, after School-master to the children of Mr. *Welch*, a bountifull house-keeper in *Glocester-shire*. To his house repaired many Abbots of that Countrey (as indeed no one Shire in England had half so many Abbots of that Countrey) and Clergy-men, whom Tyndal many mired ones, which voted in Parliament) and Clergy-men, whom Tyndal so welcomed with his discourse against their superstitions, that afterwards they preferred to forbear Master *Welch* his good cheer rather than to have the lower fauce therewith, Master Tyndal's company. But this set their stomachs so sharp against him, that he was forced to quit *Glocester-shire*, and tender his service to *Cuthbert Tunstall*, Bishop of *London*, a great Scholar himself, and therefore probable to prove a Patron to a learned man. Him Tyndal presented in vain, with an Oration out of *Isocrates*, which he had translated into English. But, though he sued for himself in two tongues, Greek, and English, both proved ineffectual; the Bishop returning, That he had more already than he could well maintain. On this denial, over halts Tyndal beyond the seas; and, after much travelling, fixeth at last at *Antwerp*, where he became Clerk to the Company of English Merchant-Adventurers.

38. Here he began with the *New Testament*, (as of most concernment to mans salvation) and, with the help of *John Frish*, the *Baruch* to this *Jeremie* translating it out of the Greek Original, finished, printed, and published it. Then he proceeded to the *Old*, and accomplished it from *Genesis* to *Nehemiah* inclusively, but translated none of the *Prophets*, (save *Jonah*) being prevented by death. I presume he rendered the *Old Testament* out of the *Latine*, his best friends not intuiting him to any skill at all in the *Hebrew*. And remarkable it was, that failing to *Hamborough* to print the *Pentateuch*, he lost all his Books and Copies by shipwrack, which doubled his pains in re-translating it. But here he lighted on the help of *Miles Coverdale*, afterward Bishop of *Exeter*, when the Sweating-sickness swept away thousands in the City, with a generall mortality: As if the usefull sweating of their brains, were a preservative against the hurtfull sweating of their bodies. And indeed painfullnesse in a lawfull calling, is the best antidote against a publick infection.

39. Yet none will deny, but that many faults needing amendment, are found in his Translation; which is no wonder to those who consider; First, such an undertaking was not the task for a man, but men. Secondly, no great design is invented, and perfected at once. Thirdly, Tyndal, being an exile, wanted many necessary accommodations. Fourthly, his skill in Languages was then but in the infancy thereof. Fifthly, our English tongue was not improved to that expressiveness, whereat at this day it is arrived. However, what he undertook was to be admired as glorious; what he performed, to be commended as profitable; wherein he failed, is to be excused as pardonable, and to be scored on the account rather of that Age, than of the Author himself. Yea, Tyndal's pains were usefull, had his Translation done no other good than to help towards the making of a better; Our last Translations having in expresse charge from King JAMES, to consult the Translation of Tyndal.

40. But, when the Testament of Tyndal's Translation came over into England, oh! how were the Popish Clergie cut to the heart? How did their beaver-eyes smart at the shining of the Gospel in a vulgar Tongue? Downe must their *Dagon*, if this *Arke* be set up: downe their *Diana*, if *Paul* be permitted to preach to the people. Some said, that the Bible ought not to be translated; some, that it could not be, that it was impossible: Others, that the translating thereof would make men rebell against the King; and why I pray? seeing they shall read therein, Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, &c. and many other places pressing obedience. Some were not so much angry with the Text, as with Tyndal's

Ann. Reg. 1536.  
Ann. Dom. 1536.  
Ann. Reg. 1536.  
Ann. Dom. 1536.  
Ann. Reg. 1536.  
Ann. Dom. 1536.

dal's Comment, his Preface before, and Notes upon the same: In fine, they did not only procure his Book to be publicly burnt in *Paul's Church-yard*, but also their malice (which hath long arms to reach at such distance) contrived, and effected the strangling and burning of Tyndal in *Flanders*.

41. Bale calleth him the *Apostle of the English*. And indeed, some generall parallel (farre be it from me to enforce it to an absolute conformity) may be observed betwixt Saint *Paul*, and our Tyndal: *S. Paul* withstood, and defeated the power of *Elymas* the Sorcerer: Tyndal, with the grace and gravity of his company put a Magician out of countenance, being brought thither to shew a cast of his skill by enchanting. *S. Paul*, in *Thyatira*, converted his *Jaylour*, and all his household: Tyndal, during his year and half durance, converted his keeper, his daughter, and other of his family. Saint *Paul* was in perils by waters, in perils by robbers, in perils among false brethren: so was Tyndal, whom one *Philips*, pretending much friendship, by cunning insinuation betrayed to his destruction. We take our leaves of Tyndal, with that testimony which the Emperour's Procurator or Attorney-General (though his adversary) gave of him, *Homo fuit doctus, pius, & bonus: He was a learned, a godly, and a good-natur'd man.*

A parallel betwixt S. Paul, and Tyndal.

f. Fox, p. 367.

g. Acts 16. 33.

m. Fox, ut prius.  
n. 1 Cor. 11. 26.

[Fff]

SECTION



## SECTION IV.

TO

CLIFFORD CLIFTON, Esquire.

I know not of what place properly to name and inscribe you, whether of Middlesex, where you have your present Dwelling; or of Nottingham-shire, whence first you fetched your Name; or from Derby-shire, and other neighbouring Counties, wherein you are Heire apparent to a fair Inheritance. I envie not your deserved Happinesse, but onely observe it is almost as difficult to fix a rich man, as a begger; the one for his variety, the other for his want of habitation. But be you styled from what Place you please, be pleased also to accept this expresse of my service unto you. All that I will adde is, that seeing two Antient and Honourable Families (the one of Norman, the other of Saxon extraction) have met in your name, may their joynt Virtues be united in your nature.

The beginning  
of the First  
fruits Office.



o Gen. 14. 20. &  
Heb. 7. 4.

p Num. 18. 28.

Com. with  
others employed  
to raise all Ec-  
clesiastical pre-  
bendments.

Reat the Kings profit at this time from the Office for the Receipt of Tenth and First fruits, which was now first set up in London, and something must be observed of the original thereof: Such moneys formerly were paid to the Pope, who, as Pastor Pastorum, claimed Decimas Decimarum. Entitling himself thereunto, partly from Abraham, (a Priest) paying Tithes to Melchisedech the high Priest; partly from the Levites in the Mosaiical Law, paying the Second Tithes, that is, the Tithes of their Tithes to the Priest: Thus shall you offer of their Tithes to the Lord, of all your Tithes, which ye receive of the children of Israel, and ye shall give thereof the Lords heave-offering to Aaron the Priest. Hereupon, the Pope had his Collectors in every Diocesse, who sometimes by Bills of Exchange, but generally in specie, (to the great impoverishing of the Land) yearly returned the Tenth and First-fruits of the English Clergie to Rome.

2. But the Pope being now dead in England, the King was found his Heir at Common Law, as to most of the power, and profits, the other had usurped. But now as the Clergie changed their Land lord, so their Rents were new-rated (and, I believe somewhat raised) Commissioners being employed in all Counties, (the

Bishop

Ann.  
Reg.  
He. 8.  
19.

Ann.  
Dom.  
1537.

Bishop of the Diocesse being alwaies one of them) to valew their yearly revenue, that so their Tenth and First-fruits may be proportioned accordingly. These Raters were the chiefe persons in all Counties under the degree of Barons, and I had a project to present their names, as of men of unquestionable extraction, none as yet standing on the ruins of Abbies to heighten their mean birth into the repute of Gentility.

Surrey.

Nicholas Carew, } Knights.  
Matthew Broun,  
Thomas Stidolfe, Esquire.  
John Banister, Gentleman.

Huntingdon-shire.

Richard Sapcot, } Knights.  
Lawrence Taylard,  
John Gostwick, } Esquires.  
John Goodrick,

Devon-shire.

William Courtney, } Knights.  
Thomas Dennis,  
John Birnall, Major of Exeter.  
John Hull, } Auditors.  
William Simonds,  
John Ford, } Auditors.  
John Southcote,

Somerset-shire.

William Stourton, }  
John Horsey, } Kn<sup>ts</sup>.  
Andrew Lutterell,  
Thomas Speke, } Esq<sup>s</sup>.  
Hugh Powlet,  
Henry a Capel, Knight.  
William Portman, Gent.  
Roger Kinsey, Auditor.

Stafford-shire.

John Talbot, } Knights.  
John Gifford,  
Walter Wrotley, Esquire.  
John Wrotley, Gentleman.

Cheshire.

John Holford, Knight.  
Peter Dutton, Knight.  
George Booth,  
Thomas Aston, } Esq<sup>s</sup>.  
Richard Ligh,  
William Brereton,

g In this meth-  
od they are  
named.

But my designe failed, when I found the return of the Commissioners names into the Office so defective, that in most Counties they are wholly omitted.

3. These Commissioners were impowered by the King, to send for the Scribes and Notaries of all Bishops and Arch-deacons, to swear the Receivers and Auditors of Incumbents, to view their Register-books, Easter-books, and all other writings, and to use all other waies to know the full value of Ecclesiastical preferments, with the number and names of Persons enjoying the same. They were to divide themselves by Three and Three, allotting to every number so many Deaneries, and to enquire the number and names of all Abbies, Monasteries, Priories, Brotherhoods, Sisterships, Fellowships, &c. Houses religious and conventual, as well

[F f 2]

well

Instructions  
given to the  
Commission-  
ers,



\* Transcribed with my own hand out of the original in the Office. (N<sup>o</sup>. Clerk in the Office could read this word. Some years spent in the work.

Vicarages why so high-rated.

Q. Mary remits Tenths and First-fruits.

\* 2 & 3 Phil. & Mary, cap. 4.

Q. Elizabeth resumeth them.

\* See the Stat. Eliz. cap. 9.

u. M. Parker Ann. Brit. in vol. 1. Reginald. Vol.

The Rate, profit, and policy of this Office.

well *CHARTER-HOUSE*, as others, (these *Carthusians* being specified by name, because proudly pretending privileges of Papal exemption) and meeting together to certify into the *Exchequer*, (at the time limited in their Commission) the true value of such Places or Preferments. Herein, *Reparations*, *Fees* of *ten sh.* were not to be deducted, but perpetual *Rents*, *Pensions*, *Alms*, *Synods*, *Fees* paid out yearly to Persons, were to be allowed.

4. This being a work of time exactly to perform, took up some years in the effecting thereof. *Devon-shire* and *Somerset* were done in the twenty-seventh, *Staffordshire*, and many other Counties, in the thirty-fourth of King *Henry the eighth*, and most of *Wales* not till the reign of King *Edward the sixth*. Yea, I am credibly informed, that in *Ireland*, (to which Kingdome such Commissions were afterwards extended) the Commissioners partly tired with their troublesome work, partly afraid to pass the dangerous hill of *Rathes* (in *Irish*, *Steele-Logher*) never came into the County of *Kerry*, the South-west extremity of that Island. So that the Clergie thereof, (though the poorest of the poorest in *Ireland*) enjoy this privilege, that they are presently put into their *Livinges*, (or *Benefices* rather) without any payments.

5. But no such favour was allowed to any place in *England*, where all were unparitally rated, and *Vicarages* valued very high according to their present revenue by *personal Perquisites*. In that Age, he generally was the richest *Shepherd*, who had the greatest flock, where *Oblations* from the *living* and *Obits* for the *dead*, (as certainly paid, as *Predial Tithes*) much advanced their *Income*. In consideration whereof, *Vicarages* (mostly lying in Market-Towns, and populous Parishes) were set very high, though soon after those *Oblentions* sunk with superstition: And the *Vicars*, in vain, desired a proportionable abatement in the *King's books*; which once drawn up, were no more to be altered.

6. Now Queen *Mary*, a Princess, whose conscience was never *purse-ridden*, as one who would go to the cost of Her own principles, did by Act of Parliament *exonerate, acquit and discharge* the Clergie from all *First-fruits*. As for *Tenths*, the same \* Statute ordereth them to be paid to Cardinal *Poole*, who from the same was to pay the *Pensions* allowed by Her Father to Monks and Nuns at the dissolution of *Abbies*: yet so, that when such persons, who were but few and aged (all named in a Deed indented) should decease, all such payments of the Clergie, reserved *nomine decima*, should cease, and be clearly extinct and determined for ever.

7. But Her Sister Q. *Elizabeth* succeeding Her, and finding so fair a flower, as *First-fruits* & *Tenths* fallen out of Her Crown, was careful quickly to gather it up again, and get it re-sett therein. A Princess most facile to forgive injuries; but inexorable to remit debts, who knowing that necessitous *Kings* are *subject* to great inconveniences, was a thrifty improver of Her treasure. And, no wonder if She were *exact* (though not *exacting*) to have Her dues from the Clergie, who herein would not favour her grand favourite Sir *Christopher Hatton*, (who by the way was *Master* of this *first-fruits* Office, and was) much indebted unto Her for moneys received. All which arrears Her Majesty required so severely and suddenly from him, that the grief thereof cost him his life. I say, this Queen in the first of Her *Reign* resumed *first-fruits* and *ten sh.* only with this caveat *Parsonages* not exceeding *ten Marks*, and *Vicarages* *ten Pounds*, that they should be freed from *first-fruits*. A clause in this Statute, empowering the Queen to take all that was due unto Her from the first day of this Parliament, was so improved by her Officers in the *Exchequer*, (who sometimes have none of the softest palms to those that fall into their hands) that many Ministers were much vexed thereby: Yea, one \* observeth that the courtship intended to the Clergie by Q. *Mary* in remitting their *ten sh.* proved in event an injury to many, so vexed about their arrears.

8. In vain have some of late *beaved* at this Office, which is *safened* to the State, with so considerable a revenue, as it advanced thereunto by *ten sh.* and *first-fruits*. The

Ann. Dom. 1537.  
Ann. Reg. Hen. 8. 29.

Ann. Reg. Hen. 8. 29.  
Ann. Dom. 1537.

Hen. 8. 10.  
Nov. 10.

24.  
27.  
Hen. 8. 1539.  
31.

The former certain, the latter casual as depending on the uncertain deaths of Incumbents, and such as succeed them. Many indeed accuse such payments, as Popish in their original. But could that be superstitious, which was plucked down by Queen *Mary*, and set up again by Queen *Elizabeth*? Besides, suppose them so, in their first foul fountain, since being *shifted*, yea *strained* through the hands of *Protestant Kings*, *Tenths* have their old property altered, and acquire no doubt a new purity to themselves. And the *Advocates* for this Office, doe pertinently plead, that there ought to be a *badge of subjection* \* of the Clergie to the *Secular power*, by public acknowledgment of their dependence thereon, which by such payments is best performed.

9. *John Lambert*, alias *Nicolson*, bred in *Cambridge*, had lately been much persecuted by *Archbishop Warham*, about some opinions he held against the *corporal presence* in the *Sacrament*. And now being fallen into fresh troubles on the same account, to make the quicker work (following the precedent of *S. Paul*, appealing to *Cæsar*) he appeals to the King. Who having lately taken upon him the title of the *Supreme head of the Church* of *England*, would shew that *head* had a *tongue* could speak in matters of Divinity. In *White-hall*, the place and day is appointed, where an *ACT-ROTAL* was kept; the King himselfe being the *Opponent*, and *Lambert* the *Answerer*; and where His Highness was worsted or wearied, *Arch-bishop Cramer* \* supplied His place, arguing, though civilly, shrewdly, against the truth, and his own private judgment.

10. Was not this worse than *keeping the clothes* of those who killed *S. Stephen*, seeing this *Archbishop* did actually *cast stones* at this Martyr, in the Arguments he urged against him. Nor will it excuse *Cramer's* *earnestness* and *disimulation* to accuse *Gardiner's* craft and cruelty, who privily put the *Archbishop* on this odious act, such Christian courage being justly expected from a person of his parts and place as not to be acted by another, contrary to his own conscience. I see not therefore what can be said in *Cramer's* behalf, save only that I verily hope, and stedfastly believe, that he craved God's pardon for this particular offence, and obtained the same on his unfeigned repentance. And because the face of mens faults is commonly seen in the glasse of their punishment, it is observable, that as *Lambert* now was burnt for denying the *corporal presence*, so *Cramer* (now his *Opponent*) was afterwards condemned and died at *Oxford* for maintaining the same opinion; which valour, if sooner shewn, his conscience had probably been more cleared within him, and his credit without him to all posterity.

11. A match being now made up by the Lord *Cromwel's* contrivance, betwixt King *Henry* and the Lady *Anne of Cleve*, Dutch-men flockt faster than formerly into *England*: Many of these had active souls, so that whilst their hands were busied about their *manufactures*, their heads were also beating about points of Divinity. Hereof they had many rude notions, too ignorant to manage them themselves, and too proud to crave the direction of others. Their minds had a by-stream of activity more than what sufficed to *drive* on their *vocation*, and this waste of their souls, they employed in needless speculations, and soon after began to broach their strange opinions, being branded with the general name of *Anabaptists*. These *Anabaptists* for the main, are but *Donatists* new-dipt, and this year their name first appears in our English Chronicles, for, I \* read that four *Anabaptists*, three men and one woman, all Dutch, bare faggots at *Paul's Crosse*, and three daies after a man and woman of their sect was burnt in *Smithfield*.

12. It quickly came to the turn of Queen *Anne of Cleve* to fall, if not into the displeasure, out of the dear affection of King *Henry the eighth*. She had much of *Katharine Dowager's* austerity, little of *Anna Bolten's* pleasant wit, less of the beauty of *Jane Seamour*. Some feminine impotency, that she answered not Her creation, was objected against Her, though only Her precontract with the Son of the Duke of *Lorraine* was publicly insisted on, for which by Act of Parliament now sitting, She was solemnly divorced.

[F f f 3]

13. King

\* Some say, such a vestigial from the Clergie is mentioned in *Bede*.

*John Lambert* condemned, and why.

w. Fox. A.D. & Mon.

*Cramer's* unexcusable cowardly dissimulation.

Dutch-men broach strange opinions.

\* See in his Chron. p. 576.

Queen *Anne of Cleve* why divorced.



The reparations the King made her.

a Stone's Funeral Monuments, p. 513.

Reformation goes backwards.

King Henry justly blamed.

Compared with King Jehu.

The six bloody Articles.

The L. Cromwell's designe mischievous.

13. King Henry durst not but deal better with Anne of Cleve than with such His Wives, which were His native Subjects: not so much for love of Her, as for fear of Her Brother the Duke of Cleve, considerable (if not much in Himself) in His union with the Protestant Princes of Germany. Wherefore He restored Her all Her Jewels, assigned Her precedence above all English, (save His own that should be Queen, and Children) graced Her with a new-devised stile of, *His adopted Sister*, (by which from henceforward He saluted Her in His Letters, and She in Answer subscribed Her self) allotted Her *Richmond-House* for Her retirement, with an augmentation of means for Her maintenance. And now let Her be glad that She escaped so well, seeing all, which had reference to King Henry's bed, came off *gainers*, if *savers* of their own lives, and reputations. She returned, no more into Her own Countrey, but living, and dying, Anne 1557. in England, was buried in *Westminster Church* at the head of King *Sebert*, in a Tomb not yet finished; none other of King Henry's Wives having any, and this Anne but half a Monument.

14. In the last Parliament, *Reformation running a race with Superstition*, hardly carried it by the *heads-length*, but it was hoped, that in this new Parliament (now sitting) *true Religion* would run her *Rival* quite out of distance: Whereas alas! it not only *stood still*, but *went backwards*; the *SIX ARTICLES* being therein enacted, that *whip with six knots*, each one (as heavily laid on) *fetching blood from the backs* of poor Protestants.

15. K. Henry was much blamed for passing this Act. Indeed, *Power* and *Profit* being the things politick Princes chiefly desire; King Henry had already attained both by his partial-Reformation. *Power*, by abolishing the Pope's usurpation, in His Dominions; *Profit*, by seizing on the *lands and goods* of suppressed Monasteries. And thus having served His own turn, His zeal wilfully tired to goe any farther, and (onely abolishing such Popery as was in order to his aforeaid designs) He severely urged the rest on the practice of His Subjects.

16. Herein he appeared like to *Jehu King of Israel*, who utterly rooted out the *foreign Idolatry* of *BAAZ*, (fetcht from the *Zidoniens*, and almost appropriated to the family of *Ahab*) but still worshipped the *CALVES* in *DAN*, and *BETHEL*, the *base Idolatry* of the Kingdome; So our Henry, though banishing all our *landish Superstition* of *Papall dependance*, still reserved and maintained *home bred Popery*, persecuting the *Refusers* (in defiance of Archbishop

17. For, by the perswasion of Bishop Gardiner (in defiance of Archbishop *Cranmer*, and the L. *Cromwell*, with might and main opposing it) it was enacted:

1. That in the Sacrament of the Altar, after consecration, no substance of bread or wine remaineth, but the naturall body and blood of Christ.
2. That the Communion in both kindes is not necessary ad salutem, by the law of God to all persons.
3. That Priests, after Orders received, may not marry by the Law of God.
4. That Vows of Chastity ought to be observed.
5. That it is meet and necessary, that private Masses be admitted and continued in Churches.
6. That auricular Confession must be frequented by people, as of necessity to salvation.

Laws, bad, as penned; worse, as prosecuted; which by some Bishops extensiv<sup>e</sup> interpretations, were made commensurate to the whole body of Popery.

18. Indeed, the Lord Cromwell (unable to right his own) had a designe to revenge himself on the opposite party, by procuring an Act, that *Papish Priests convicted of Adultery*, should be subject to the same punishment with *Protestant Ministers* that were married. But Gardiner, by his greatnesse, got that law qualified,

Ann. Dom. 1539.

Ann. Reg. H. 8. 31.

Ann. Reg. H. 8. 32.

Ann. Dom. 1540.

lified, that it soon became *lex edentula*, whilst the other remained *mordax*, death being the penalty of such who were made guilty by the *six Articles*, though *Nicholas Shaxton* of *Salisbury*, and *Hugh Latimer* of *Worcester*, found the especial favour to save themselves by losing of their *Bishopricks*.

19. And now began *Edmond Bonner*, alias *Savage*, (most commonly called by the former, but too truly known by the later name) newly made Bishop of *London*, to display the colours of his *crucity* therein, which here I forbear to repeat, because cited at large by Mr. Fox. For, I desire my *Church-History* should be have it self to his *Book of Martyrs*, as a *Lieutenant* to its *Captain*, onely to supply his place in his absence, to be *supplemental* therunto, in such matters of moment which have escaped his observation.

20. March-makers betwixt private persons seldom find great love for their pains, betwixt Princes often fall into danger, as here it proved in the L. *Cromwell*, the grand contriver of the King's marriage with Anne of Cleve. On him the King had conferred Honours so many, and so suddenly, that one may say, The crudities thereof lay unconcocted in his soul, so that he could not have time to digest one Dignity before another was poured upon him. Not to speak of his *Master-ship of the Jewel-house*, he was made *Baron, Master of the Rolls, the Kings Vicar-general in spiritual matters, Lord Privie Seale, Knight of the Garter, Earle of Essex, Lord Great Chamberlaine* of England. And my<sup>b</sup> Author observeth, that all these Honours were conferred upon him in the compass of five years, most of them possessed by him not five months; I may adde, and all taken from him in lesse than five minutes, with his life on the scaffold.

21. This was the cause why he was envied of the Nobility and Gentry, being by birth so much beneath all; by preferment so high above most of them. Besides, many of his advancements were interpreted not so much Honours to him, as Injuries to others, as being either in use *improper*, or in equity *unjust*, or in right *unjust*, or in conscience *unlawfull* for him to accept. His *Master-ship of the Rolls*, such who were bred Lawyers, conceived it fitter for men of their profession. As for the *Earldome of Essex* conferred upon him, though the title lately became void by the death of *Bouchier* the last Earl without Issue-male (and so in the strictnesse of right in the King's free disposal) yet because he left Anne, a sole Daughter behind him, *Cromwell's* invading of that Honour, bred no good blood towards him amongst the kindred of that Orphan, who were honourable, and numerous. His *Lord Great Chamberlainship* of England, being an Office for many years Hereditary in the Antient and Honourable House of *Oxford*, incensed all of that Family, when beholding him possessed thereof. His *Knighthood of the Garter*, which custome had appropriated to such, who by three degrees at least could prove their Gentile descent, being bestowed on him, did but enrage his Competitors thereof, more honourably extracted. As for his being the *King's Vicar-General in spiritual matters*, all the Clergie did rage thereat, grutching much, that K. Henry the substance, and more, that *Cromwell*, his shadow, should assume so high a Title to himself. Besides, *Cromwell's* name was odious unto them, on the account of Abbies dissolved, and no wonder, if this *Sampson* plucking down the pillars of the *Papish Church*, had the rest of the structure falling upon him. These rejoiced when the Duke of *Norfolk* arrested him for Treason at the Council-Table, whence he was sent Prisoner to the Tower.

22. And now to speak impartially of him, though in prison. If we reflect on his parts and endowments, it is wonderful to see how one quality in him befriended another. Great Scholar he was none (the *Latine Testament* gotten by heart being the master-piece of his learning) nor any studied Lawyer, (never long-living, if admitted in the *Inns of Court*) nor experienced Soldier, (though necessity cast him on that calling, when the Duke of *Burbane* besieged *Rome*) nor *Courier* in his youth, (till bred in the Court, as I may call it, of Cardinal *Wolsey's* house:) and yet, that of the Lawyer in him, so helped the Scholar; that of the Soldier, the Lawyer; that of the Courier, the Soldier; and that of the Traveller,

Bonner too guilty of his cruelty.

Cromwell led into the Kings displeasure, and peoples hatred.

h Camden Brit. in Essex, p. 454.

Why Cromwell was deservedly envied.

Cromwell's admirable parts.

July 5.

Articles charged upon the Lord Cromwell.

c Prov. 10. 9.

An Injurious A&amp; to many poor people charged on the Lord Cromwell. A Survey of London, p. 87.

c Survey of London, p. 74.

f Geo. 1. 16.

The worst passion Speech objected against him. c. 2. 1. Stroud of Parnham in Dorsetshire.

*Traveller* so perfected all the rest (being no stranger to *Germany*, well acquainted with *France*, most familiar with *Italy*) that the result of all together made him for endowments eminent, not to say, admirable.

23. It was laid to his charge; First, that he had exceeded his Commission, in acting many things of high consequence, without acquainting the King therewith; dealing therein, though perchance wisely for the State, not warily for himself; Indeed, it is impossible for such Officers, managing not onely *multitudes*, but *many* multiplicity of matters, but that in some things they must mistake. As in *many* words *there wasteth not iniquity*: so in the *Actions* of many affairs, faults are soon found out. He was also accused to let at liberty certain persons not capable of it; for granting Licences and Commissions destructive to the King's authority; for being guilty of Heresie himself, and favouring it in others. Trayterous speeches were also charged upon him, spoken two years before in the Church of *S. Peter's in the Poor*, in *Broad-street*; the avouchers thereof pretending, that, as hitherto they had concealed them for love of themselves (fearing *Cromwell's* greatness;) so now, for the love of the King, they revealed the same. Indeed, on the first manifesting of the King's displeasure against him, the foes of *Cromwell* had all their mouths open, and his friends their mouths shut up.

24. The mention of *S. Peter's* in *Broad-street*, mindeth me of a passage, not unworthy to be recited, of an injury offered by this Lord *Cromwell*, to many poor men in the same Parish. And, because every one is best able to tell his own tale, take it in the words of *John a Sow*, being himself deeply concerned therein:

*The Lord Cromwell having finished his house in Throgmorton-street in London, and having some reasonable plot of ground left for a garden, caused the pales of the gardens, adjoining to the North part thereof, on a sudden to be taken down, two and twenty foot to be measured forth-rights into the North of every man's ground, a line there to be drawn, a trench to be cast, a foundation laid, and an high brick-wall to be builded. My father had a garden there, and there was an house standing close to his South-pale: this house they loosed from the ground, and bare upon rowlers into my father's garden two and twenty foot, ere my father heard thereof: no warning was given him, nor other answer, (when he spake to the Surveyors of that work) but that their Master, Sir Thomas, commanded them so to doe: no man durst goe to argue the matter, but each man lost his land; and my father paid his whole rent, which was six shillings eight pence the year, for that half which was left. Thus much of mine own knowledge have I thought good to note, that the sudden rising of some men, causeth them to forget themselves.*

I am moved the rather to believe our Authour herein, because elsewhere he alloweth this Lord his deserved praise for his virtues, and especially his Hospitality, affirming, 'he had often seen at the Lord *Cromwell's* gate, above two hundred persons served twice every day, with meat, and drink sufficient. Nor can I see what may be said in excuse of this oppression, except any will plead, that *Abimelech's* servants violently took away the wells from *Abraham*, and yet *Abimelech* himself never knew more or lesse thereof.

25. As for the passionate expressions of *Cromwell*; a Knight, aged well-nigh eighty, whose Mother was Daughter to the Lord *Cromwell's* Son, hath informed me, That the principall passage, whereon the Lord's enemies most insisted, was this, It being told the L. *Cromwell*, that one accused him for want of fidelity to the King; *Cromwell* returned in passion, *Were he here now, I would strike my dagger into his heart*; meaning, into the heart of the false Accuser; and therein guilty of want of charity to his fellow-subject, not of loyalty to his Sovereign. But, seeing the words were a measuring cast as uttered (though not as intended) to whom they should relate, the pick-thank Repeater avowed them uttered against the King Himself. So dangerous are dubious words, and ambiguous expressions, when prevalent power is to controule, and interpret the meaning thereof.

26. Ten

Ann. Dom. 1540. Ann. Reg. Hen. 34.

Ann. Reg. Hen. 34. July 19.

39.

26. Ten daies after his Arrest, he was attainted of high Treason in Parliament and brought on the Scaffold the next week to execution. Here he spake the following words unto the people, which the Reader is requested the more seriously to peruse, that thereby he may be enabled to passe (if concerned therein) his verdict in what Religion this Lord died.

*I Am come hither to die, and not to purge my selfe, as some think peradventure that I will. For, if I should so doe, I were a very wretch, and miser. I am by the law condemned to die, and thank my Lord God that hath appointed me this death for mine offence. For, since the time that I have had years of discretion, I have lived a sinner, and offended my Lord God, for the which I aske him heartily forgiveness. And it is not unknown to many of you, that I have been a great traveller in this world, and, being but of base degree, I was called to high estate, and since the time I came thercunto, I have offended my Prince, for the which I aske Him heartily forgiveness, and beseech you all to pray to God with me, that he will forgive me. And now I pray you that be here, to bear me record, I die in the Catholick Faith, not doubting in any Article of my faith, no, nor doubting in any Sacrament of the Church. Many have slandered me, and reported, that I have been a bearer of such as have maintained evil opinions, which is untrue. But I confess, that like as God by his Holy Spirit doth instruct us in the truth: so the Devil is ready to seduce us, and I have been seduced, but bear me witness that I die in the Catholick Faith of the Holy Church. And I heartily desire you to pray for the King's Grace, that He may long live with you in health, and prosperity: and that after Him, His son Prince Edward, that goodly impe, may long reign over you. And, once again, I desire you to pray for me, that so long as life remaineth in this flesh, I waver nothing in my faith. And to making his Prayer, &c.*

The generall terms wherein this his Speech is couched, hath given occasion for wise men to give contrary censures thereof.

*Fox* in his Marginall Note on this Speech, pag. 515.

*A true Christian Confession of the Lord Cromwell at his death.*

Lord *Herbert* in the Index of his History, under C.

*Cromwell died a Roman-Catholick, notwithstanding he had been such a destroyer of the Church.*

True it is, so varie were *Cromwell's* expressions, that *Luther* and *Bellarmino* might in their own persons have said the same, without any prejudice to their own principles, and many conceive that the most, which these his words amount to, will but make him an *Anti-Articles Protestant*.

27. But let *Cromwell's* polkick Speech be in part expounded by his plain Prayer which he immediately after made, (too long here to insert, but set down at large in Mr. *Fox*) and which speaketh him a true *Protestant*. And if negative Arguments avail ought in this matter, no superstitious crossing of himself, no praying to Saints, no desiring of prayers for him after his death, &c. may evidence him no *Papist* in the clofe of his life. Indeed, *Anti-Cromwellists* count this controversy (of the Religion he died in) not worth the deciding; no *Papists* conceiving the gain great to get him on their side, and some *Protestants* accounting the losse as little to part with him. However, this right ought to be done to his Memory, in fixing it on its own principles, and not mis-representing the same to posterity.

[G g g]

28. Remarkable

His Prayer, whereby his Speech may be interpreted.

Heaven is just  
in Barbs in-  
justice.

28. Remarkable is that passage in his Speech, wherein he confesseth himself, by Law condemned to die, because a story dependeth thereupon. Not long agoe an Act had passed in Parliament, That one might be attainted of Treason by Bill in Parliament, and consequently lose his life, without any other legal trial, or being ever brought to answer in his own defence. The Lord Cromwell was very active in procuring this Law to passe, inasmuch that it is generally believed, that the Arme and Hammer of all King Henry's Power, could never have driven on this Act thorough both Houses, had not Cromwell first wimble'd an hole for the entrance thereof, and politickly prepared a major part of Lords and Commons to accept the same. For, indeed otherwise it was accounted a Law injurious to the liberty, which reason alloweth to all persons accused, and which might cut out the tongue of Innocency it self, depriving her of pleading in her own behalf. Now, behold the hand of Heaven! It hapned that this Lord first felt the smart of this rod which he made for others, and was accordingly condemned before ever he was heard to speak for himself.

*Nec lex est justior ulla  
Quam necis artifices arte perire sua.*

*Most just it is, that they bad Laws who make,  
Should themselves first of their own Laws partake.*

Thus, those who break down the banks, and let in the stream of Arbitrary power, (be it into the hands of Prince or People) are commonly the first themselves which without pty are drowned in the deluge thereof.

Yet the Lord  
Cromwell by a  
great person  
acquitted  
herein.  
\* Sir Edward  
Coke, Part 4.  
of Institur. in  
Jurisdiction of  
Courts, p. 37.

29. Thus farre I have swome along with the winde and tide of all our English Historians, in charging of Cromwell herein. But I finde one \* Anthour of strong credit (such he needs to be, who swims against the stream) acquitting the said Lord, deriving his intelligence from Sir Thomas Gawdie, a grave Judge, then living, who acquainted him as followeth, King Henry commanded the L. Cromwell to attend the Chief Justices, and to know, whether a man that was forth-coming might be attainted of high Treason by Parliament, and never called to his answer? The Judges answered, That it was a dangerous question; and, that the high Courts of Parliament ought to give examples to inferior Courts for proceeding according to justice, and no inferior Court could doe the like, and they thought the high Courts of Parliament would never doe it. But, being by the expresse commandement of the King, and pressed by the said Earl to give a direct answer, they said, That if he be attainted by Parliament, it could not come in question afterwards, whether he was called, or not called to answer: and the Act of Attainder being passed by Parliament did binde, as they resolved. The party against whom this was intended, was never called in question, but the first man after the said resolution, that was so attainted, and never called to answer, was the said Earl of Essex: whereupon that erroneous and vulgar opinion amongst our Historians grew, That he died by the same Law which he himself had made.

His exemplary  
gratitude.

30. But, grant this Lord Cromwell faulty in this and some other actions, in the main he will appear a worthy person, and a great instrument of God's glory in the reforming of Religion, and remarkable for many personal eminencies. Commonly when men are (as in a moment) mounted from meanness to much wealth and honour, first they forget themselves, and then all their old friends and acquaintance. Whereas on the contrary, here gratitude grew with his greatness, and the Lord Cromwell conferred many a courtesy on the Children from whose Fathers Master Cromwell had formerly received favours. As he was a good Servant to his Master, so was he a good Master to his Servants, and fore-seeing his own fall, (which he might have forebode without the Spirit of Prophecy, some half a year before) he furnished his Men, which had no other lively-hood to subsist by, with Leases, Pensions, and Annuities, whereby after his death they had a comfortable maintenance.

31. One

Ann.  
Dom.  
1540.  
31.

Ann.  
Reg.  
Hen. 8.  
31.

31. One so faithfull to his Servants, cannot be suspected for an Infidel in not providing for his family, of his own children. It was not therefore his ambition, but providence, that on the same day wherein he was created Earle of Essex, he procured Gregory his Son, (which otherwise had been then but a Lord by courtesy) to be actually made Baron Cromwell of Oke-ham. Which honour, because inherent in the Son, was not forfeited on his Father's attainure, but descends at this day on his Posterity.

32. We will conclude his story with this remarkable instance of his humility: Formerly there flourished a notable family of the Cromwells at Tatterhall in Lincoln-shire, especially since Sir Ralph Cromwell married the younger Sister and Co-heir of William the last Lord Deincourt. Now there wanted not some flattering Heraults (excellent Chemists in Pedegrees to extract any thing from any thing) who would have entailed this Lord Cromwell to the Armes of that ancient Family, extinct (in the issue male thereof) about the end of King Henry the sixt. His answer unto them was, That he would not wear another mans coat, for fear the right owner thereof should pluck it off over his ears: and preferred rather to take a new coat, (viz. \* Azure, Or, a Fess inter three Lyons rampant, Or a Rose Gules, betwixt two Chazges proper) being somewhat of the fullest, the Epidemical dislike of all Armes given in the Reign of Henry the eighth.

33. After the execution of the Lord Cromwell, the Parliament still sitting, a moody execution happened in Smithfield, three Papists hanged by the Statute for denying the King's Supremacy, and as many Protestants burnt at the same time and place, by vertue of the six Articles, dying with more pain, and no lesse patience.

### Papists.

Edward Powell.  
Thomas Abley.  
Rich: Fetherston.

### Protestants.

Robert Barnes, Doctor of Divinity.  
Thomas Gerard, } Bachelours of Divinity.  
William Jerom, }

This caused was by the difference of Religions in the King's Privie Council, wherein the Popish party called for the execution of these Protestants, whilst the Protestant Lords in the Councell, (out of policy to repress the others chagerness, or if that failed, out of desire to revenge it) cried as fast, that the Laws might take effect on the Papists. And whilst neither side was able to save those of their own opinions, both had power to destroy those of their opposite party. They were dragged on hurdles, coupled two and two, a Papist and a Protestant, (cattel of different kinds yoked to draw, or rather to be drawn together) inasmuch as a Romanist professeth, that to the three Papists this their unequal matching was to them, ipsa morte gravius & intolerabilius, more heavy and intolerable than death it self: But the Protestants exprest no such distast hereat, not angry out of principles of pride, for the joyning of their bodies together, but grieved out of the grounds of charity, that their souls soon after, should so farre be parted asunder. A stranger, standing by, did wonder, (as well he might) what Religion the King was of, his sword cutting on both sides, Protestants for Hereticks, and Papists for Traitors, of whom in the same month, Laurence Cooke, Prior of Doncaster, and six others, were sent the same way, for the same offence.

34. But to return to such Acts of the Parliament as concern the Church, therein a Statute was made, commanding every man fully, truly, and effectually to divide, set out, yield or pay all and singular Tithes and Offerings, according to the lawfull customes and usages of the Parishes and Places where such Tithes or Duties shall grow, arise, come or be due. And remedy is given for Ecclesiastick persons before the Ordinary, and for Lay-men, that claimed appropriated Tithes by grant from the Crown, in the Secular Courts by such actions as usually Lay-possessions had been subject to. The occasion of which Statute is intimated in the Preamble thereof, because in few years past many presumed more contemptuously, and commonly

[G g g 2]

His care for his  
Judicia.

An emine-  
nt instance of his  
humility.  
b Camden Brit.  
in Lincoln-shire.

\* See Vmcent in  
the Earles of  
Essex.

Men of discre-  
tion judgment  
meeting at  
their death.

a Gwin in  
Henry the 8.  
pag. 131.  
b Fox in his  
Book of Mar-  
tyrs a volume,  
p. 559.

c Sanders de  
significat Angl.  
liba. pag. 129.

A Statute made  
for recovery of  
Tithes.  
d 31 Hen. 8.  
cap. 7.

commonly than in times past, had been seen or known to substract and withdraw their lawfull and accustomed Tithes. Encouraged therunto for that that divers Lay-persons having Tithes to them and their beires had no due remedy by order and course of the Ecclesiastical Laws to recover their right. And no wonder, seeing their Sovereign had set them so large, and so late a president in destroying of Abbies, if subjects thought that in their distance and proportion they might also be bold to detain the Rites of the Church, especially because it seemed unreasonable, that they should receive wages who did no work, and that the hire of the labourers in the vineyard should be given to *laxie lookers on*. This Statute, in favour of Lay-impropriators, was beneficiall to the Clergie to recover their prediall Tithes at Common-Law, being equally advantaged by that which was not principally intended for them, because of the concurrence of their interest, in case of Tithes. A Statute also made, That it was lawfull for all persons to contract marriage, who are not prohibited by Gods law. For although Gregory the great (who had not lesse learning, but more modestly, than his successours) did not flatly forbid the marriage of Cousin Germans as unlawfull, but prudentially dissuade it as unwhiting; yet after Popes prohibited that and other degrees further off, thereby to get money for Dispensations. What a masse these amounted unto, their own Auditors can onely compute, seeing Solomon himself sent ships but every third year to Ophir for gold; whereas his Holiness, by granting such faculties from those Indies, made annuall returns of infinite profit. And this Law came very conveniently to comply with King Henry's occasions, who had the first fruits thereof, and presently after married Katharine Howard, Cousin Germane to Anna Bullen his second Wife, which, by the Canon Law, formerly was forbidden without a speciall Dispensation first obtained.

35. But now to step out of the Parliament into the Convocation, a place more proper for our employment, there we shall finde Archbishop Cranmer landing in his Barge at Pauls-wharfe, and thence proceeding on foot with the Cross carried before him into the Quire of Pauls; where, at the high Altar Bishop Bonner officiated (if I speak properly) a Masse of the Holy Ghost, Doctor Richard Cox Archdeacon of Ely, preached a Latine Sermon on this text, *Vos estis sal terra*. Richard Gwent Doctor of Law and Archdeacon of London, was chosen Prolocutor. Then intimation was given, that the KING allowed them liberty to treat of matters in Religion, to peruse the *Canons de simonia vitanda*, with other Ecclesiasticall constitutions; to continue the good ones, and make new ones *pro temporis exigentia*. In the third Session on Friday, severall Bishops\* were assigned to peruse severall Books of the Translation of the New Testament, in order as followeth:

1 Archbishop

c 32 Hen. 8.  
cap. 38.f 1 Kings 10.  
22.Acts of this  
years Convoca-  
tion.\* Transcribed  
with my own  
hand, out of  
the Records of  
Canterbury.Ann.  
Dom.  
1540.  
Ann.  
Reg.  
HE. 8.  
32.

- |                                     |                        |  |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|--|
| 1 Archbishop Cranmer                | 1 Matthew              |  |
| 2 John & Lincolne                   | 2 Mark                 |  |
| 3 Stephen <sup>b</sup> Winchester   | 3 Luke                 |  |
| 4 Thomas <sup>i</sup> Elie          | 4 John                 |  |
| 5 Nicholas <sup>k</sup> Rochester   | 5 Acts of the Apostles |  |
| 6 Richard <sup>l</sup> Chichester   | 6 Romans               |  |
| 7 John <sup>m</sup> Sarum           | 7 1 Corinthians        |  |
|                                     | Galatians              |  |
| 8 William <sup>n</sup> S. Davids    | 8 1 Ephefians          |  |
|                                     | Philippians            |  |
|                                     | Colossians             |  |
| 9 John <sup>o</sup> Worcester       | 9 2 Thessalonians      |  |
|                                     | Timothy                |  |
| 10 Robert <sup>p</sup> S. Asaph     | 10 Titus               |  |
|                                     | Philemon               |  |
| 11 Robert <sup>q</sup> Landaffe     | 11 1 Peter             |  |
| 12 John <sup>r</sup> Hereford       | 12 Hebrews             |  |
|                                     | James                  |  |
| 13 Thomas <sup>s</sup> Westminster. | 13 2 John              |  |
|                                     | Jude                   |  |
| 14 John <sup>t</sup> Glocester      | 14 Revelation          |  |
| 15 John <sup>u</sup> Peterborough   | 15                     |  |

Why Edmond Bonner Bishop of London then and there present, had no part in this perusal allotted him, as I finde no reason rendred thereof, so I will not interpose my own conjecture.

39. In the sixth Session, Gardiner publicly read a Catalogue of Latine words of his own collection out of the Testament, and desired that for their genuine and native meaning, and for the majesty of the matter in them contained, these words might be retained in their own nature as much as might bee; or be very fitly Englished, with the least alteration, being in number and order here inserted:

g Longland.

h Gardiner.

i Goodrich.

k Heath.

l Sampson.

m Capon.

n Barlow.

o Bell.

p Parfew.

q Holgate.

r Ship.

s Thyrity.

t Wykesman.

u Chambers.

Words in the  
Testament  
which Gardiner  
desired might  
be preserved  
intire in the  
Translation.

\* *Asa* 3<sup>rd</sup>.  
Ann. an. 1541.  
pag 48, 49.

\* Take faults  
and all, as in  
the Original.

\* Though sen-  
sible of Tauto-  
logie, (other-  
wise spelled) I  
durst not vary  
from the Ori-  
ginal.

<i>Ecclesia</i>	<i>Pietas</i>
<i>Pœnitentia</i>	* <i>Presbyter</i>
<i>Pontifex</i>	<i>Lites</i>
<i>Ancilla</i>	<i>Servus</i>
<i>Contritus</i>	<i>Opera</i>
* <i>Olacaufta</i>	<i>Sacrificium</i>
<i>Iustitia</i>	<i>Benedictio</i>
<i>Iustificare</i>	<i>Humilis</i>
<i>Idiota</i>	<i>Humilitas</i>
<i>Elementa</i>	<i>Scientia</i>
<i>Baptizare</i>	<i>Gentilis</i>
<i>Martyr</i>	<i>Synagoga</i>
<i>Adorare</i>	<i>Ejicere</i>
<i>Dignus</i>	<i>Misericordia</i>
<i>Sandalium</i>	<i>Complacui</i>
<i>Simplex</i>	<i>Increpare</i>
<i>Tetrarcha</i>	<i>Distribueretur or-</i>
<i>Sacramentum</i>	<i>bi</i>
<i>Simulacrum</i>	<i>Inculpatus</i>
<i>Gloria</i>	<i>Senior</i>
<i>Conflictationes</i>	<i>Conflictationes</i>
<i>Ceremonia</i>	<i>Apocalypsis</i>
<i>Mysterium</i>	<i>Satisfactio</i>
<i>Religio</i>	<i>Contentio</i>
<i>Spiritus sanctus</i>	<i>Conscientia</i>
<i>Spiritus</i>	<i>Peccatum</i>
<i>Merces</i>	<i>Peccator</i>
<i>Confiteor tibi</i>	<i>Fidolum</i>
<i>Pater</i>	<i>Prudentia</i>
<i>Panis præpo-</i>	<i>Prudenter</i>
<i>sitionis</i>	<i>Parabola</i>
<i>Communio</i>	<i>Magnifico</i>
<i>Perseverare</i>	<i>Oriens</i>
<i>Dilectus</i>	<i>Subditus</i>
<i>Sapientia</i>	<i>Didragma</i>

<i>Hospitalitas</i>
<i>Episcopus</i>
<i>Gratia</i>
<i>Charitas</i>
<i>Tyrannus</i>
<i>Concupiscentia</i>
<i>Cybera</i>
<i>Apostolus</i>
<i>Apostolatus</i>
<i>Egenus</i>
<i>Stater</i>
<i>Societas</i>
<i>Zizania</i>
* <i>Mysterium</i>
<i>Christus</i>
<i>Conversari</i>
<i>Profeitor</i>
<i>Impositio ma-</i>
<i>num</i>
<i>Idololatria</i>
<i>Dominus</i>
<i>Sanctus</i>
<i>Confessio</i>
<i>Imitator</i>
<i>Pascha</i>
<i>Innumerabilis</i>
<i>Inenarrabilis</i>
<i>Infidelis</i>
<i>Paganus</i>
<i>Commilito</i>
<i>Virtutes</i>
<i>Dominationes</i>
<i>Throni</i>
<i>Potestates</i>
<i>Hostia</i>

Ann.  
Dom.  
1540.

Ann.  
Reg.  
34.

Ann.  
Reg.  
34.

Ann.  
Dom.  
1540.

35. The judicious Reader hath no sooner perused these words, but presently he sorts them in two *ranks*: First, some few *untranslatable*, without loss of *Life* or *lustre*: these are continued in our *English Testament* intire, it being conceived better that *Ministers* should *expound* these words in their *Sermons*, than *alter* them in their *Texts*. But besides these, most of the *second sort*, are not so *emphatical* in themselves, but that they may be *rendred* in *English*, without *prejudice of truth*. Wherefore *Gardiner's* designe plainly appeared in sticking for the preserving of so many *Latine words* to obscure the *Scripture*, who, though wanting *power* to keep the *light* of the *Word* from *shining*, sought out of *policy* to put it into a *dark Lamborn*, contrary to the *constant practice* of *God* in *Scripture*, levelling high *hard expressions* to the capacity of the meanest. For forraign terms are alwaies brought in, like *Jeseph* with an *Interpreper*. \* *Emmanuel* doth not passe without an *Exposition*, *God with us*: nor y *Ephatha* escape, but Commented on, *be thou opened*: Besides, the *Papish Bishop* multiplied the mixture of *Latine names* in the *Testament*, to teach the *Laity* their *distance*, who though admitted into the *outward Court* of *common matter*, were yet debarred entrance into the *Holy of Holies* of these *mysterious expressions*, reserved only for the understanding of the *high Priest* to pierce into them. Moreover, this made *Gardiner* not onely tender, but fond to have these *words* continued in some of them concerned: Witnesse the word *Penance* (which according to the *vulgar sound*, contrary to the *original sense* thereof) was a *magazine* of *Will-worship*, and brought in much *gain* to the *Priests*, who were desirous to *keep* that *word*, because that *word kept* them. I finde not what entertainment *Gardiner's* motion met with, it seems to have suspended in success, as neither generally received nor rejected.

Ann.  
Reg.  
34.

Ann.  
Dom.  
1540.

36. In a following *Session*, *Cramer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, informed the House, That it was the *King's will and pleasure*, that the *Translation both of the Old and New Testament* should be examined by *BOTH UNIVERSITIES*. This met with much opposition in the House, all the *Bishops*, (Ely and *S. David's* excepted) making their *Protests* to the contrary. These affirmed, the *Universities* were much decayed of late, wherein all things were carried by *Young Men*, whose judgments were not to be relied on, so that the *Learning* of the *Land* was chiefly in this Convocation. But the Archbishop said, he would stick close to the will and pleasure of the *King his Master*, and that the *Universities* should examine the *Translation*. And here (for ought I can finde to the contrary) the matter ceased, and the Convocation soon after was dissolved.

Ann.  
Reg.  
34.

Ann.  
Dom.  
1544.

37. The cruell prosecution of the *Protestants* still continued on the *six Articles*. And yet the *Parliament* now somewhat abated the illegal fury thereof: for formerly any active Officer of the *Bishops*, at his pleasure molested all suspected persons, and prosecuted some to death. But afterwards it was required, That such offenders should first be found guilty, by a *Jury of Twelve men*; a rub to the wheels of their cruelty, that it saved the *lives* of some, and prolonged the *deaths* of others.

Ann.  
Reg.  
34.

Ann.  
Dom.  
1545.

38. Now began the last *Parliament* in the *Kings Reign*, wherein many things of consequence were enacted: First, an *Act* against *Usury*. \* Secondly, for *Tithes* in *London*: Thirdly, for an exchange of *Lands* betwixt the *King's Majesty*, and *Thomas Cramer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Robert Halegate* Archbishop of *York*, and *Edmund Bonner* Bishop of *London*: which the *King* annexed to the *Duchie of Lancaster*. Fourthly, an *Act* for union of *Churches*, not exceeding the value of *six pounds*. Lastly, that *Doctors* of the *Civil Law*, being married, might exercise *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*.

39. At this time also, by the *King's command*, were the *Stewes* suppressed. A line or two, I hope, will not defile our *Church-History*, in the description and detestation of such filthy persons, and practices. There stood a place on the *South bank* over against *London*, called the *sewes*, where *live-Fishes* were formerly kept, there to be washed in *Ponds* from their filme and muddiness, to make the more

The Papiſts  
plot therein.

W. Gen. 4. 23.  
x. Mat. 1. 23.  
y. Mar. 7. 34.

Cramer stick-  
leth for the U-  
niversities Ap-  
probation.

The six Ar-  
ticles somewhat  
mitigated.

The Acts of  
the last Parli-  
ament in this  
Kings Reign.  
See the prin-  
cipal Statutes of  
this year.

The original  
of Sewes.

h Camden Brit  
in Middlesex.

c Stowes Survey  
of London,  
p. 449.

The regulation  
of the Stewes.

more wholsome and pleasant food, which was the originall use of these *Stewes*, and the proper meaning of the word. Afterwards the place was converted to a worse use, but still retaining its own name from the *scouring of Fish* to the *defiling of Men*: *Brothel-houses* being built there, and publicly permitted by the State. These were sixteen in number, known by the several *signes*, whereof one was the *Cardinals Hat*, and it is to be feared, that too many of the *Clergie* (then forbidden marriage) were too constant customers to it. Such who lived in these *Colledges of lust* were called *single Women*, and pity it was so good a name should be put upon so leud persons.

40. Divers Constitutions were made in the eighth year of King Henry the second, for the regulating of these *Houses*, whereof some may inoffensively, yea, profitably be inserted.

1. No *Stew-holder* should keep open his doors on the Holy daies, or keep any in his house on those daies.
2. No *single woman* to be kept against her will, if out of remorse-of conscience she would leave that leud life.
3. No *Stew-holder* to receive any mans wife, or any woman of religion.
4. No man to be drawn or inticed, into any of those houses, and the Constables and Bayliffes were every week to search the same. They were not to sell Bread, Ale, Flesh, Fish, Wood, Cole, or any Victuals.

This was done partly, because they should not engrosse those Trades, being the livelihood of more honest people: and partly lest simple Chapmen in seeking for such necessities should be inveigled into fin. Such men living and dying in their finfull life were excluded Christian buriall, and had a plot of ground farre from the Parish Church appointed for them, called, *The single-womens Church-yard*.

d Stow us print.

The impossibility  
to Legiti-  
mate, what  
it self is un-  
lawfull.

Argument pro  
and con about  
Stewes.

41. These Cautions and Constitutions could not make them, who are bad in themselves, to be good, though happily keeping some who were bad, from being worse. Such a toleration of fin being utterly unlawful. For though Naturall poysons may by Art be so qualified and corrected to make them not only not noxious, but in some cases (as wisely applied) cordiall. Yet Morall poysons, I mean, things finfull of themselves can never be so ordered and regulated, but that still they will remain pernicious and unlawfull; The onely way to order and amend, being to remove, and extirpate them.

42. Yet there wanted not those (better idle, than so employed) who endeavoured with Arguments to maintain; some (so shamelesse) the necessity, but more the conveniency of such *Brothel-houses*. No wonder if wanton wits, pleaded for wanton women. Whoredome (like the Whores) was painted over with politick Reasons for the permission thereof, which may easily be washed away if the following Parallel be but seriously perused.

1. Mans infirmity herein since his Naturall corruption is grown so general, it is needfull to connive at such Houses, as a kinde of remedy to prevent worse incontinency with Married women, the whole land being the cleaner for the publick Sincks or Sewer of the Stewes.

1. It is absurd to say, and belibelleth Divine Providence, That any thing is really Needfull that is not Lawfull. Such pretended necessity created by bad men must be annihilated by good Laws. Let Marriage run in its proper channell, being permitted to all persons, and then no need of such noysome sincks which may well be dammed up. The mad lady cannot be accounted a remedy: For whilst Matrimony is appointed and blessed by God to cool the heat of Lust, Whoredome doth double the drought thereof.

2. Christians ought not so much to listen to Moses

e Mark to s.

2. As Moses permitted Divorce-  
ment

Ann.  
Reg.  
Hen. 8.  
17.

ment to the Jewes. Stewes may be con-  
sidered as on the same accompt for  
the hardnesse of mens hearts.

3. Strange women were no strangers in Israel it self under their best Kings; two of that trade publicly known, pleaded before King Solomon. These were publicly repaired unto and known by the attire of an Harlot.

4. Many great Families were preserved thereby, whose younger Brethren abstaining from Marriage, did not cumber the same with number of Children.

5. Such Stewes are Fashionable in forreigne Nations; yea, in Rome it self.

6. The suppressing of Stewes would not make men more chaste, but more close: not more sincerely honest, but secretly wanton. In all populous places, male-incontinency will meet with a female counterpart, and so reciprocally.

Thus Chastity, by the countenance of Authority, got at last a final conquest of Wantonnes. Indeed formerly, in the one and twentieth year of Henry the seventh, for a time the Stewes were closed up; but afterwards opened again, though reduced from sixteen to twelve; but now, by the King's commandment, this regiment of finners was totally and finally routed, the Kings pleasure herein proclaimed by sound of Trumpet, and their Houses peopled with other Inhabitants of honest conversation.

43. We lately mentioned the exchange of land, betwixt the King; and the two Archbishopps. On which account be it remembered (though I finde not the exact year) Oxford in Kent was given the King, whereof thus our great Antiquary, William Warham Archbishop of Canterbury built Oxford for himself and his successors, so sumptuously, that, for to avoid envy, Cranmer, who next succeeded him, was constrained to exchange it with King Henry the eighth. Could the Clergie have found out the mean betwixt baseness, & bravery; too sordid, & too sumptuous; they might have fixed themselves therein with the more security. Whilest their Palaces built so big as to receive, and so beautifull as to invite the King and His Court, made (especially if lying near London) covetousnesse to long after them. And, although some competent consideration was given in exchange, yet politick Prelates disliked such commutations, as which gaged the root of Episcopall lands, from their first property, and ancient foundation.

44. The last person of quality, which suffered martyrdom in this Kings Reign, was Anne Ashcough alias Kyme. She was worshipfully extra'ded, the Daughter of Sir William Ashcough of Kelsey in Lincolnshire, of the age of twenty five years.

[H h h]

Whofe

June 2.

1546.

Moses his permission, as to Christ his reprehension thereof. Besides some faults had a cover for them in the twilight of the Law, which have none in the full-shine of the Gospel.

3. Christians must conform themselves to the necessary members and commendable ornaments of the Jewish Common-wealth, but not to the wenches and ulcers thereof.

f 1 Kings 2. 16.

g Prov. 7. 10.

4. Where Harlots have preserved one house, they have destroyed an hundred. Besides, we must not doe Evil, that Good may come thereof. Nor can many Children be accounted evils to men, which are blessings from God.

5. Let the Paramour Whore tolerate Whores, which as a branch of Popery was now banished England; more ignominious it is for us to go before forraign Nations in Reformation, than to follow them in their Corruptions.

6. This undeniable truth is sadly granted. Perchance there may now be more English-folk Adulters, but England was then an Adultress, so long as Stewes were openly licensed. It was a Nationall sin, when publicly permitted; which now is but personall, though too generally committed.

h Rob Fabricin  
his Chronicle,  
Anno 1506.

Prelates their  
lofs by pomp.

i Camden in his  
Brit. in Kyme,  
pag. 338.

The character  
of Anne Ash-  
cough.

1. Parsons his  
Exam. of Jo.  
Foxes Saies  
in the m. m. of  
of Jan.

Her plea for  
leaving her  
husband.

1. Let's Man-  
kings, p. 29, 30.

m 1 Cor. 7. 15.

She is first  
sacked, and  
then burnt.

n Fox, p. 1239.

o lsa. 24. 15.

Her Poies, and  
Poety.  
p. Parsons, in  
p. 11.

Whose wit, beauty, learning, and religion, procured her much esteem on the *Queen side of the Court*, and as much hatred from the Popish persecuting Bishops. But the Jesuite condemns her for leaving her Husband, at home, and *gadding to Gospel, and gossip it at Court*, alwaies subscribing her self, not by her married, but maiden surname: the rather, because, being often examined, what reason she could give of forsaking her Husband, she refused to answer to any, save to the King alone. Master Fox turneth off the whole matter to *John Bale*, and, I having his Manuscript in my hand, thought fit to insert this his following account thereof, though not knowing whether the same will give the Reader satisfaction.

45. A match was made, by the power of their Parents, betwixt Mr. Kyme his Son in *Lincolnshire*, and Sir William Alhough his eldest Daughter, who chanced to die before the completing thereof. Sir William, loth to lose so rich an Heir, and having payed part of her Portion, for Lucret sake compelled this Anne, his second Daughter, to supply her Sisters place, and to marry him against her own will and consent, notwithstanding the marriage once past, she demeaned her self like a Christian Wife, and bare him two Children. In proceesse of time, by oft reading of the sacred Bible, she clearly fell from all Papistrie, to a perfect belief in *Jesús Christ*. Whereupon, her Husband was so offended, that (by suggestion of the Priests) he violently drove her out of his house. And she, on this occasion, fought from the Law a Divorce; and, because of his cruell usage, would not return unto him again: thinking her self free from that uncomely kinde of co-acted marriage, by the doctrine of Saint Paul, *But, if the unbelieving depart, let him depart. A brother or sister is not under bondage in such cases: But God hath called us to peace.* This is the effect, of what our Authour speaketh in moe words. Now, whether this rule laid down by Saint Paul, betwixt *Christian*, and *Heathen*, be also commensurate betwixt *Protestant*, and *Papist*, is not my work to decide. Perchance, she would only answer to the King, for her behaviour towards her Husband, as hoping for some tendernes from His Highnesse, because of some general conformity, in the first part of her Case with the Kings: as Who for by respects was first married to, then divorced from His Brothers Wife.

46. Her several examinations are largely penned by her self, extant in Mr. Fox, where the Reader may finde them. But be it remembered, that, whereas *heresie* onely was charged upon her, without the least suspicion of Treason, yet was she racked to detect some Court-Ladies of her opinion, by the Lord *Wriothesly*, the then, and Sir Robert Rich, the next Lord Chancellour. But, whether it was noble in these Lords, or legall in these Lawyers, or conscientious in these Chancellours, to rack one already condemned to death, belongeth to others to determine. Their cruelty extorted no discovery from her, whose constancy now made recompense for her former infirmities. If it be true what is charged upon her, that before she had twice subscribed the *Real Presence* in the *Sacrament of the Altar*, but zealously died at last in the earnest deniall thereof, being amongst those, who according to the precept in the Prophet, *glorified the Lord in the fires*. Her suffering in *Smithfield* was most solemnly performed, where three men, *Nicolaus Bekevia*, Priest of *Shropshire*; *John Lacells*, Gentleman, of the Household of King *Henry the eighth*; and *John Adams*, a poor Taylor of *London*, were all burnt together. Three couple of qualitics, meeting together in four persons, Clergy, and Laity; Male, and Female; Gentle, and Simple, made the fewell of the same fire.

47. *John Bale* registers this *Anne Alhough*, amongst the number of his *English* learned Writers, for her Examinations, Letters, and Poems, wrote with her own hand; though the Jesuite jeers him for his pains, as if no works, save those of the needle, became her sex. I have seen a Manuscript of her Verses (afterwards printed at *Nuremberge in Germany*) and must confesse, I better approve her *Charity* in the four last, than her *Poetry* in all the rest:

Ann.  
Reg.  
H. 8.  
38.

Ann.  
Dom.  
1546.

Ter

Ann.  
Reg.  
H. 8.  
38.

Ann.  
Dom.  
1546.

Yet Lord I thee desire, & Let them not taste the hire  
For that they doe to me, & Of their iniquity.

However those that have drunk deeper than she of *Helicon*, would be loth to pledge her in the bitter cup of *Martyrdome*. So I take my leave of her memory.

48. Now began the troubles of *Queen Katharine Parr*, whom the King married some two years since. For He, either being, or believing Himself wronged by His last Wife, whom He married for a Maid, resolved now to take a Widow to Wife, who had given proof of her chastity and loyalty to her former Husband, and thereupon married this *Katharine*, the Daughter of Sir *Thomas Parr* of *Kendall*, the Relict of *John Nevill* Lord *Latimer*, one of great piety, beauty & discretion. Next to the Bible, She studied the Kings disposition, observing Him to Her utmost. And need She had of a nimble soul, to attend at all times on His humour, whose Fury had now got the addition of *Forwardness* thereunto. She was rather Nurse, than Wife unto Him, who was more decayed by sickness & intemperance, than old age.

49. Yet sometimes She would presume to discourse with the King about points of Religion, defending the Protestant-Tenents by Scripture, and reason: and sometimes would hold up the King *very close hard at it*. This displeased Him, who loved *looseness and liberty*, in His clothes, arguments, and actions, and was quickly observed by *Gardiner*, and others, who were the Queens enemies. Hereupon, taking advantage of an unhappy juncture of time, *Gardiner* drew up Articles against Her, and had got them subscribed with the Kings own hand, to remove Her to the Tower. Whither had She been sent, *Vestigia nulla retrorsum*, without doubt She had followed the way of His former Wives in that place.

50. But Divine Providence ordereth all things to fall out for the good of Gods children. Chancellour *Wriothesly* put the paper of those Articles (*pretious jewels*) in no worse cabinet than his own bosome. Hence it casually fell out, was taken up by one of the Queens servants, and brought to Her Grace, who, on Her sickness, and submission to the King, obtained His pardon, signed and sealed unto Her with many kisses and embraces. As for such Her enemies, who came at the present to attach Her (intending, by verue of the Kings Warrant, to send Her the shortest way to Her long home) they were sent back with what made worse rumbling than a *sea in the eare*, even the taunts and threats of the enraged King against them.

51. And yet *Parsons* tells us, that, notwithstanding the King purposed to have burned Her, if He had lived. I know not whence he derived this his strange intelligence, and therefore justly suspect the truth hereof: The rather, because I finde Her in great grace with the King, as appeareth by the good language, and great Legacie He gave Her in His Will, which here we thought fit to transcribe, both for the rarity thereof, and because containing many passages, which may reflect much light upon our *Church-History*.

IN the name of God, and of the glorious and blessed Virgin our Lady *S. Mary*, and of all the holy company of Heaven: We *HENRY* by the grace of God, King of *England, France, and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, and in earth immediately under God the supreme Head of the Church of *England, and also Ireland*, of that name the *eighth*; calling to Our remembrance the great gifts and benefits of Almighty God given unto Us in this transitory life, give unto him Our most lowly and humble thanks, acknowledging Our selves insufficient in any part to deserve or recompense the same. But fear that we have not worthily received the same, and considering further also that We be (as all mankind are) mortal and

[H h h 2]

born

The King mar-  
ried Katharine  
Parr.

The conspiracy  
of Her enemies  
against Her.

By Gods Pro-  
vidence defend-  
ed.

Parson tells  
intelligence,  
g in his Exam-  
of Fox his Mar-  
tyrs, in Jan.  
C. 10. p. 433.

Testamen-  
tum Regis  
HENRICI  
octavi.



born in sinne; believing neverthelesse, and hoping, that every Christian creature living here in this transitory and wretched world, under God dying in stedfast and perfect faith, endeavouring and exercising himself to execute in his life-time, if he have leisure, such good deeds and charitable works as Scripture commandeth, and as may be to the honour and pleasure of God, is ordained by Christs passion to be saved and attain Eternal life: Of which number We verily trust by his grace to be one.

And that every creature, the more high that he is in estate, honour and authority in this world, the more he is bound to love, serve and thank God, and the more diligently to endeavour himself to doe good and charitable works to the laud, honour and praise of Almighty God, and the profit of his soule. We also calling to remembrance the dignity, estate, honour, rule and governance that Almighty God hath called Us unto in this world, and that neither We, nor any other creature-mortal knoweth the time, place, when nor where, it shall please Almighty God to call him out of this transitory world, willing therefore and minding with Gods grace before our passage out of the same, to dispose and order Our later minde, Will and Testament, in that sort, as We trust it shall be acceptable unto Almighty God, our onely Saviour Jesus Christ, and all the holy Company of Heaven: and the due satisfaction of all godly brethren in earth, have now, being of whole and perfect minde, adhering wholly to the right faith of Christ and his doctrine, repenting also Our old and detestable life, and being in perfect will and minde, by his grace, never to return to the same, nor such like. And minding, by Gods grace, never to vary thereto as long as any remembrance, breath, or inward knowledge doth, or may remain within this mortall body; most humbly and heartily doe commend and bequeath Our soule to Almighty God, who in Person of the Son redeemed the same with his most precious body and blood in time of his passion: And for Our better remembrance thereof hath left here with us Us, in his Church militant, the consecration and administration of his precious body and blood, to Our no little consolation and comfort, if We as thankfully accept the same, as he lovingly and undeservedly on mans behalf, hath ordained it for our onely benefit, and not his.

Also, we doe instantly require, and desire the blessed Virgin *Mary* his mother, with all the holy Company of Heaven, continually to pray for Us whiles We live in this world, and in the time of passing out of the same, that We may the sooner attain Everlasting life after Our departure out of this transitory life, which We doe both hope and claime by Christs passion; And for my body, which when the soul is departed, shall then remain but as a *cadaver*, and so return to the vile matter it was made of, were it not for the crown and dignity which God hath called Us unto, and that We would not be counted an Infringer of honest worldly policies and customes when they be not contrary to Gods laws, We would be content to have it buried in any place accustomed for Christian folks, were it never so vile, for it is but ashes, and to ashes it shall return. Nevertheless, because We would be loath, in the reputation of the people, to doe injury to the Dignity which We are unworthily called unto, We are content, and also by these presents, Our last Will and Testament, to will and order, That Our body be buried and entered in the *Quier* of Our Colledge of *Windsor*, middle-way between the Stalls and the high Altar, and there to be made and set, as soon as conveniently may be done after Our decease by Our Executors at Our costs and charges, if it be not done by Us in Our life-time, an honourable Tomb for Our bones to rest in, which is well onward and almost made, therefore already with a faire grate about it, in which We will also, that the bones and body of Our true

and

Ann.  
Dom.  
1546.  
Ann.  
Rogh.  
Hic, 8.  
38.

Ann.  
Reg.  
Hic, 8.  
38.  
Ann.  
Dom.  
1546.

and loving Wife *Queen Jane* be put also; And, that there be provided, ordained and set, at the costs and charges of Us, or of our Executors, if it be not done in Our life-time, a convenient Altar honourably prepared and apparelled with all manner of things requisite and necessary for daily Masses there to be said perpetually while the world shall endure; Also We will, that the Tombs and Altars of King *Henry the sixth*, and also of King *Edward the fourth* Our great Uncle and Grandfather, be made more Princely, in the same place where they now be, at Our charge; And also will, and specially desire and require, that where and whensoever it shall please God to call Us out of this transitory world to his infinite mercy & grace, be it beyond the sea, or in any other place without Our Realm of *England*, or within the same, that Our Executors, as soon as they conveniently may, shall cause all Divine Service accustomed for dead folks to be celebrated for Us, in the next and most proper place where it shall fortune Us to depart out of this transitory life; And ever, that We will that whensoever and wheresoever it shall please God to call Us out of this transitory life to his infinite mercy and grace, be it within the Realm or without, that Our Executors in as goodly, brief and convenient haste as they reasonably can or may order, prepare and cause Our body to be removed, conveyed and brought into the said Colledge of *Windsor*, and the Service of *Placebo* and *Dirige*, with a Sermon and Masse on the morrow at Our costs and charges devoutly to be done, observed and solemnly kept, there to be buried and interred in the place appointed for Our said Tomb to be made for the same intent, and all this to be done in as devout-wile as can or may be; And We will and charge Our Executors that they dispose and give almes to the most poor and needy people, that may be found, common beggars as much as may be avoided, in as short space as possible they may after Our departure out of this transitory life One thousand marks of lawful money of *England*, part in the same place and thereabout where it shall please Almighty God to call us to his mercy, partly by the way, and part in the same place of Our buriall after their discretions; And to move the poor people that shall have Our alms to pray heartily unto God for the remission of Our offences and the wealth of Our soule.

And We will, that with as convenient speed as may be done after Our departure out of this world (if it be not done in Our life) that the Dean and Canons of Our Free Chappell of Saint *George* within Our Castle of *Windsor* shall have Manours, Lands, Tenements, and Spiritual promotions to the yearly value of vij C. pounds over all charges made sure to them and to their successours for ever upon these conditions hereafter ensuing, and for the due accomplishment and full performance of all other things contained with the same in the form of an Indenture, signed with Our own hand, which shall be passed by way of Covenant for that purpose between the said Dean and Canons, and Our Executors, (if it passe not between Us and the said Dean and Canons in Our life) That is to say, the said Dean and Canons, and their successours forever, shall finde two Priests to say Masses at the said Altar, to be made where We have before appointed our Tomb to be made and stand.

And also after Our decease keep yearly Four solemn *Obits* for us within the said Colledge of *Windsor*, and at every of the same *Obits* to cause a solemn Sermon to be made, and also at every of the said *Obits* to give to poor people in alms Ten pounds, and also to give for ever yearly to thirteen poor men, which shall be called *Poor Knights*, to every of them Twelve pence a day, and once in the year yearly for ever a long Gown of white cloth with the Garter upon the breast imbroydered with a Shield and Crosse of Saint *George* within the garter, and a mantle of red cloath,

[H h h]

and



and to such one of the thirteen poor Knights, as shall be appointed to be head and governour over them, iij.li. vj.s. viij.d. yearly for ever over and beside the said xij d. by the day. And also to cause every Sunday in the year for ever a Sermon to be made at *Windeſor* aforeſaid, as in the said Indenture and Covenant ſhall be more fully and particularly expreſſed, willing, charging and requiring Our Son Prince *EDWARD*, all Our Executors and Counſellours, which ſhall be named hereafter, and all other Our Heirs and Succeſſours, which ſhall be Kings of this Realm, as they will answer before God Almighty at the dreadfull day of judgment, that they, and every of them, doe ſee that the ſaid Indenture and Assurance to be made between Us and the ſaid Dean & Canons, or between them and Our executors, and all things therein contained, may be duly put in execution, and obſerved and kept for ever perpetually according to this Our laſt Will and Teſtament. And as concerning the order and diſpoſition of the Imperiall Crown of this Realm of *England* and *Ireland*, with Our Title of *France*, and all dignities, honours, preeminences, prerogatives, authorities and jurisdictions to the ſame annexed or belonging, and for the ſure eſtabliſhment of the ſucceſſion of the ſame, And alſo for a full and plain gift, diſpoſition, aſſignment, declaration, limitation and appointment with what conditions Our Daughters *MARY* and *ELIZABETH* ſhall ſeverally have, hold and enjoy the ſaid Imperiall Crown, and other the premiſes after Our deceaſe; and for default of Iſſue and Heires of the ſeverall bodies of Us and of Our Son Prince *EDWARD* lawfully begotten and His Heirs; And alſo for a full gift, diſpoſition, aſſignment, declaration, limitation and appointment to Whom, and of what eſtate, and in what manner, form and condition the ſaid Imperiall Crown, and other the premiſes, ſhall remain and come after Our deceaſe; And for default of Iſſue and Heirs of the ſeverall bodies of Us, and of the ſaid Son Prince *EDWARD*, and of Our ſaid Daughters *MARY* and *ELIZABETH* lawfully begotten, We by theſe preſents doe make and declare Our laſt Will and Teſtament concerning the ſaid Imperiall Crown, and all other the premiſes, in manner and form following:

That is to ſay, We will, by theſe preſents, that immediately after Our departure out of this preſent life, Our ſaid Son Prince *EDWARD* ſhall have and enjoy the ſaid Imperiall Crown and Realm of *England* and *Ireland*, Our Title of *France*, with all dignities, honours, preeminences, prerogatives, authorities and jurisdictions, lands and poſſeſſions to the ſame annexed, or belonging unto Him and to His Heirs of His body lawfully begotten; And for default of ſuch Iſſue of Our ſaid Son Prince *EDWARD*'s body lawfully begotten, We will the ſame Imperiall Crown, and other the premiſes, after Our two deceaſes, ſhall wholly remain and come to the Heirs of Our body lawfully begotten, of the body of Our entirely beloved Wife Queen *Katharine* that now is, or of any other Our lawfull Wife that We ſhall hereafter marry, and for lack of ſuch Iſſue and Heirs, We will alſo that after Our deceaſe, and for default of Heirs of the ſeverall bodies of Us and of our ſaid Son Prince *EDWARD*'s lawfully begotten, the ſaid Imperial Crown and all other the premiſes, ſhall wholly remain and come to Our ſaid Daughter *MARY*, and the Heirs of Her body lawfully begotten, upon condition that Our ſaid Daughter *MARY* after Our deceaſe ſhall not marry, nor take any Perſon to Her Huband without the aſſent and conſent of the Privy Counſellours, and others, appointed by Us to Our deareſt Son Prince *EDWARD* aforeſaid, to be of Counſell, or of the moſt part of them, or the moſt of ſuch as ſhall then be alive thereunto, before the ſaid marriage, had in writing, ſealed with their ſeals. All which conditions We declare, limit, appoint and will by theſe

Ann.  
Dom.  
1546.  
38.

Ann.  
Reg.  
1163.  
38.

Ann.  
Dom.  
1546.

theſe preſents, ſhall be knit and inveſted to the ſaid eſtate of Our Daughter *MARY* in the ſaid Imperiall Crown, and other the premiſes, And if it fortune Our ſaid Daughter *MARY* to die without Iſſue of Her body, lawfully begotten, We will that after Our deceaſe, and for default of Iſſue of the ſeverall bodies of Us, and of Our ſaid Son Prince *EDWARD*, lawfully begotten, and of Our Daughter *MARY*, the ſaid Imperiall Crown, and other the premiſes, ſhall wholly remain to come to Our ſaid Daughter *ELIZABETH*, and to the Heirs of Her body, lawfully begotten, upon condition, that our ſaid Daughter *ELIZABETH*, after Our deceaſe, ſhall not marry, nor take any Perſon to Her Huband without the aſſent and conſent of the Privy Counſellours, and others, appointed by Us to be of Counſell with Our ſaid deareſt Son Prince *EDWARD*, or the moſt part of them, or the moſt part of ſuch of them as ſhall be then alive, thereunto, before the marriage had in writing, ſealed with their ſeals, which Condition We declare, limit and appoint, and will by theſe preſents, ſhall be to the ſaid eſtate of Our ſaid Daughter *ELIZABETH* in the ſaid Imperiall Crown, and other the premiſes knit and inveſted; And if it ſhall fortune Our ſaid Daughter *ELIZABETH* to die without Iſſue of Her body, lawfully begotten, We will that after Our deceaſe, and for default of Iſſue of the ſeverall bodies of Us and of Our ſaid Son Prince *EDWARD*, and of Our ſaid Daughters *MARY*, and *ELIZABETH*, the ſaid Imperiall Crown, and other the premiſes, after Our deceaſe, ſhall wholly remain and come to the Heires of the body of the Lady *FRANCES*, Our Niece, eldeſt Daughter to Our late Siſter the *French Queen*, lawfully begotten, and for default of ſuch Iſſue of the body of the ſaid Lady *FRANCES*, We will that the ſaid Imperiall Crown, and other the premiſes, after Our deceaſe, and for default of Iſſue of the ſeverall bodies of Us, and of Our Son Prince *EDWARD*, and of Our Daughters *MARY*, and *ELIZABETH*, and of the Lady *FRANCES*, lawfully begotten, ſhall wholly remain and come to the Heirs of the body of the Lady *ELANOR* Our Niece, ſecond Daughter to Our ſaid Siſter the *French Queen*, lawfully begotten. And if it happen the ſaid Lady *ELANOR* to die without Iſſue of Her body, lawfully begotten, We will that after Our deceaſe, and for default of Iſſue of the ſeverall bodies of Us, and of Our ſaid Son Prince *EDWARD*, and of Our ſaid Daughters *MARY*, and *ELIZABETH*, and of the ſaid Lady *FRANCES*, and of the ſaid Lady *ELANOR*, lawfully begotten, the ſaid Imperiall Crown, and other the premiſes, ſhall wholly remain and come to the next rightfull Heirs. And we will that if Our ſaid Daughter *MARY* doe marry without the conſent and aſſent of the Privy Counſellours and others appointed by Us to be of Counſell to Our ſaid Son Prince *EDWARD*, or the moſt part of them as ſhall then be alive thereunto, before the ſaid marriage had in writing, ſealed with their ſeals, as is aforeſaid, that then and from thenceforth for lack of Heirs of the ſeverall bodies of Us and of Our ſaid Son Prince *EDWARD*, lawfully begotten, the ſaid Imperial Crown ſhall wholly remain, be, and come to Our ſaid Daughter *ELIZABETH*, and to the Heirs of Her body lawfully begotten, in ſuch manner and form, as though Our ſaid Daughter *MARY* were then dead without any Iſſue of the body of Our ſaid Daughter *MARY*, lawfully begotten. Any thing contained in this Our Will, or any Act of Parliament or Statute to the contrary in any wiſe notwithstanding; And in caſe Our ſaid Daughter the Lady *MARY* doe keep and perform the ſaid Condition expreſſed, declared and limited to Her eſtate in the ſaid Imperiall Crown, and other the premiſes in this Our laſt Will declared. And that Our ſaid Daughter *ELIZABETH* doe not keep and perform for Her part the ſaid condition declared and limited

ted

ted by this Our last Will to the estate of the said Lady *ELIZABETH* in the said Imperiall Crown of this Realm of *England* and *Ireland*, and other the premises, We will that then and from thenceforth after Our decaie, and for lack of Heirs of the several bodies of Us and of Our said Son Prince *EDWARD*, and of Our said Daughter *MARTY*, lawfully begotten, the said Imperiall Crown and other the premises shall wholly remain and come to the next Heirs lawfully begotten of the body of the said Lady *FRANCES*, in such manner and form as though the said Lady *ELIZABETH* were then dead without any Heir of Her body lawfully begotten, Any thing contained in this Will, or in any Act or Statute to the contrary notwithstanding, the remainders over for lack of Issue of the said Lady *FRANCES* lawfully begotten to be and continue to such persons like remainders and estates as is before limited and declared. And We being now at this time ( thanks to Almighty God ) of perfect memory, doe constitute and ordain these personages following Our Executors and Performers of this Our last Will and Testament, willing, commanding and praying them to take upon them the occupation and performance of the same as Executors, that is to say, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Wriothesley* Chancellour of *England*, the Lord *St. John* great Master of Our Houise, the Earl of *Harisford* great Chamberlain, the Lord *Russell* Lord Privie Seal, the Viscount *Lisle* high Admirall of *England*, the Bishop *Tonstall* of *Duresme*, Sir *Anthony Browne* Knight Master of Our Horfes, Sir *Edward Montague* Knight, chiefe Judge of the Common Pleas, Justice *Bromley*, Sir *Edward North* Knight Chancellour of the Augmentations, Sir *William Pagett* Knight Our chief Secretary, Sir *Anthony Denny*, Sir *William Herbert* Knights chief Gentlemen of Our Privy Chamber, Sir *Edward Wotton* Knight, and Mr. Doctor *Wotton* his brother, and all these We will to be Our Executors and Counsellors of the Privie Counsell with Our said Son Prince *EDWARD*, in all matters concerning both His private affairs and publick affairs of the Realm, willing and charging them, and every of them, as they must and shall answer at the day of judgment, wholly and fully to see this my last Will and Testament performed in all things with as much speed and diligence as may be, and that none of them presume to meddle with any of Our treasure, or to do any thing appointed by Our said Will alone, unlesse the most part of the whole number of these Co-executors doe consent, and by writing agree to the same; And will that Our said Executors, or the most part of them, may lawfully doe what they shall think most convenient for the execution of this Our Will, without being troubled by Our said Son, or any other, for the same. Willing further, by Our said last Will and Testament, that Sir *Edmund Peckham* Our trusty servant and yet Cofferer of Our house, shall be Treasurer, and have the receipt and laying out of all such treasure and money as shall be defrayed by Our Executors for the performance of this Our last Will, straightly charging and commanding the said Sir *Edmund*, that he pay no great summe of money, but he have first the hands of Our said Executors, or of the most part of them, for his discharge touching the same; charging him further, upon his allegiance, to make a true account of all such summes as shall be delivered to his hands for this purpose; And sithence We have now named and constituted Our Executors, We will and charge them, that first and above all things, as they will answer before God, and as We put Our singular trust and confidence in them, that they cause all Our due Debts, that can be reasonably shewed and proved before them, to be fully contented and payed as soon as they conveniently can or may after Our decaie without longer delay, and that they doe execute these points first, that is to say, the payment of

Ann.  
Dom.  
1546.  
Reg.  
Hic.  
38.

Names of the  
Execu-tors.

The Chamber.

Edm. signat.

John Dally.

Ann.  
Reg.  
Hic.  
38.  
1546.

Our debts, with redresse of injuries, if any such can be duly proved ( though to Us they be unknown ) before any other part of this Our Will and Testament, Our Buriall, Exequies, and Funerals, onely except.

Furthermore, We will that all such Grants and Gifts as We have made, given or promised, to any which be not yet perfected under Our signe or any Our seals, as they ought to be, and all such recompense for exchanges, sales, or any other thing or things as ought to have been made by Us, and be not yet accomplished, shall be perfected in every point towards all manner of men for discharge of Our conscience, charging Our Executors and all the rest of Our Counsellors to see the same done, performed, finished and accomplished in every point, foreseeing that the said Gifts, Grants, and Promises, and Recompense, shall appear to Our said Executors, or the most part of them, to have been granted, made, accorded, or promised, in any manner of wise.

Further, according to the laws of Almighty God, and for the fatherly love which We bear to Our Son Prince *EDWARD*, and to this Our Realm, We declare Him according to justice, equity, and conscience, to be Our lawfull Heir, and doe give and bequeath unto Him the succession of Our Realms of *England*, and *Ireland*, with Our Title of *France*, and all Our Dominions, both on this side the seas, and beyond, a convenient portion for Our Will and Testament to be reserved.

Also, We give unto Him all Our plate, stuffe of household, artillery, ordnance, ammunition, ships, cables, and all other things and implements to them belonging. And money also and jewels, saving such portions as shall satisfie this Our last Will and Testament, charging and commanding Him on pain of Our curse, seeing He hath so loving a Father of Us, and that Our chief labour and study in this world is to establish Him in the Crown Imperial of this Realm after Our decaie, in such sort as may be pleasing to God, and to the wealth of this Realm, and to His own honour and quiet, that He be ordered and ruled both in His marriage, and also in ordering the affairs of the Realm, as well outward, as inward; And also in all His own private affairs, and in giving of Offices of charge by the advice and counsell of Our right entirely beloved Counsellors, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Wriothesley* Chancellour of *England*, the Lord *St. John* great Master of Our house, the Lord *Russell* Lord Privie Seal, the Earl of *Harisford* great Chamberlain of *England*, the Viscount *Lisle* high Admirall of *England*, the Bishop *Tonstall* of *Duresme*, Sir *Anthony Browne* Knight, Master of Our horfes, Sir *William Pagett* Our chief Secretary, Sir *Anthony Denny*, Sir *William Herbert*, Justice *Montague*, and *Bromley*, Sir *Edward Wotton*, Mr. Doctor *Wotton*, and Sir *Edward North*, whom We ordain, name, and appoint, and by these presents signed with Our hand, doe make and constitute Our Privie Counsell with Our said Son, and will, that they have the governance of Our most dear Son Prince *EDWARD*, and of all Our Realms, Dominions, and Subjects, and of all the Affairs publick and private, untill he shall have fully completed the xvijth year of his age.

And, for because the variety and number of things, affairs, and matters are, and may be, such as we not knowing the certainty of them before cannot conveniently prescribe a certain order or rule unto Our said Counsellors for their behaviours and proceedings in this charge which We have now, and doe appoint unto them, about Our said Son, during the time of his minority aforesaid; We therefore for the speciall trust and confidence which We have in them, will, and by these presents, doe give and grant full power and authority unto Our said Counsellors, that they all, or the most part of them, being assembled together in Council, or if any of them fortune to die, the more part of them which shall be for

[ I ]

the

the time living being assembled in Counsel together, shall, and may make, devise, and ordain what things soever they, or the more part of them, as aforesaid, shall, during the minority of Our said Son, think meet, necessary, and convenient, for the benefit, honour, and surety of the weal, profit, and commodity of Our said Son, His Realms, Dominions, or Subjects, or the discharge of Our conscience. And the same things devised, made, or ordained by them, or the more part of them aforesaid, shall, and may lawfully doe, execute and accomplish, or cause to be done, executed and accomplished by their discretions, or the discretions of the more part of them, as aforesaid, in as large and ample manner, as if We had or did expresse unto them by a more speciall Commission under Our Great Seal of England, every particular cause that may chance or occur during the time of Our said Sons minority, and the self-same manner of proceeding, which they shall for the time think meet to use and follow. Willing and charging our said Son, and all others, which shall hereafter be Counsellours to Our said Son, that they never charge, molest, trouble, or disquiet Our aforesaid Counsellours, nor any of them, for the devising or doing, nor any other person for the doing of that they shall devise, or the more part of them, devise or doe, assembled, as is aforesaid.

And, We doe charge expressly the same Our entirely beloved Counsellours and Executors that they shall take upon them the rule and charge of Our said Son and Heir, in all His causes and affairs, and of the whole Realm, doing nevertheless all things as under Him and in His name, untill Our said Son and Heir shall be bestowed and married by their advice, and that the xviii<sup>th</sup> year be expired, willing and desiring furthermore Our said trusty Counsellours, and then all Our trusty and assured Servants; and thirdly, all other Our loving Subjects, to aid and assist Our forenamed Counsellors in the execution of the premises during the aforesaid time. Not doubting but they will in all things deal so truly and uprightly, as they shall have cause to think them well chosen for the charge committed unto them, faithfully charging our said Counsellours and Executors, and in Gods name exhorting them for the singular trust and speciall confidence which We have and ever had in them, to have a due and diligent eye, perfect zeal, love and affection to the honour, surety, estate, and dignity of Our said Son, and the good state and prosperity of this Our Realm; And that all delays set apart; they well aid and assist Our said Counsellours and Executors to the performance of this Our present Testament and last Will, in every part, as they will answer before God at the day of judgment, *Cum veneris iudicare vivos & mortuos*; and furthermore for the speciall trust and confidence which we have in the Earls of Arundell, and Essex, that now be, Sir Thomas Cheney Knight Treasurer of Our household, Sir John Gage Knight Comptroller of Our household, Sir Anthony Wingfield Knight Our Vice-Chamberlain, Sir William Peeter Knight one of Our two principall Secretaries, Sir Richard Rich Knight, Sir John Baker Knight, Sir Ralph Sadler Knight, Sir Thomas Seymour Knight, Sir Richard Southwell, and Sir Edmund Peckham Knights, they, and every of them, shall be of Council, for the aiding and assisting of the forenamed Counsellours and Our Executors, when they or any of them shall be called by Our said Executors; or the more part of the same.

Item, We bequeath to Our Daughters MARY and ELIZABETH's marriage, they being married to any outward Potentate, by the advice of the aforesaid Counsellours (if We bestow them not in Our life-time) Ten thousand pounds in money, plate, jewels, and household-stuffe, for each of them, or a larger summe, as to the discretion of Our Executors, or the more part of them, shall be thought convenient, Willing Them on

My

Ann.  
Dom.  
1546.  
Ann.  
Reg.  
H. 8.  
38.

My blessing to be ordered as well in marriage, as in all other lawful things by the advice of Our forenamed Counsellours, And in case They will not, then the summes to be minished at the Counsellours discretions.

Further; Our Will is, that from the first hour of Our death untill such time as the said Counsellours can provide either of Them, or both, some Honourable marriages, They shall have each of Them M M M li. *ultra repisas* to live upon, willing and charging the aforesaid Counsellours to limit and appoint to either of Them such sage Officers and Ministers for ordinance thereof, as it may be employed both to Our Honour and Theirs; And for the great love, obedience, chastitee of life and wildome being in Our forenamed Wife and Queen, We bequeath unto Her for Her proper use, and as it shall please Her to order it, M M M li. in plate, jewels, and stuffe of household, besides such apparell is it shall please Her to take as She hath already; And further, We give unto Her M li. in money, with the enjoying of Her Dowry and Joynture, according to Our Grant by Act of Parliament.

Item, for the kindnesse and good service that Our said Executors have shewed unto Us, We give and bequeath unto each of them such summes of money, or the value of the same as hereafter ensueth: First, to the Archbishop of Canterbury v C marks, to the Lord Wriothesly v C li. to the Lord St. John v C li. to the Lord Russell v C li. to the Earl of Hertford v C li. to the Viscount Lisle v C li. to the Bishop of Duresme CCC li. to Sir Anthony Browne CCC li. to Sir William Baget CCC li. to Sir Anthony Denby CCC li. to Sir William Herbert CCC li. to Justice Montague CCC li. to Justice Bromley CCC li. to Sir Edward North CCC li. to Sir Edward Watton CCC li. to Doctor Watton CCC li. Also, for the speciall love and favour that We bear to Our trusty Counsellours and other Our said Servants; hereafter following, We give and bequeath unto them such summes of money, or the value thereof as is tottred upon their heads: First, to the Earl of Essex CC li. to Sir Thomas Thury CC li. to the Lord Herbert CC li. to Sir John Gage CC li. to Sir Thomas Seymour CC li. to John Gage CC li. to Sir Thomas Darcy Knight CC li. to Sir Thomas Speke Knight CC marks, to Sir Phillip Hobbey Knight CC marks, to Sir Thomas Paston CC marks, to Sir Morrice Berkeley CC marks, to Sir Ralph Sadler CC li. to Sir Thomas Cariden CC li. to Sir Peter Newras CC marks, to Edward Bullingham CC marks, to Thomas Audley CC marks, to Edmund Harman CC marks, to John Penne C marks, to Henry Nevile a C li. to William Symbarke C li. to Richard Cooke C li. to John Osborne C li. to David Vincent C li. to James Ruffarsh Keeper of Our house here C marks, to Richard Cecil a Yeoman of Our Robes C marks, to Thomas Srenhold Groom of Our Robes C marks, to John Rowland Page of Our Robes L li. to the Earl of Arundell Lord Chamberlain CC li. to Sir Anthony Wingfield Vice-Chamberlain CC li. to Sir Edmund Peckham CC li. to Sir Richard Rich CC li. to Sir John Baker CC li. to Sir Rich Southwell CC li. to Mr. Doctor Owen C li. to Mr. Doctor Wendy C li. to Mr. Doctor Cramer C li. to Thomas Assop C marks, to Patrick C marks, to John Ailef C marks, to Henry Forre C marks, to Richard Ferrers C marks, to John Richard C marks, to the four Gentlemen Ushers of Our chamber (being daily Waiters) a hundred pound in all; And We will that Our Executors, on the most part of them, shall give Orders for the payment of such Legacies as they shall think meet, to such Our ordinary Servants, as unto whom We have not appointed any Legacy by this Our present Testament. Finally, this present Writing in Paper We ordain and make by Our last Will and Testament, and will the same to be reputed and taken to all intents and purposes for Our good, strong, available, most perfect

[ i i ]

and

Ann.  
Reg.  
H. 8.  
38.  
Ann.  
Dom.  
1546.

and last Will and Testament, And We doe declare all other Wills and Testaments made at any time by Us to be void and of none effect.

Ann.  
Dom.  
1546.  
Ann.  
Reg.  
Hen.  
8.  
38.

In witnesse whereof, We have signed it with Our hand in Our Palace at *Westminster* the thirtieth day of *December*, in the year of our Lord God 1546. after the computation of the Church of *England*, and of Our Reign the xxxviii<sup>th</sup> year, being present, and called to Witnesse the Persons which have written their names:

John Gate.  
Ed: Harman.  
William Saint-Barbe.  
Henry Nevill.  
Richard Cooke.  
David Vincent.

Patrick.  
George Owen.  
Thomas Wendy.  
Robert Kewicke.  
William Clerke.

When this Will was made.

\*Fox, A.D.s and Mon. p. 129.

Legacies scarcely paid.

\*Bailem Gen. page 718. ab scilicet scilicet.

Monument made for the King by the Cardinal.

\*Gulwin in Hen. 8. p. 100.

Why His Nicce more at liberty than his Daughters.

51. This the Kings Will was drawn up some two years since, before He went to *Bologne*, as is intimated in a passage, *Be it beyond the sea, &c.* which now was only faintly written over again, without any alteration, save that *Stephen Gardiner* was expunged from being one of His Executors. It seems, that formerly (finding none substituted in *Gardiner's* room) He appointed *seventeen Executors*, that so a decisive Vote might avoid equality of Voices. And, although in this Will, provision is made for *multitude of Masses to be said for his soule*, yet\* one (pretending to extraordinary intelligence herein) would persuade us, that *K. Henry* intended in His later daies to thorow a Reformation, as not to have left one Masse in the Land, if death had not prevented Him.

52. Amongst His Servants in ordinary attendance, to whom Legacies were bequeathed, *Richard Cecil* there named *Treasurer of the Robes*, was the Father to *William Cecil* afterwards Baron of *Burghly* and *Lord Treasurer of England*. *Thomas Sternhold*, *Groom of the Robes* (and afterwards of the \* *Bed chamber* to King *Edward the sixth*) was one of them who translated the *Psalmes into English Metre*, being then accounted an excellent Poet; though he who wore *bayes* in those daies, deserveth not *to live* in our Age. Now, seeing by the rules of justice, and the daies, of His *personal debts* remained unsatisfied till the daies of Queen *Elizabeth*, probably most of these Legacies were never paid, especially to inferior persons: As if it were honour enough for them to have such *summs bequeathed unto*, though never bestowed upon them.

53. Whereas mention in this Will of a *Monument well onwards and almost made*, it is the same which Cardinal *Wolsey* built for King *Henry*; and not for himself, as is commonly reported. Wherefore, whereas there goeth a tale, That King *Henry* one day finding the Cardinal with the workmen making His Monument, should say unto him, *Tumble your self in this Tomb whilst you are alive, for when dead, you shall never lie therein*; it is a mere fiction, the Cardinal originally intending the same for the King, as appeareth by the ancient Inscription\* thereupon, wherein King *Henry* was stiled *LORD* (not *KING*) of *Ireland*, without addition of *supreme Head of the Church*, plainly shewing the same was of ancient date in the daies of the Cardinal.

54. Whereas the Lady *Mary* and *Elizabeth*; Their marriages are so severely conditioned, that if made without consent of the Councell, They were to forfeit Their

Ann.  
Dom.  
1546.  
Ann.  
Reg.  
Hen.  
8.  
38.

Their right to the Crown, men interpret it as provided in *terrorem*, and not otherwise. Yet, this clause was it which afterwards put so plausible a pretence on *What his rebellion*; which, though made of *rotten cloth*, had notwithstanding a good colour thereon. Now, whereas the King's Nieces (the Daughters to *Mary* His younger Sister) were not clogg'd in this His Will with such restrictions concerning their Marriages, the plain reason was, because both of them were already married before this Will was made: *Frances* the elder, to *Henry Gray Marquisse Dorset*, (afterward Duke of *Suffolke*) and *Eleanor* the younger, to *Henry Clifford Earl of Cumberland*.

55. The Portion of but *ten thousand pounds* a piece left to His two Daughters, was not much unproportionable to the value of money as it went in that Age, though a summe small for such an use in our daies. And I have heard, that Queen *Elizabeth* being informed that Doctor *Pilkington* Bishop of *Durham* had given *ten thousand pounds* in marriage with his Daughter; and, being offended that a *Prelates daughter* should equal a *Princess* in portion, took away one thousand pounds a year from that *Bishoprick*, and assigned it for the better maintenance of the *Garrison of Baywick*.

56. Very much of His own *abstruseness* appears in this Will of King *Henry*, entailing the Crown according to His own fancy, against all right, and reason. For, first, how unjust was it, that His female issue by Queen *Katherine Parr*, His last Wife (had He had any) should inherit the Crown before *Mary* and *Elizabeth* His eldest Daughters by His former Wives? If *Mary* and *Elizabeth* were not His lawfull Children, how came They by any right to the Crown? If His lawfull Children, why was Their birth-right and seniority not observed in succession? Well it was for Them that *Henry Fitz Roy* His naturall Son (but one of *super-naturall* and extraordinary endowments) was dead, otherwise (some suspected) had He survived King *Edward the sixth*, we might presently have heard of a *K. Henry the ninth*; so great was His Fathers affection, and so unlimited His power to preferre Him.

57. But the grand injury in this His Testament is, That He quite passeth over the Children of *Margaret*, His eldest Sister, married into *Scotland*, with all Her issue, not so much as making the least mention thereof.

58. Great indeed, (when this Will was first made) was the antipathy, which for the present possessed Him against the *Scotch*, with whom then He was in actual warre, though at other times, when in good humour, very courteous to His kindred of that extraction. For, most sure it is, that when *Margaret Douglas*, His Sisters Daughter, was married to *Math. Earle of Lenox*, He publicly professed, *That in case His own Issue failed, He should be right glad some of Her body should succeed to the Crown*; as it came to pass.

59. Of the eleven Witnesses, whose names are subscribed to His Will, the nine first are also Legacies therein, and therefore (because reputed Parties) not sufficient Witnesses had it been the Will of a private person. But, the Testaments of Princes move in an higher sphere, than to take notice of such *Parasitoses*, and (foreigners being unfit to be admitted to such privacies) domestical Servants were preferred as the properest Witnesses, to attest an Instrument of their Lord and Master.

60. It is but just with God, that He who had too much of His Will done, when living, should have the least, when dead, of His Testament performed. The ensuing Reformation sweep away the *Masses* and *Chanery Priests* founded to pray for His soul. The Tombs of *Henry the sixth*, and *Edward the fourth*, (the one the last of *Lancaster*, the other the first of *Torke*, the Titles of both which Houses met in this *Henry*) remain at this day in *statu quo prius*, without any amendment. Where, by the way, seeing in this Will King *Henry the sixth*, is stiled *His Uncle*, I cannot make out the relation in the common fence of the word, except any will say, that Kings Uncles (as their Cousins) are oft taken in a large and favourable acceptance. But the main wherein His Will missed the intent is in that the *Scotch Line*, neglected

Ten thousand pounds the portion of a Princess.

Much of abstruseness in this Will.

The Scotch Line quite left out.

\* Henry Lord Daryl her Son, 1 sister to King James. Legacies Wintnes in Kings Will.

Little of His Will performed.

His disease, and  
the manner of  
His death.

lected and omitted by Him, (ordinary *Heirs* are made in *Heaven*, *Heirs* to *Crowns* in the *Heaven of Heavens*) came in Their due time to the *Throne*, Their undoubted Right thereunto recognized by *AQ* of Parliament.

61. After the making of this his Will, He survived a full Month, falling immediately sick. He had *selfs corpus*, a *body* and *half*, very *abdominous* & *unwieldy* with far, and it was death to Him to be dieted, to great His appetite, and death to Him not to be dieted, to great His corpulency. But now all His humours repaired to one place, and festered themselves in an old sore in His thigh, which quickly grew to be greatly enflamed. Here *flame* met with *fire*, the anguish of the sore, with an hot and impatient temper, so that during his sickness, few of His Servants durst approach His presence. His Physicians, giving Him over, desired some, who tendered the good of His soul, to admonish Him of His estate. But such, who could flie with good tidings, would not halt to Him with ill newes. Besides, lately a Law was made, That *none should speak any thing of the King's death*. Which *AQ*, though onely intended to retrench the *Predictions* and *mock-Prophecies* of *Soothsayers*, yet now all the Courtiers (glad of so legall a covert for their *comardise*) alledged it, to excuse themselves to inform the *King* of His approaching end. At last Sir *Anthony Denny* went boldly unto Him, and plainly acquainted Him of His dying condition; whereupon, Archbishop *Cranmer* was by the *King* His desire sent for, to give him some ghostly counsell and comfort.

His hope ex-  
pected by  
speechlesse  
gesture.

62. But before *Cranmer* (then being at *Croidon*) could come to Him, He was altogether speechlesse, but not senselesse. The Archbishop exhorted Him to place all His trust in Gods mercies thorough Christ, and besought Him, that (if He could not in words) He would by some signe or other testifye His hope. Who then wringed the Archbishops hand as hard as He could, and shortly after expired, having lived *fifty five years*, and *seven moneths*; and thereof reigned *thirty seven years*, *nine moneths*, and *six daies*.

Lying standers.

63. As for the report of *Sanders*, that King *Henry* perceiving the pangs of approaching Death, called for a great bowle of *white wine*, and drinking it off, should say to the company, *We have lost all*; it is enough to say, it is a report of *Sanders*. As loud a *lie* is it what he affirmeth, that the last words heard from His mouth were, *The Monks, the Monks*, and so gave up the ghost. This may goe hand in hand with what another *Catholick* \* relates, that a *black Dog* (he might as truly have said a *blew one*) lickt up His blood, whilst the stench of His corps should be charmed with no embalming, though indeed there was no other noy-somnesse than what necessarily attendeth on any dead body of equall corpulency.

\* Rich. Hall in  
his Manuscript:  
Life of Bishop  
Fisher.

His Vices and  
Virtues.

64. Vices most commonly charged on His *memory* are: 1. *Covetousness*. He was an eminent *Instance*, to verifie the Observation, *Omnis prodigus est avarus*, vast His profusiveness, (coming a *fork*, after a *rake*) not only spending the great Treasure left Him by His Father, but also vast *wealth* beside, and yet ever in *want*, and *rapacious* to supply the same. Secondly, *Cruelty*, being scarce ever observed to pardon any *Noble person*, whom He condemned to death. I finde but two *black swannes* in all the currant of His Reigne, that tasted of His favour herein. And therefore when *Arthur* \* Lord *Lisle* imprisoned, and daily expecting death in the Tower, was unexpectedly set free, he instantly died of foddain joy; so that it seems King *Henry's* pity proved as *mortal* as His *cruelty*. Thirdly, *Wastionnesse*, which cannot be excused; But these *fautes* were (if not over) even poised with His *virtues*, of *Valour*, *Bounty*, *Wisdom*, *Learning* and *love of Learned men*, scarce one *Dunce* wearing a *Miter* all His daies.

Why K. Henry's  
Monument ne-  
ver perfected.

65. The Monument mentioned in His Will, as *almost made*, was never *all made*, but left imperfect, whereof many *reasons* are rendered. Some impute it to the very want of *workmen*, unable to finish it, according to the exactnesse wherewith it was begun; a conceit in my minde, little better than *scandalum seculi*, and very derogatory to the Art and Iagenuity of our Age. \* Others more truly ascribe it to the costlinesse thereof, which deterred His Successors from finishing of it.

\* Gulwin in  
Hm. 8. p. 113.

Ann.  
Dom.  
1546.  
Ann.  
Regis  
H. 8.  
38.

Jan.  
28.

Ann.  
Reg.  
H. 8.  
38.  
Ann.  
Dom.  
1546.

Indeed, King *Henry the seventh* in erecting His own Monument in His *Chappell* at *Westminster*, did therein set a *Pattern of despair* for all Posterity to imitate. And yet *Sanders* \* tells us, That Queen *Mary* had a great minde to make up His *Tomb*, but durst not for fear a *Catholick* should seem to countenance the memory of one dying in open *schism* with the Church of *Rome*. As for His imperfect Monument, it was beheld like the barren *Fig-tree*, bearing no fruit, and cumbring the \* ground, (I mean the *Chappell* wherein it stood) and therefore it was, since these *Civill Warres*, took down, and sold by order of Parliament.

66. In the Reign of Queen *Mary*, it was reported, that Cardinal *Poole* (whose spleen generally vented it self against dead-mens bodies) had a designe, with the principall Clergie of *England*, to take up and burn the body of King *Henry the eighth*. This plot is said to be discovered by Doctor *Weston* \* Dean of *Westminster*. But because *Weston* was justly obnoxious for his scandalous living (for which at that time he stood committed to the Tower) and bare a personal grudge to the Cardinal, his report was the leste credited, as proceeding from revenge, and desite to procure his own enlargement.

67. Indeed, when a *Vault*, seven years since, was pierced in the midft of the *Quire* at *Windesore*, therein to interre the corps of King *CHARLES*, they lighted on two Coffins therein. Now (though no memory alive could reach the same, yet) constant tradition, seconded with a \* coincidence of all signs and circumstances concluded these Coffins to contain the bones of King *HENRY the eighth*, and His dear Queen *JANE SEMOUR*. And yet the bignesse of the Coffin, (though very great) did not altogether answer that *Giant-like* proportion, which posterity hath fancied of Him.

\* De schif Angl.  
pag. 216.

\* Luke 13. 7.

Card. Poole his  
project.

\* Fox AQs and  
Mon. p. 102.

The bones of  
K. Hen. abused.

\* See more  
hereof at the  
buriall of  
K. Charles.

The end of the Fifth Book.



THE  
Church-History  
OF  
B R I T A I N.

---

THE SIXT BOOK:

---

BEING  
The History of Abbeys in  
E N G L A N D:

Of their Originall, Increase, Greatnesse, Decay,  
and Dissolution.

---



---

{Kkk}



To the Right Honourable,

WILLIAM COMPTON,

Sonne and Heire to the Right Honourable,

JAMES,

Baron COMPTON of COMPTON,

AND

Earle of NORTHAMPTON.



Having formerly proved at a large, That  
it is lawfull for any, and expedient for  
me, to have Infant-Patrons for my  
Books, let me give an account why  
this parcell of my *History* was set apart for your Honour,  
not being cast by chance, but led by choice to this my De-  
dication.

First, I resolved with my self to select such a Patron  
for this my *History of Abbies*, whose Ancestour was not  
onely of credit, and repute, in the Reign; but also of favour  
and esteem in the affection of King HENRY the Eighth.

Secondly, he should be such (if possible to be found)

[K k k 2]

who

¶ In severall  
Dedicatory  
Epistles in  
my *Pisgah*  
*Sighs*.

who had no *partage* at all in *Abbey-Lands* at their *dissolution*, that so his judgement might be *unbiased* in the reading hereof.

Both my *Requisits* have happily met in your *Honour*, whose direct Ancestour, Sir *WILLIAM COMPTON*, was not onely *chief Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber* to the aforefaid *KING*, but also (as a *noble* *pen* writing his *Life*, informeth us) the *third man* in His favour, in the beginning of His *Reign*: yet had he not a *shoe-latchet* of *Abbey-Land*, though nothing surely debarred him save his *own abstinence*: as there is none in all your *antient Paternall estate*, for I account not what since by *accesion* of *Matches* hath *accrued* unto it.

Thus are you the *Person* designed for my purpose, and I believe very few (if any) in *ENGLAND*, can *wash their hands* in the *same Basin*, to have no *Abbey-lands* *licking to their fingers*; and thus being *freest* from being a *Party*, in due time you will be *surest* to be a *fudge*, to passe *unpartial sentence* on what is written on this *subject*.

And now let me make your *Lordship* smile a little, acquainting you with a *passage* in the *Legend*, of *NICHOLAS* a *Popish Saint*: They report of him, That when an *Infant* hanging on his *Mother's breast*, he *fasted Wednesdaies and Fridaies*, and could not be urged to *suck* more than *once a day*.

But,

<sup>b</sup> The Lord Herbert in his History, page 8.

<sup>c</sup> Lib. Feftival. in die S. Nichol. fol. 55.

But, good my *Lord*, be not so *ceremonious*, or rather *superstitious*, to imitate his example: *Wean* not your self, untill you be *weaned*, and let all *daies* be alike to your *Honour*. I dare assure you, no *spark* of *Sanctity* the lesse for a *drop of milke* the more. A good *case* is no hindrance to a pretious *jewell*, and a *healthfull body* no abasement to a *holy soule*.

And when your *Lordship* shall arrive at riper years, consult your own *Extraction*, as the best *Remembrancer* of worthy behaviour. In whose *veines* there is the *confluence* of so many *Rivulets*, that a *mean Herault*, by the guidance thereof *upwards*, may be led to the *fountains* of the most of the *English Nobility*.

All I will adde is this, as you give *three Helmets* for your *Armes*, may you be carefull to take the *fourth*, even the <sup>d</sup> *helmet of salvation*. An *Helmet* which here is worn close, whilest *Souldiers* in the *Church-Militant* we see but in part, but hereafter shall be *born* (like the *Helmet* of *Princes*) with the *bever* open in the *Church-Triumphant*, when we shall see as we are seen. The desire of

Your Honours most engaged Beads-man,

THOMAS FULLER.

<sup>d</sup> Eph. 6. 17.





## The History of Abbeyes in E N G L A N D .

### *Primitive MONKS, with their Piety and Painfulness.*

**W**hen the Furnace of Persecution in the Infancy of Christianity was grown so hot, that most Cities, Towns, and populous Places were visited with that Epidemical Disease, many pious men fled into Desarts, there to live with more safety, and serve God with lesse disturbance. No wilde humour to make themselves miserable, and to chuse and court their own calamity put them on this project, much lesse any Superstitious Opinion of transcendent Sanctity in a Solitary life, made them willingly to leave their former Habitations. For, whereas all men by their Birth are indebted to their Countrey, there to stay and discharge all civil relations, it had been dishonesty in them, like Bankrupts to run away into the Wildernesse to defraud their Countrey their Creditor, except some violent Occasion (such as *Persecution* was) forced them thereunto: and this was the first Originall of *Monks* in the world so called from *μοναχ*, because living alone by themselves.

First Monks  
caused by per-  
secution.

2. Here they in the Desarts hoped to finde Rocks, and Stocks, yea, Beasts themselves more kinde than Men had been to them: What would Hide, and Heat, Cover, and keep Warm, served them for Cloathes, not placing (as their Successours in after-Ages) any Holiness in their Habit, folded up in the affected Fashion thereof. As for their Food, the Grasse was their Cloath, the Ground their Table, Herbs and Roots their Diet, wilde Fruits and Berries their Dainties, Hunger their Sauce, their Nails their Knives, their Hands their Cups, the next Well their Wine-cellar; But what their Bill-of-fare wanted in Cheer, it had in Grace; their Life being constantly spent in Prayer, Reading, Musing, and such like pious Employments. They turned Solitariness it self into Society, and cleaving themselves asunder by the divine Art of Meditation, did make of one, two, or more, opposing answering, moderating in their own Bosomes, and baffle in themselves with variety of Heavenly recreations. It would doe one Good, even but to think of their Goodness, and at the rebound and second hand to Meditate on their Meditations. For if ever Poverty was to be envied it was here. And I appeal to the moderate men of these Times, whether in the height of these wofull Warres, they have not sometimes wisht, (not out of Passionate distemper, but serious recollection of themselves) some such Private Place to retire un-

Their pious  
employment  
in a solitary  
life.

They were  
not Poverty,  
Chastity, or  
Obedience.  
See Pol. Instit.  
gile. le monastere  
renu. lib. 7. c. 12.  
An. Stat. 56.  
in f. 156.  
Auctor. 332.

to, where, out of the noise of this Clamorous World, they might have reposed themselves, and served GOD with more Quiet.

3. These Monks were of two sorts, either such as fled from actual, or from imminent Persecution. For when a danger is not created by a timorous Fancie, but rationally represented as probable, in such a case, the Principles of Prudence, not out of Cowardise, but Caution, warrant men to provide for their Safety. Neither of these bound themselves with a wilfull Vow to observe Poverty, but Poverty rather vowed to observe them, waiting constantly upon them. Neither for they vow Chastity, though keeping it better than such as vowed it in after-days. As for the Vow of Obedience, it was both needlesse and impossible in their Condition, having none beneath or above them, living alone, and their whole Covenant, as one may say, consisting of a single Person; And as they entered on this Course of Life, rather by Impulsion than Election; so when Peace was restored, they returned to their former homes in Cities and Towns, refusing their Callings, which they had not left off, but for a time laid aside. The first British Monks that we meet with in this kinde, were immediately after the Martyrdom of Saint Alban; for then, faith Gildas, *Qui supersuerant sylvas ac desertis, abditisque speluncis se occultaverunt; Such as survived, hid themselves in forests, abditisque speluncis se occultaverunt; Such as survived, hid themselves in forests, woods and deserts, and secret dens of the earth.* As long after on the like Occasion, when the Pagan Saxons, and Danes, invaded this Island, many religious Persons retired themselves to Solitary lives.

### Voluntary MONKS, embracing that Life, not for Necessity, but Conveniency.

Silver Monks  
succeeded the  
former golden  
ones.

**A**fter these succeeded a Second Sort of Monks leading a Solitary Life, when no visible need forced them thereunto, as neither feeling nor fearing any apparent Perfection; Yet these considering the inconsistency of humane matters, that though they had Prosperity for the present, it might soon be changed into a contrary condition, if either the restless endeavours of the Devil took effect, or finfull Christians were rewarded according to their deserts, freely chose a Lone life, also prompted perchance thereunto by their own Melancholy disposition.

Fetch from  
wandering in  
the wilderness  
to dwell together.

2. Afterwards it was counted convenient, that such who hitherto dwelt desolate in Deserts, scattered asunder, should be gathered together to live under one Roof, because their Company would be Cheerfull in Health, and Needfull in Sicknesse one to another. Hence these two words, though contrary to sound, signifie the same:

*Monasterium,* } Alone.  
*Cenobium,* } A place containing men living } In common.

For though they were sequestred from the rest of the World, yet they enjoyed mutuall Society amongst themselves. And again, though at solemn times they joyined in their Public Devotions and Refections, yet no doubt, they observed hovers by themselves in their Private Orisons: Of these, some were Gardeners like Adam, Husbandmen like Noah, caught Fish with Peter, made Tents with Paul, as every man was either advised by his Inclination, or directed by his Dexterity, and no Calling was counted Base that was found Beneficall. Much were they delighted with making of Hives, as the Embleme of a Covent for Order and Industry; wherein the Bees under a Master their Abbot, have severall Cells, and live and labour in a regular discipline. In a word, they had hard hands and tender hearts, sustaining themselves by their labour, and relieving others by their Charity, as formerly hath been observed in the Monks of Banger.

3. Take

3. Take a taste of their Austerity who lived at *Fall Rosine*, since called *Minevera in Pembroke-shire*, under the Method of S. David. They were raised with the crowing of the Cock from their beds, and then betook themselves to their prayers, and spent the rest of the day in their severall callings; when their task was done, they again bestowed themselves in prayers, meditations, reading & writing; and at night when the heavens were full of starres, they first began to feed, having their temperate repast to satisfie hunger on bread, water, and herbs. Then the third time they went to their prayers, and so to bed, till the circulation of their daily employment returned in the Morning. A spectacle of virtue and continence; who although they received nothing, or any thing very unwillingly of others, yet were so farre from wanting necessities, that by their pains they provided sustenance for many poor people, Orphans, Widows, and Strangers.

4. Hereas we cannot but highly commend the integrity of their Hearts herein, so we must withall bemoan, that what in them was intentionally good, proved occasionally evil, hatching Superstition under the warmth of their Devotion. For though even these as yet were free from humane Ordinances and Vows, yet Will-worship crept in insensible in the next Age, (Tares are easier seen grown than growing) and error and villousnesse came in by degrees. The Monks afterwards having sufficiency turned lazie, then getting wealth waxed wanton, and at last endowed with superfluity became notoriously wicked, as hereafter shall appear. Thus as Phry reporteth of the GAGATE-stone, that set a fire it burneth more fiercely if water be cast on, but is extinguished if oyle be poured thereupon: So the Zeal of Monastick men was inflamed the more with the bitter water of affliction, whilst in prosperity the oyle of plenty quenched their piety. So ill a Steward is humane corruption of outward happinesse, oftner using it to the Receivers hurt, than the Givers glory.

The discipline  
of British  
Monasteries  
S. 27. and  
a History  
Hist. Eccl. Angl.  
p. 49.

Superstition  
unawares occasioned  
by them;

### Of Superstition, which was the fundamentall fault in all Abbeyes.

**T**his was one main fault in all English Abbeyes, that the Builders did not dig deep enough to lay the Foundation, as grounded on the foundred and mouldring bottom of superstition. For every Monastery was conceived a magazine of merit both for the Founder, his Ancestors, and Posterity. And although all these Dotations did carry the title of pure Alms, yet seriously considered, they will be found rather forced than free, as extorted from men with the fear of Purgatory, one flash of which fire believed, is able to melt a miser into charity; yea, which is worse, many of their foundations had their mortar tempered with innocent blood: For which we may conceive afterwards, they sped never a whit the better. To give some instances of many.

2. *Wolpher*, King of the *MERCIA*Ns, having murdered *Wolpald*, and *Rufine*, his own Sons, with cruell and barbarous Immanity, because they had devoted themselves unto Christ, and embraced his Religion; afterwards turning Christian himself, to wash away the stain of his impiety, built that famous Abbey, since known by the name of *Peterborough*.

3. King *Athelstane* drowned his brother *Edwine*, having put him into a little Wherry, or Cockboat, without any tackling or furniture thereunto (to the end he might impute his wickedness to the waves) and afterwards as a satisfaction to appease his Ghost, built the fair Abbey of *Middleton in Dorset-shire*.

4. To joyn to these two houses of Monks, one of Nuns, (such society hath not been unacceptable) *Alfrith*, second Wife to King *Edgar*, having contrived the death of *Edward* her Son-in-law, King of England, murdered him by a company of Hacktlers and Villains, at her appointment, at *Corfe-Castle in Dorset-shire* to pave the way for the Succession of her Son *Ethelred* to the Crown; afterwards built the stately Nunnery of *Ambresbury*, with some other religious Houses.

[L 11]

*Peterborough*  
Abbey found-  
ed to expiate  
murder.  
b. Gemid. Brit.  
in Northam-  
pton-shire.  
Middleton being  
on the same  
occasion.  
idem in Dorset.

So also the  
Nunnery of  
*Ambresbury*.

c. Herpfield  
Hist. Eccl. Angl.  
sec. 10, p. 188.

S. Ir

Suspicious  
therein might  
be a great fault  
herein.

d Ezek. 22, 28.

An heap of  
Monkish Or-  
ders in Eng-  
land,

c Mass. Park,  
An.Dom. 1257.  
pag. 949.

f Rob. Wiggist  
Abbot of Wel-  
low.  
g Exod. 8. 13,  
14.

**Benedictines  
the primitive  
Monks in  
England.**

b Clem. Reyner  
De antiq Ordinib  
S. Benedi<sup>cti</sup>.

5. It is confest, that *wisfull* murder may be pardoned in Christ, and they who deny it are guilty (as much as lies in their power) of a worse *soul-murder* in their *uncharitable opinion* ; Yet this we say, that all the *chantings* of the *Monks* and *Nuns* in their Covents could not *drawn the noise of innocent blood*. And if these Founders of Abbeyes thought that their murder could be expiated by raising such beautiful *buildings*, their most polished *marble* and costly carved *pieces* were in the expreffion of the Prophet, but a *dawbling over their damnable sins with untamped mortar*. But though Abbeyes long since have been demolished, we leave their Founders to stand or fall to their own Maker, when his all-seeing Eye hath discerned betwixt the *Errours* of their Judgment, and Integrity of their Affections, endeavouring that, which they conceived was to the *glory* of God, and *advantage* of true Religion.

*Of the severall Orders of Monks and Nuns in  
England.*

**S**O much of the *Superstition of the Founders*, come we now to their *Superstition*, and other *notorious sins*, who lived in these *foundations*. But first we will premise their several *Orders*. Herein we pretend not to any critical skill: For though every Minister of God's Word (whereof I am the meanest) is a spiritual Herald to derive and deduce the Pedigrees and Genealogies of any Institution, which hath its Original in God's Word, yet they are not bound (nor to say it is a learned Ignorance) to be skilful in the Deductions, Divisions, and Sub-divisions of these Orders, which have no foundation in the Scripture. Yea, hear what *Matthew Paris*, being a Monk of *S. Albans* saith, *Tot jam apparuerunt Ordines in Angliā, ut ordinum confusio videtur inordinata*. It is possible then for my best desire to commit an Error, and impropriety in Reckoning them up. For what wonder is it if one be lost in a wood, to which their numerous Orders may well be resembled, though in all this wood there appears not one plant of God's planting, as one of their own Abbots most remarkably did object. In a word, when the *Frogs of Egypt* did out of the houses, out of the wil- lages, and out of the fields, They gathered them together upon heaps, &c. And give us leave in like manner confidently to shovel up these Vermin, now dead in Eng- land.

2. Firſt, come forth the *Benedictines*, or *Black Monks*, ſo called from S. *BENEDICT*, or *BENET*, an *Italian*, firſt Father and Founder of that Order, *Auguſtine* the Monk firſt brought them over into *England*, and theſe *Black Birds* firſt neſted in *Canterbury*, whence they have flown into all the parts of the Kingdom. For as one rightly obſerveth, all the *Abbeys in England*, before the time of King *William the Conquerour* (and ſome whiles after) were filled with this Order. Yea, all the *Abbeys in England*, of the firſt magnitude, which had *Parliamentary Barons* (abate onely the *Prior of the Hoſpitaillers of S. John's in London*) were of this Order, and though the *Auguſtinians* were their *Seniors in Europe*, they were their *Juniors in England*. Now as *Mercers*; when their old *Stuffes* begin to tire in *Sale*, reſreſh them with new *Names* to make them more vendible: So when the *Benedictines* waxed ſtale in the world, the ſame Order was ſet forth in a new Edition, corrected and amended under the name, firſt of

dition, corrected and amended under the names, first of CLUNIAKS : these were Benedictines fitted through a finer search, with some additions invented and imposed upon them by Odo Abbot of Cluni, in Burgundy, who lived *Anna Domini* 913. But these Cluniacks appeared not in England till after the Norman Conquest, and had their richest Covents at Barnstable in Devon-shire, Pontefract and *Maux* in York-shire, &c.

2. **CISTERCIANS**, so called from one *Robert*, living in *Cistercium*, in *Burgundy* aforesaid, he the second time refined the droffie *Benedictines*, and

and *Walser Especk*, first established their *Brotherhood* in *England* at *Rivall* in *York-shire*, besides which, they had many other pleasant and plentiful habitations, at *Warden* and *Woburne* in *Bedford-shire*, *Buckland* and *Ford* in *Devon-shire*, *Bindon* in *Dorset-shire*, &c. The *Bernardine Monks* were of a younger House, or under-Branch of the *Cistercians*.

3. Of *GRAND-MONT*, which observed *S. Benet's Rule*, were brought into *England*, *Anno 1233*; and were principally fixed at *Abberbury* in *Shropshire*.

*Shropshire.*  
The Family of these *Benedictines*, taken at large, with their Children, and Grand-Children, of under-Orders springing from them, were so numerous and so richly endowed, that in their Revenues they did match all the other Orders in England, especially if the Foundations of *Benedictine* Nuns be joynd in the same reckoning, I doubt not but since these *Benedictines* have had their crudities deconcocted, and have been drawn out into more slender threds of sub-divisions. For, commonly once in a hundred years starts up some pragmatikall person in an Order, who out of novelty alters their old Rules (there is as much *variety* and *vanity* in *Monks Cowles*, as in *Courtiers Cloaks*) and out of his fancie adds some observances thereunto. To crie quits with whom after the same distance of time, ariseth another, and under some new Name reformeth his *Reformation*, and then his late new (now old) Order is looked on as an Almanack out of Date, wanting the Perfection of new and necessary Alterations.

ing the Perfection of law and necessary Alterations.

3. A scandal hath lately been raised, much in dishonour of these *Benedictines*, viz: That all the ancient *English Monks* before the *Conquest*, were only of the Order of *S. Equitius*. Some highly concerned to confute this *Report*, wrote over to our *Antiquaries in England*, for their judgments herein; from whom they received this following *Answer*.

his following Answer.

**Q**uoniam hæc nostra estate exorta est controversia de Monachis Grego-  
rii magni & Augustini Cantuariensis, Sociorumque ejus quos Gre-  
gorius in Angliam de suo Monasterio prædicandi Evangelii causa definisse  
legitur: quibusdam ipsos ordini Benedictino addiditibus quibusdam vero  
ita acriter pernegantibus & ipsi Ordini S. Equitii [sive alii] alii ascriben-  
tibus; Nos qui multum temporis in rebus vetustis tam civilibus quam  
sacris, atque ita imprimis qua ad Britanniam nostram potissimum spectant,  
impendimus, rogati ut testimonium perhiberemus veritati, cum neutrius  
partis præjudicii simus obnoxii. Dicimus & affirmamus nos duo solum Mo-  
nachorum genera in primis Saxonice apud majores nostros Ecclesie tem-  
poribus: unum eorum qui ægyptiisq[ue] mores secuti, in hac Insulâ flore-  
bant, ante adventum Augustini: alterum eorum qui Benedictini Augu-  
stino itineris erant comites. Hanc traditionem à patribus ad filios derivatam  
esse testamur, atque ita derivatam, ut non levibus innitiatur fabulis, aut am-  
bitiosis partium conjecturis, quin eam ipsam vetustâ signata fide exhibent  
apud nos monumenta. Ad Augustino insuper ad Henricum octavum per-  
petuo in hac Insulâ viguit Benedictini Institutio: nec Augustino recentio-  
rem ejusve originem, originis[ve] recentioris vestigium ullibi compertimus.

Tantum abest Equitianum aliquem in hac Insulâ fuisse Ordinem, ut nulla  
omnino hujusmodi neque ordinis neque nominis mentio in vetustis, quibus  
versamur, tabulariis, habetur. Sanè aliorum fere omnium in hac Insulâ  
origines ita observavimus, ut unus cujusque etiam minimi ingressum suo  
anno consignatum habeamus: solius Benedictini Ordinis originem ante  
Augustini sæculum non invenimus: ipsius sæculo floruisse apertè re reperimus.  
Unde exploratissimum nobis esse profitemur, non alterius ordinis fuisse  
ipsius sociosque ejus quam Benedicti; quos ideo preclaudubio, tam altas ra-  
dices in Angliâ egerit, quoniam primi illi Monachi à Gregorio in Insulam  
desinati. Reule Benedictinæ professores existerunt.

Robertus Cotton. } Henricus Spelman.  
Johannes Seldenus. } Gulielmus Cambrdenus.

 $[L112]$ 

*Scandalum Benedictinum.*

2 Extant in  
Clem Reynere  
de ~~apostolatu~~  
Benedictinorum  
in Anglia,  
pag. 202.

Eng.

England may see 400 years, yet not behold 4 such Antiquaries her Natives at once, the four wheels of the Triumphant chariot of truth for our British History. This Quaternion of Subscribers, have stick'd the point dead with me that all ancient English Monks were Benedictines. Which Order lasting above one thousand years in this Land, hath produced about two hundred and fifty Writers of Name and note, as Pitheus \* accounteth them.

4. What this S. Equitius was, (pretended Founder of our first English Monks) is worth our enquire. Sure he could not be that Equitius, of whom the African Bishops complained in the Council of Carthage. That by indirect courses he had invaded the Priesthood; defusing by their Legats (whom they sent to the Emperor) That he might be expelled that Office. Yet he, in defiance of their endeavours, went about to disturb the peace of the Church. More probable it is, he was either Equitius a Deacon in the *Apamean Church*, (flourishing in the fourth Century) and famous for his faith and fervency in Religion in assisting *Marcellus* Bishop thereof, to demolish the Temple of *Jupiter*, or else his contemporary *Equitius*, Consul of Rome with *Gratian*, An. 378, or some other unknown unto us. But be he, who be himself or any other pleafeth (brother, if they will, to S. George on Horse back) he was never father of any Monks in England.

5. Intended to present the Reader, with the habits of Benedictines, and all other Orders for the fashion, matter, and colour thereof. But understanding the industrious work called *Monasticon*, is coming forth (which hath the speed of this my Book, for a Term or two) wherein that Subject is handled at large, I thought better to forbear. Partly, because I presume Master *Dadsworth* (an eminent instrument in that usefull work) better acquainted, than I am, with their *Tailors*: partly, because my wardrobe of their clothes (coming to long after him) will be beheld, but as from the second hand fetched from *Long lane*, and his new bought out of the Draper's shop.

6. The *Augustinian Monks* succeeded, younger than the Benedictines in England, though older in Europe. For S. *Augustine* of Hippo, (on whom these Monks would willingly recover themselves) was S. *Benet's* Senior by sixty years. I cannot believe, that they came over into England (what some affirm) precise, Anno 636, (others 640.) when *Birinus* was Bishop of *Dorchester*, or that 4 1059, they were seated in London, being rather inclined to believe, that *Endo* the *Dapifer* (Sewer, if you please) to King *Henry the first*, first brought them into England, Anno 1105, and that S. *Fohn's* at *Colchester* was the prime place of their residence. However, I finde that *Walsbam Abbey* (for Benedictines at the first) had its Copie altered by King *Henry the second*, and bestowed on *Augustinians*.

7. These *Augustinians* were also called *Canons Regular*, where, by the way, I meet with such a nice distinction, which diheartens me from pretending to exactness in reckoning up these Orders. For, this I finde in our English *Ennium*:

And all such other Counterfeitsours  
Chanoins, Canons and such disguised  
Men Goddes enemies and Traytors  
Is true religion has four despised.

It seems the H here amounteth to a letter so effectually as to discriminate *Chanoins* from *Canons*, (though both *Canonicus* in Latine) but what should be the difference betwixt them, I dare not interpose my conjecture. I have done with these *Augustinians* when I have observed, that this Order in England afforded \* three score and ten eminent Writers, and one in Germany worth them all in effect, I mean *Martin Luther*, who by his writings gave a mortal wound to all these Orders, yea, and to the root of the *Romish Religion*.

8. *Gilbertine Monks*, may be the third, a mongrel Order, observing some select Rules partly of S. *Benner*, partly of S. *Augustine*. So named from *Gilbert* (son to *Spoceline* a Knight) Lord of *Sempringham* in *Lincolnshire*, where 1148, first they were planted. Whereupon, this Order may boast, that it alone is a native and *Indegena*, (whereas Benedictines are by original *Italians*; *Augustinians*, *African*,

\* Catalogue, p. 966.

H. and Crie after S. Equitius.

b. *Alia Cecil*, lib. 33. & 60.

c. *Theodoret*, lib. 3. cap. 17.

Why habits of Mon's not here presented.

Augustinian Monks.

d. *Josephus* Pamphilius in his Criticism *Augustin*.

Whether H be a letter.

e. *Chauin* in the *Plowmans Tale*.

\* Reckoned up by Pitheus in Indica, p. 974.

Gilbertine Monks.

*African*; *Carthusians*, *French*, *Dominicans*, *Spanish*; &c.) pure English by the extraction thereof. This *Gilbert*, unhandsome, but not unlearned, erected this Order, (contrary to *Justinians* constitution, who forbade double Monasteries) where in men and women lived together, (though secluded) under one roof. He survived to see thirteen Houses of this his own Order, and in them seventeen hundred *Gilbertine Brothers and Sisters*. Yet I finde no Writer of this Order, conceiving them so well busied with their Company in their Convent, they had little leisure for the writing of Books.

9. *Carthusian Monks* make up a *Messe*, much famed for their mortified lives and abstinence from all flesh; one *Bruno* first founded them in the *Dolpinate* in France, Anno 1080, and some 60 years after they were brought over into England. I wonder men fasting so much, should have to high spirits, no Order Raising more stoutly on their privileges, inso much when the means of all Convents were valued in the Reign of \* King *Henry the eighth*, a peculiar clause was added to the Patent of the Commissioners, empowering them particularly to rate *Charter-houses* in London. However, their Books (there being eleven \* learned Authors of English *Carthusians*) contain much tending to mortification, and out of them *Parsons* the Jesuite hath collected a good part of his *Resolutions*.

10. So much of *Monks*, come we now to *Fryers*, and it is necessary to premise what was the distinction betwixt them. For though some will say, the matter is not much, if *Monks* and *Friers* were confounded together, yet the distinguishing of them conduceth much to the clearing of History. Some make *Monks* the Genus, and *Friers* but the Species, so that all *Fryers* were *Monks*, but *contra* all *Monks* were not *Fryers*. Others, that *Monks* were confined to their Cloisters, whilst more liberty was allowed to *Fryers* to go about and preach in neighbouring Parishes. Others, that *Monks* were in those Convents who had a Bishop over them, as *Canterbury*, *Norwich*, *Durham*, &c. but never any *Fryers* in such places where the Bishop was the supreme, and they in some sort had the power of his Election. I see it is very hard just to hit the point so as to cleave them asunder at an hairs breadth, Authors being to divided in their opinions. But the most essential difference, whereon we most confide is this, *Monks* had nothing in propriety, but all in common; *Fryers* had nothing in propriety, nor in common, but being Mendicants, begg'd all their substance from the charity of others. True it is, they had Cells or Houses to dwell, or rather hide themselves in (so the Foxes have holes, and the Birds of the air have nests) but all this went for nothing, seeing they had no means belonging thereunto. Yea it hath borne a tough debate betwixt them, Whether a Fryer may be said to be Owner of the Cloathes he weareth? and it hath been for the most part over-ruled in the negative.

11. It will be objected, that many Convents of *Fryers* had large and ample revenues (as will appear by perusing the Catalogue in *Speed's Tables*) amounting to some hundreds (though never thousands) by the year, some *Fryers* barns well nigh as wealthy as some *Monks* (rather every pretended *Lazarus*, a *Dives*) holding, though not severally to themselves, jointly amongst themselves, most rich endowments. Here also it will be in vain to flie to the distinction of *Cress* and *Chreps*, of using and owning, seeing the *Monks* will lay a claim to that distinction, and challenge as great an interest therein as the *Fryers* themselves.

12. I have nothing to return in answer herunto, save only that, *Olim verò non fuit sic*, from the beginning [of the Institution of *Fryers*] it was not so, these additions of Lands unto them, are of later date, and, believe it, not of their seeking, but their Benefactors calling upon them.

13. However, nothing more common than to make *Monks* and *Fryers* both Synonyms and reciprocal, and for my own part, I passe not, if in this my History I have committed the same, and hereafter shall be guilty of greater mistakes. Forsters laughed at the ignorance of that Gentleman, who made this difference betwixt a Stag and a Hart, that the one was a red, the other a fallow deer, being both of a kinde, only different in age, and some other circumstances in *Veneria*. I

[L 113]

Carthusian Monks.

\* Some years before the dissolution of Abbeys.  
\* Pitheus in Indica, p. 973.

Monks and Fryers how they differ.

Objection to null the distinction.

Answered.

Criticism in this subject not material.

may

f Plal. so. 23.

What means  
by Wickliffe's  
CAIM.  
\* Jude ver. 11.

may make the like sport to some Popish Reader, (and much good let it do him) in differencing some Orders which are the same, and identifying other Orders which are distinct, but the matter is of no dangerous concernment. May we be but careful to order our conversations aright, that God may shew us his salvation, and it matters not much if we commit errors, and discover ignorance in ordering Fryers, nor in their exact number and seniority. These premised, we begin with their four Elemental Orders.

14. Wickliffe constantly inveigheth against Fryers, under the name of C.A.I.M. Had it been Caine, I should have suspected his allusion to the words of the Apostle, *They have gone in the way of Cain*, but now as at a loss, and had so continued, had I not lighted on a railing Hexastick of an uncharitable Rythmer, (a base fellow may show an honest man the way) who thus letteth slip at them:

*Per decies binos Satanas capiat Jacobinas,  
Propter & errores Jesu confunde Minores,  
Augustienses, Pater inclute, sterne per enses,  
Et Carmelitas tanquam falsos Heremitas  
Sunt Confessores Dominorum, seu Dominarum  
Et seductores ipsarum sunt animarum.*

C. Carmelites | I. Jacobines? {Dominicans?} Fryers.  
A. Augustinians | M. Minorites? {Franciscans?}

And thus at last we have the great mysterie unfolded, whom Wickliffe therein did intend.

15. Of these Dominicans were the first Fryers, which came over into England, Anno 1221, being but twelve (an Apostolical number) with Gilbert de Fraxinetto their Prior first landed at Canterbury, fixed at Oxford, but richly endowed at London, they were commonly called Black Fryers, Preaching Fryers, and Jacobine Fryers. They took their name from S. Dominick born at Calogora in Spain, and Hubert de Burgo Earl of Kent, was their prime Patrone, bestowing his Palace in the Suburbs of London upon them, which afterwards they sold to the Archbishop of York, residing therein, till by some transactions betwixt King Henry the eighth and Cardinal Wolsey, it became the Royal Court, now known by the name of White hall. Afterwards by the bounty of Gregory Rockly Lord Major of London, and Robert Kilwarby Archbishop of Canterbury, they were more conveniently lodged in two Lanes on the bank of Thames, in a place enjoying great privileges, and still retaining the name of Black Fryers. No fewer than a fourscore famous English writers are accounted of this Order. At this day, as beyond the Seas, they are much condemned for being the sole active managers of the cruell Spanish Inquisition, so they deserve due commendation for their Orthodox judgements in maintaining some Controversies in Divinity of importance against the Jesuits.

16. Franciscans follow, commonly called Grey Fryers and Minorites, either in allusion to Jacob's words, *Sum Minor omnibus beneficiis Tuis*, or from some other humble expressions in the New Testament. They received their name from S. Francis, born in the Duchy of Spoletum in Italy. Canonized by Pope Gregory the ninth, about two years after whose death the Franciscans came over into England, and one Digges (Ancestour of Sir Dudley Digges) bought for them their first seat in Canterbury: who afterwards were diffused all over England. For skill in School-Divinity they beat all other Orders quite out of distance, and had a curious Library in London (built by Richard Whittington) in that Age costing five hundred and

Dominican  
Fryers.g Pitque in  
Indice, p. 981.Franciscan  
Fryers.  
6 Gen. 31. 10.

and fifty pounds, which quickly might be made up, if (as it is reported) an hundred marks were expended in transcribing the Commentaries of Lyra.

17. We must not forget that one Bernard of Siena about the year 1400, refined the Franciscans into Observants, no distinct metal from the former, but different from them as steel from iron. K. Edward the fourth first brought them into England, where they had six famous Cloysters; since which time there have been a new Order of Minims begun beyond the Seas, conceiving the comparative of Minor too high, they have descended to Minimus, according to our Saviour's own words, *He that is a [minime] or the least among you, the same shall be greatest*: and I much admire that none have since begun an Order of Minor-Minimo's; the rather, because of the Apostles words of himself, *who am less than the least of all saints*. *Ἐγὼ ὡς ὁ ἀπὸ πάντων ὀλίγιος καὶ ὡς ὁ ἀπὸ πάντων ὀλίγιος*. As I may say, a subter-subterlative in his humility. As for other Diminutives of Franciscans or Minorites beyond the Seas, Recollects, Penitentiaries, Capuchins, &c. seeing they had their rise since the fall of Abbeys in England, they belong not to our present enquiry. Sufficeth it that this Order, during the extent of our story, afforded in England an hundred and ten learned Writers.

18. Carmelites, or White Fryers, come next, so named from Mount Carmel in Syria, brought over into England in the Reign of King Richard the first, by Ralph Freeborn: and placed at Alnewicke in Northumberland in a wilderness (sic canibus catulos) most like unto Carmel in Syria. Whose Convent at their dissolution in the Reign of King Henry the eighth, was at low rates, in that cheap County, valued at one hundred ninety four pounds and seven shillings per annum, to justify our former observation, that even Mendicant Fryers had Houses endowed with revenues.

19. This foundeth something to the commendation of the English Carmelites, That their Order lost not the vigour thereof by being poured into Cisternes (mediately derived from other Countreys) but as our Authour telleth us, *Hi cum primis Monachis Britonum & Scotorum ex Aegypto & Palestina in Britanniam Insulas Monachatus Intulerunt*, That Monks and Carmelites Fryers came out of Egypt and Palestine into Britain. Thus they will allow us to have superstition immediately thence without any circle from Rome, but are highly offended (and stickle mainly to the contrary) That we should fetch true Religion thence (with the ancient observation of Easter) but this forsooth, we must receive at the second hand from Rome, and be ordered according to her directions therein.

20. Another thing also is alledged in the praise of our Carmelites, That they were most careful in keeping the Records of their Order, that the List being lost of the Benedictines, Dominicans, &c. (I have here or there a broken link or two) Carmelites have preserved the successive Series of their Provincials. Let them thank John Bayle herein, once one of them, (though they be pleased to jeer him as forsaking it for the love of his dear Dorothy) who in his youth made the Catalogue out of love to his Order, and in his old age preserved it out of his generall affection to antiquity, and it will not be amiss here to represent it.

i Rym. in Ap.  
Benedict.  
pag. 162.  
Sub-reformati-  
ons of Francis-  
cans.

Carmelites  
their first com-  
ing into Eng-  
land.

Speed Catalog.  
pag. 795.

A great privi-  
ledge of Eng-  
lish Carme-  
lites.  
w Rym. de  
Apostolatu Be-  
nedictinarum,  
p. 164.

And praise of  
their industry.

Provincial.	His County.	Began.	Ruled.	Lies buried in
1. Ralph Freburne.	Northumberland.	1240	14	Anwick.
2. Henry de Hanna.	Brunham.	1254	17	Stanford.
3. Roger Grestwick.	Norfolk.	1272	05	Brunham.
4. William Hamberg.	Surrey.	1278	03	London.
5. Will. Ludlington.	Lincolne.	1289	05	Stanford.
6. Will. Newenham.	Cambridge.	1303	02	Cambridge.
7. Rich. Wellwen.	Hartford.	1305	04	Hutchin.
8. William Fagham.	Kent.	1309	03	Math. in Ireland.
9. John Barkemsted.	Hartford.	1312	07	London.
10. Richard Blyton.	Lincolne.	1319	06	Lincolne.
11. John Walsingham.	Norfolk.	1326	03	Avinion.
12. John Baconthorpe.	Norfolk.	1329	04	London.
13. John Blexam.	Oxford.	1333	02	Oxford.
14. John Poleshed.	Suffolke.	1335	07	Torke.
15. John Follham.	Norfolk.	1340	06	Norwich.
16. Walter Kelham.	Torke.	1345	05	Alverston.
17. Will. Lubbenham.	Cowenrie.	1353	01	Cowenrie.
18. John Counton.	Torke.	1359	03	London.
19. Thomas Brown.	London.	1362	17	London.
20. Robert Tworie.	London.	1379	13	Torke.
21. John Kiningham.	Suffolke.	1393	05	London.
22. Steph. Patrington.	Torke.	1399	15	London.
23. Thomas Walden.	Essex.	1414	16	Ron.
24. Jo. Keninghall.	Norfolk.	1430	13	Norwich.
25. Nic. Kenton.	Suffolke.	1444	12	London.
26. Jo. Milvertown.	Bristol.	1456	11	London.
27. John Sutton.	Doncaster.	1465	03	Doncaster.
28. Jo. Pinder.	Lincolne.	1482	14	Boston.
29. Rob. Love.	Norfolk.	1505	07	Norwich.
30. Richard Ferris.	Oxford.	1513	03	Oxford.
31. John Bird.	Warwick.	1516	03	Chester.
32. Robert Lesbury.	Northumberland.	1519	03	Chester.

This Order was vertical, and in the highest exaltation thereof in the Reign of King Edward the fourth, under Nicholas Kenton their twenty fifth Provincial, they reckoned no fewer than fifteen hundred of their Order. But when John Milvertown his Successour, began (in favour of Friery) furiously to engage against Bishops, and the Secular Clergy, the Carmelites good masters and dames began to forsake them, and they never recovered their credit, till they were utterly dissolved. John Bird the one and thirtieth (some say last) Provincial of this Order, zealously impugned the Pope's Primacy in his Sermons, for which he was made the first Bishop of Chester, and was ejected that See in the Reign of Queen Mary, because he was married.

21. We must not forget how the Carmelites boast very much of one Simon Stock of their Order, a Kentish-man, or rather Kentish-boy, which being but twelve years of age, went out into the Woods and there fed on Roots and Wilde fruit, living in the Trunk of an hollow-Tree, whence he got the Surname of p Stock, having a Revelation, That soon after some should come out of Syria, and confirm his Order, which came to passe when the Carmelites came here. He afterwards became Master-General of their Order (to whom the respective Provincials are accountable) and is said to be famous for his miracles. Let Syria then boast no longer of the sanctity of their Simon Stylites (so called it seems, because constantly

n Pitt. de script.  
An. p. 659.  
o Idem, p. 674.

\* Godwin in  
the Bishops of  
Chester.

The Legend  
of Simon Stock

p Rein. de Apost.  
Benedict p. 164.

constantly living about a Stone-pillar) our Simon Stock may mate their Simon Stone in all particulars of holiness, though (under the Rose be it spoken) Mr. Richard Stock, the painful Minister of S. All-ballows Broad-street in London for 32 years did advance God's glory more than both of them.

22. Augustinian Eremites lag last, of farre later date than Augustinian-Monks, as who first entered England, Anno 1252, and had (if not their first) their fairest habitation at S. Peter's the Poor, London, thence probably taking the denomination of Poverty (otherwise at this day one of the richest Parishes in the City) because the said Augustinian-Eremites went under the notion of Begging-Fryers. Mean time, what a mockerie was this, that these should pretend to be Eremites, who, instead of a wide Wilderness, lived in Broad-street, London, where their Church at this day belongeth to the Dutch-Congregation. To give these Augustine-Fryers their due, they were good Disputants; on which account they are remembered still in Oxford by an Act performed by Candidates for Mastership, called Keeping of Augustines.

23. So much for the four principall sort of Fryers. The following Orders being but additionall descants upon them, with some variations of their Founders: Amongst whom were the Trinitarians, for whom Robert Roquesley built first an Houle at Motingden in Kent; they were called also Robertines, and de Redemptione Captivorum, whose work was to beg money of well-disposed people for the ransoming of Christians in Captivity with the Pagans. A charitable employment, and God himself in some sort may seem Sovereigne of their Order, who looeth the Prisoner, and their sighing cometh before him. My Author telleth me that he conceiveth them suppressed in England before the generall dissolution of Priors, though conjecturing at no cause thereof. Sure I am, 'twas not because sublati causa tollitur effectus, plenty of Christian Captives then and since remaining amongst the Pagans, nor will I be so uncharitable as to suspect some indirect dealings in their misapplying Contributions; but leave the reason to the enquiry of others.

24. The Bonhomies or Goodmen succeed them, being also Eremites brought over into England by Richard Earl of Cornwall, in the Reign of King Henry the third, his Brother. So styled (not exclusively of other Orders, but) eminently because of their signall goodnesse. Otherwise the conceit of the Epigrammist, admiring that amongst so many Popes, there should be but five Pious, lies as strongly here. That amongst so many Orders of Fryers, there should be but one of Goodmen. But indeed the Apostle himself makes a Good man a degree above a Righteous man: "For scarcely for a Righteous man will one die, yet peradventure for a Good man some would even dare to die."

25. These Bonhomies, though begging Fryers, (the poorest of Orders) and Eremites, (the most sequestred of begging-Fryers) had two (and I believe no more) Covens in England; absolutely the richest in all the Land, (Monks onely excepted) the one in Ashbridge in Buckinghamshire, now the Mansion of the truly Honorable E. of Bridgewater, where I am informed more of a Monastery is visible this day than in any other house of England. It was valued at the dissolution yearly at four hundred forty seven pounds eight shillings halfpenny. The other at Edington in Wiltshire, now known for the hospitality of the Lady Benchampe dwelling therein: Valued, when dissolved at five hundred twenty one pounds twelve shillings halfpenny. It seems that these Fryers (though pretending to have nothing nec in proprio, nec in communi) would not cast their Saps (I should say their Castles) at rich Revenues, if bestowed upon them, but contentedly (not to say cheerfully) imbrace the fame.

26. I am affraid I have wronged the Crouched Fryers in their seniority, who about the same time, if not before the Bonhomies, viz: 1244, came over into England with the Pope's Authentick, and this unusual privilege, That none should improve their Order, or upbraid them, or command them, under pain of Excommunication. They carried a Crosse some say on their Staves; others, on their Backs, called

Survey of  
of Lond. p. 311.

Augustinian  
Eremites.

Trinitarian  
Fryers.

(Pitt. 79. ii. &  
146. 7.  
i) Weaver's Fun.  
Mon. p. 143.

Bonhomies, or  
good men.

John Owen.

W. Rom. 5. 7.

Their rich  
Revenues.

Crouched  
Fryers.

z Ma. Park in  
Anno 1244.

[M m m]

J. Harding.

Fryers of the  
Sack & Beth-  
lemites.z. Ma. Park in  
anno 1257.Fryers Robert  
tinet.  
affluens Fun.  
Mon. p. 143.  
b. Rith. de Ben.  
Apth. p. 166.c. In his Hist.  
in anno 1239.Sweating moi-  
sture out of  
Tombs no  
Miracle.Why fo vari-  
ous the num-  
ber of Monks.d. Ads & Mon.  
p. 160.e. Rein de Apth.  
Benedict. in  
Ang. p. 122.A Catholick  
causticke accu-  
sation of Mr.  
Lambert.  
1 Idem.

called in *French*, a *Crouch*; and justly might they be angry, if their *Properness* were debased into *Deformity* on the same mistake whercon *Edmund Crouch-back*, Brother to King *Edward the first* (one of the comeliest men alive) is mis-represented to Posterity for *Crooked-back'd*, merely for assuming the *Crosse* on Him in the *Holy Warre*. The place of *Crouched-Fryers* in *London* still retaineth their name.

27. Soon after, one year, viz. 1257, produced two new Orders: so that I know not how to martiall their Priority, except to avoid Conteits they will be pleased discreetly to use the Expedient betwixt the Company of *Merchant Taylors* and *Skinner*s in *London*, to take their precedence yearly by turns. Both of them were fixed in *Cambridge*. The first, the *Brethren, De Penitentiâ Iesu*, (otherwise *Brethren of the Sack*) whose *Cell* since is turned into *Peter-house*. The other *Bethlemites* dwelling somewhere in *Trumpington-street*, and wearing a *Starre with five Rayes* on their backs. But their *Starre* proved but a *Comet*, quickly fading away, and no more mention found of them in *English* Authors.

28. I will conclude with the *Robertines*, confounded by some, distinguished by others from *Fryers Trinitarians*. These owe their originall to one *Robert Flower*, son of *Took Flower*, who had been twice Major of *Torke* (the name lately remaining in that City) who forsaking the fair lands left him by his Father, betook himself to a solitary life about the *Rocks* in *Niddsdale* in *Torke-shire*, and it seems at *Knaresborough* the first and last House was erected for his Order. *Matthew Paris* reports that his Tomb abundantly cast forth a Medicinall Oyle, which possibly might be, the dissolving of some Gums used about his body, and other naturall causes may be assigned thereof.

29. For mine own eyes have beheld in the fair Church of *Ilminster* in *Somersetshire*, the beautifull Tomb of *Nicholas Wadham* of *Myrfield* Esquire, and *Dorothy* his Wife (Founders of the uniform Colledge of *Wadham* in *Oxford*) out of which in Summer sweats forth an unctious moisture with a fragrant smell, (which possibly an active fancy might make sovereign for some uses) being nothing else than some bituminous matter (as by the colour and scent doth appear) used by the Marbler in joyning the chinks of the stones, issuing out chiefly thereabouts.

30. So much of *Monks* and *Fryers*, as great being the variety amongst *Historians* about their number, as amongst *Criticks* in reckoning up the Original Languages, and the difference almost proceedeth on the same account; for as the miscounting of *Dialects* for *Tongues* causlessly multiplieth the number of those Languages: So many mistaking *gradual* for *specificall* differences amongst Orders, have almost doubled their true number on that misprision. Master *Fox* in the Reign of King *Henry the third*, reckoneth up no fewer than an hundred and two Male-Orders of *Monks* and *Fryers* (no Nuns being cast into the account) but therein he confineth not himself to such as only were extant in *England*: but taketh in the whole compass of *Christendome* therein to make up his Catalogue. We have work enough upon our hands to insist upon such Orders as found footing in our Land, especially the most principall of them. For other inferior Orders I purposely omit (besides the grand ones of *Templers* and *Hospitalers*, because largely handled in my *Holy Warre*) As the Order of the *Blessed Mary* of *reward* which Mr. *Lambert* confoundes with the *Crouched* and *Trinitarian* *Fryers*, for which my Author falls foul with his memory, affirming thee to be three distinct Orders, *Habits*, *fine*, & *constitutionibus*. (Distinctions enough of all conscience to diversifie them) and therefore greater the wonder that Mr. *Lambert's* pen should leap over this treble ditch to confound them into one Order.

31. The aforesaid Author also chargeth him, as if he made his *perambulation* about *Kent*, as done merely out of *spighfull* designe to disgrace the *Romish Religion*, never mentioning any Convent without *mocking* at them, adding moreover, That his Book contains *fabulas ineptas*, & *crassa mendacia*. Mean time he advances *John Stow* to the skies (though confessing him farre inferior to Mr. *Lambert*

bert in learning) for his sedulous distinguishing of those Orders, and concluding that *Stow's Antiquities of London* for the worth and truth thereof have often passed the Press, whilst the other his *Description of Kent* underwent the hand of the Printer no more than once. Nor stops he here, but useth so *sternly* an expression (it is well it is in *Latine*) calling his Book *Charta Cacata*, which (sparing reverence to the Reader) may be returned on the foul mouth of him who first uttered it.

32. Now I conceive, not only *Queen Elizabeth's poor people at Greenwich* (so are the *Almes-men* there termed in a fair House, which this Mr. *Lambert* charitably & founded for them) engaged to assert their good Patron, but also that all *ingenious English men* are obliged in his just vindication from this unjust aspersion. Indeed, his Book is a rare piece of learning, and he in age and industry the true successfour to *Leland* in the studies of *English Antiquity*, and the height thereof above common capacity, the sole cause that his Book (as also his worthy work on the *Saxon Laws*) hath no oftner passed the Impression. His labours are *feasts* for scholars, not (like *Stow's* works) *daily fare* for common people. Thus the *Draper* may sooner sell *forty ells* of *freeze* and *course cloath*, than the *Mercer* four yards of *cloth of gold*, as only for the wearing of persons of prime quality. Nor doth the slow-selling of a book argue it to be a *drudge*, wanting real worth in its self, seeing this railing *Reinerius* his own Book (notwithstanding the pompous Title thereof, *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Angliâ*) though printed nine and twenty years since, viz. 1626, hath not (on my best enquiry) as yet been honour'd with a second Edition.

33. Before we take our farewell of *Fryers*, know there was a deadly Antipathy betwixt them and *Parish Priests*: For the former slighted the latter, as good alone to take *Tythes*, and like *Hackney post-horses* only to run the stage in the *Mass-book*, secundum usum Sarum, Ignorant and unable to preach. Wherefore the *Fryers*, when invading the Pulpit, would not say to the *Parson*, *By your leave Sir*, but proudly presuming on their Papall Priviledges, assumed it to themselves, as forfeited to them, for the *Parson's* want of skill or will to make use of it. But these Vultures had the quickest sight and scent about Corps, flocking fastest to men of fashion when lying on their Death-beds, whose last Confessions were more profitable to the *Fryers*, than half the *Glebe land* that year to the Priest of the Parish.

34. This plainly appeareth out of *Erasmus* in his *Dialogues*, who though perchance therein, he doth *Lucian* it too much, yet truth may be discovered under the varnish of his scoffing wit. He, in his *Dialogue* entituled, *FUNUS*: tells us how *Sir George the rich Knight* being formerly confessed to the *Fryers*, the *Parochiall Pastor* refused to bury him, because he could not give an account to God of this his sheep, as unacquainted with his final estate, and this case commonly happened in *England*, the occasion of much *heart-burning* betwixt them.

35. *Monks* also hated *Fryers* at their hearts, because their activity and pragmatikness made *Monks* be held as idle and uselesse; yea, as meer Cyphers, whilst themselves were the only Figures of reckoning and account in the Church.

36. *Matthew Paris* a *Benedictine Monke* of *S. Albans*, was a back-friend to *Fryers*, and on all occasions hath a good word in store for them, thus speaking of the coming in of the *Brethren of the Sack*, as also of the Order of *Bethlemites*, he welcomes them with this Complement, *Thas now there were so many Orders in England, that of them there was an inordinate confusion*.

37. Indeed, the Pope at last grew sensible that the world began to groan, as weary with the weights of *Fryers*. Who, if multiplying proportionably in after-Ages, would so increase, there would be more *monks* to beg almes, than hands to relieve them; and therefore they were flinted to the aforesaid four Cardinal Orders, of *Dominicans*, *Franciscans*, *Carmelites*, and *Augustinian Eremites*: These

[M m m 2]

Just's disprov-  
ed.2. Genib. Brit.  
in Kent.Antipathy be-  
twixt Fryers  
and Parishes.In Erasmus his  
Jeau-carreau  
Dialogue.Monks why  
hating Fryers.4 Hist. Angl.  
in Hen. 3.  
pag. 549.Fryers flinted  
to 4 Orders.



i Erasmus Dia-  
logues in Fun.  
4 Bæck. 14. 21.  
The nume-  
roustness of  
Nuns.

i Wæuers Fun.  
Mon pag. 148.

The ancientst  
and poorest  
Nuns.

Brigittians the  
last Order of  
Nuns.

in Tho. Walsin-  
gham in Hen. 5.  
in Anno 1413.

The mysticall  
number of Bri-  
gittians.

These boasted themselves to be like the *four Evangelists*, though (the number alone excepted) no conformity betwixt them. And they more like unto God's *four* *fore* *judgments*, wherewith he useth to afflict a *sinfull Nation*.

37. Come we now to *Nuns*, almost as numerous in *England* as *Monks* and *Fryers*, as having (though not so many Orders) more of the same Order. The *weaker* *sex* hath ever equalled *men* in their *devotion*. Often exceeded them in *superstition*, as in the one instance of *Gilbertines* may appear. These were an *Hermaphrodite* Order, as is aforesaid, admitting both *men* and *women* under the same roof, and during the life of *Gilbert* their first Founder for *seven hundred Brethren*, there were *eleven hundred Sisters* entred into that Order. None can be so exact in reckoning up the *Nuns* as the *Fryers*, because that *sex* afforded no *Writers* to acquaint us with the *Criticisimes* of their *observances*.

38. We will insist onely on *three sorts*: 1. The *Antientest*: 2. The *Poorest*: 3. The *latest Nuns* in *England*: Of the first sort we account the *Benedictines*, commonly called *black Nuns*, but I assure you, *percy white*, being most richly endowed. The *Poorest* follow, being the strict Order of *S. Clare*, a Lady living in the same time, and *born* in the same Town with *S. Francis*: and her *Nuns* did wear a like habit in colour with the *Franciscans*. I am charitably inclined to believe that these were the *least bad* amongst all the *Professions* of *Virginity*.

39. The *Brigittian Nuns* were the *latest* in *England*, first settled here in the *second year* of King *Henry the fifth*, *Anno Dom.* 1415, dissolved with the rest of all Orders, *Anno* 1538, so that they continued here onely *one hundred three and twenty years*, an Order to be loved on this account, That it was the *last* in *England*. *Bridget* Queen of *Sweden*, gave them their name and institution. Men and Women living under the same roof: the Women *above*, the Men *beneath*, and one Church common to both. By their Order their House was to be endowed plentifully at the first, wherewith they might live without *wanting* or *begging*, as well in *dear* as *cheap years*, and after their first foundation they were incapable of any future *benefactions*, *Si postea totius mundi possessiones & pradia eis offerret, quicquam omnino recipere non liceret*: If afterwards the whole world should proffer them *farmes* and *possessions*, it was utterly unlawfull for them to accept any thing thereof: as indeed, additions to such who had plenty before, is rather a burden than a benefit.

40. The mysterious number of *Brigittians* might not exceed the number of *eighty five*, which forsooth was the number of *Christ's Apostles* and *Disciples* put together, and thus they were precisely to be qualified:

- |   |   |                             |
|---|---|-----------------------------|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Sisters, sixty.</li> <li>2. Priests, thirteen.</li> <li>3. Deacons, four.</li> <li>4. Lay-brethren, eight.</li> </ol> | } | In all <i>Eighty five</i> . |
|---|---|-----------------------------|

Where, by the way, know we must reckon *seventy two* *Disciples*, (which the *Evangelist* makes but just *seventy*, and also put in *S. Paul* for the *thirteenth* *Apostle*, or else it will not make up the *summe* aforesaid, but it is all even with discreet persons, be it *over* or *above* it. This Order constantly kept their *Andit* on *All Saints Eve*, *October* 31, and the day after *All-Souls* being the third of *November*, they gave away to the *poor* all that was left of their annual Revenue, conceiving otherwise it would *putrifie* and *corrupt* if treasured up, and be as heinous an offence, as the *Jews* when preserving *Manna* longer than the continuance of one day. These *Brigittians* had but one Convent in *England*, at *Sion* in *Middlesex*, built by King *Henry the fifth*, but so wealthy, that it was valued yearly worth at the dissolution, *One thousand nine hundred forty four pounds eleven shillings eight pence farthing*.

41. No Convents of *Nuns* in *England* more carefully kept their Records than the *Priory of Clarksnewell*, to whose credit it is registered, That we have a perfect Catalogue of their *PrioresSES*, from their foundation to their dissolution (descriptive in all other Houses) according to the order following:

1. *Christiana*.
2. *Ermegard*.
3. *Hawisa*.
4. *Eleonora*.
5. *Alesia*.
6. *Cecilia*.
7. *Margery Whatvile*.
8. *Isabell*.
9. *Alice Oxeney*.
10. *Amice Marcy*.
11. *Denys Bras*.
12. *Margery Bray*.
13. *Joan Lewkenor*.
14. *Joan Fullham*.
15. *Ratherine Braybroke*.
16. *Luce Attwood*.
17. *Joan Viene*.
18. *Margaret Blakewell*.
19. *Isabell Wentworth*.
20. *Margaret Bull*.
21. *Agnes Clifford*.
22. *Katherine Greene*.
23. *Isabell Hussyey*.
24. *Isabell Sackvile*.

Had the like care continued in other Convents, it had contributed much to the clearness of *Ecclesiastical History*.

Speer's Catal.  
of Religious  
Houses, p. 793.

The PrioresSES  
of Clarksnewell.



42. Sir Thomas Challoner ( Tutor, as I take it, to Prince HENRY ) not long agoe built a spacious House within the Clofe of that Priory, upon the Front-piece whereof these Verses were inscribed, not unworthy of remembrance:

*Castra fides superest, velata testa Sorores  
Ista relegata deferuere licet:  
Nam venerandus Hymen hic vota jugalia servat,  
Vestalemq, focum mente fovere studet.*

*Chast Faith still staves behinde, though hence be flown  
Those veyled Nuns, who here before did nest:  
For reverend Marriage, Wedlock vows doth own,  
And sacred Flames keeps here in Loyall brest.*

I hope and believe the same may truly be affirmed of many other Nunneries in England, which now have altered their property on the same conditions.

Exactness in dates not to be expected.

Pier. in Italia  
Hist. Angl.  
script. p. 974.

A pleasant story.

Jesuits different from Jesuits.

43. So much for the severall dates of Monks and Fryers: wherein if we have failed a few years in the exactness thereof, the matter is not much. I was glad to finde so ingenious a passage in *Pitæus*, so zealous a *Papist*, with whom in this point I wholly concur: He speaking of the different *Æras* of the coming in of the *Augustinians* into England, thus concludeth: *In tantâ sententiarum Varietate veritatem invenire nec facile est, nec multum refert.* The best is, though I cannot tell the exact time wherein every Counter was severally laid down on the Table; I know certainly the year wherein they were all thrown together and put up in the bagge, I mean the accurate date of their generall dissolution, viz: Anno One thousand five hundred thirty and eight, on the same signe that *Sanders* observeth a grand providence therein; That *Jesuits* began beyond the Seas at the very same time: we will not *higgle* with so frank a *chapman* for a few months under or over, but taking his Chronology herein de bene esse, one word of the name of that Order, first premising a pleasant story.

44. A Country-man, who had lived many years in the *Hercinian woods* in Germany, at last came out into a populous City, demanding of the people therein, *What God they did worship?* It was answered him, *They worshipped Jesus Christ.* Whereupon, the wilde Wood-man asked the names of the severall Churches in the City; which were all called by the *sundry Saints* to whom they were consecrated. *Its strange*, said he, *that you should worship JESUS CHRIST, and he not have one Temple in all your City dedicated unto him.* But it seems *Ignatius Loyola*, Founder of this new Order, finding all other Orders consigned to some SAINT or other, whence they take their denomination, intended at last peculiarly to appropriate one to JESUS: That as at that holy name every knee should bow: So all other Orders should doe homage, and submit to this his new one of *Jesuits*.

45. Here, had not better eyes than mine own made the discovery (being beholden to *M. Chemnitius* therein) I had never noted the nice difference betwixt *JESUATS* and *JESUITS* so neer in name, though not in time; but it seems in nature distinguished. The former began at *Siena* in Italy in the year 1366, of whom thus *Sabellicus*. *Colligebantur ab initio domesticatum simplici habitu amicti, multa innocentia & pietate viri, quidum sibi labore & operâ quarantames. Apostolici ab initio Clerici nuncupati. Hi neque sacris initiabantur, neque celebrant Missarum solennia, tantum orationi vacanti.* *Jesuati* ab eo dicti, quod *Jesu Regis* summi frequentis nomen in illorum ore, &c. Men of much innocence and piety were gathered in the beginning from house to house, clothed in poor habit, and seeking their own livelihood with labour and pains, called from the beginning Apostolical Clerks.

Clerks. These neither were entred into Orders, neither did celebrate the solemnity of Masses, but only bestowed themselves in prayer, therefore called *Jesuats*, because the name of Jesus was so frequent in their mouths. But it seems these *Jesuats* sunk down in silence, when the *Jesuits* appeared in the world, the former counting it ill manners in likeness of name to sit so near to those, who were so far their betters.

56. All Orders may be said eminently extant in the *Jesuits* to and above the kinde, the degree thereof, and indeed they came seasonably to support the tottering Church of Rome: For, when the Protestants advantaged with Learning and Languages, brought in the Reformation; Monks & Fryers were either so ignorant as they could not, so idle as they would not, or so cowardly that they durst not make effectual opposition, as little skill'd in Fathers, lesse in Scripture, and not at all versed in Learned Languages. As for the *Franciscans*, I may say of them, they were the best and worst scholars of all Fryers: The best, as most sublime in School-Divinity: worst, for if before their entrance into that Order they knew not learning, they were enjoyned not to study it. Besides, Monks and Fryers were so clogg'd with the observances of their Orders, that it confin'd them to their Cells, and rendered them useless in a practical way. Wherefore, to ballance the Protestants, the *Jesuits* were set on foot, obliged to these studies (out of fashion with Monks & Fryers) wherein they quickly attained a great eminency, as their very adversaries must confesse. And, as their heads were better furnished than other Orders, so their hands were left at more liberty, (not tied behinde their backs in a large posture of Canonical idleness) whence they are become the most active and pragmatical Undertakers in all *Christendome*.

57. I cannot but commend one policy in the *Jesuits*, which conduceth much to their credit; namely, whereas other Orders of Monks and Fryers were after their first institution sisted (as I may say) thorough many other *searches*, till taking new names according to their *Sub-De-Re-Reformations*, The *Jesuits* since their first foundation have admitted of no new denomination, but continue constant to their primitive constitution; chiefly, because sensible that such after-refinings fix an asperson of (at leastwise a comparative) impunity on their first institution, and render their first Founders cheaper in the worlds valuation, whilst the *Jesuits* still keep themselves to their foundation, as begun and perfected at once, and are *inexorably* all of a lump, all of a piece, which unity amongst themselves maketh them the more considerable in their impressions on any other Adversaries.

58. They had two most antient and flourishing Convents beyond the Seas, *Nola* in Italy, as I take it, where their House it seems gives a Bow for their Armes, and *La-Fletcha* in France, where they have an Arrow for their Device; whereupon, a Satyrical wit thus guirded at them: and I hope I shall not be condemned as necessary to his virulency, if only plainly translating the same.

*Arcum Nola dedit, dedit his La-Fletcha Sagittam  
Illis, quis nervum, quem meruere, dabit?*

*Nola to them did give a Bow,  
La-Fletch an Arrow bring:  
But who upon them will bestow  
(What they deserve) a string?*

I have done with these *Jesuits*, who may well be compared unto the *Astrologers* in Rome, of whom the Historian doth complain, *Genus est hominum quod in Civitate nostra & vetabitur semper & retinebitur.* There is a kinde of men in our City who will alwaies be forbidden, and yet alwaies be retained therein. So, though many

Jesuits the best burrelles of the Romish Church.

\* See Cent. 14. pag. 740.

Jesuits policy.

In England like Astrologers in Rome.

\* Tacit. Hist. lib. 1.

Leprous people  
not mentioned  
herein.

\* In my Holy  
Warre.

many severe Laws have been made against them, yet either such their boldness in adventuring, or our State-mildness in executing the Statutes against them, that alwaies they are driven hence, and alwaies they stay here, to the great disturbance of ours, and advancement of their own Religion.

59. Here I purposely omit the Houses for *Leprous people*, though indeed they deserved more *charity* than all the rest; and I may say, this onely was an *Order of Gods making*, when he was pleased to lay his afflicting hand on poor people in that lothsome disease. I take *Burton-Lazars* in *Leicester-shire* to be the best endowed house for that purpose. But as that disease came into *England* by the *Holy Warre*, so (\* as we have elsewhere observed ) it ended with the end thereof. And God of his goodness hath taken away the *Leprosie* of *Leptosie* in *England*.

## SECTION



## SECTION II.

To the Right VVorshipfull,  
*RALPH SADLEIR* of *STANDON*, Esq.

AND

*ANNE*, his virtuous Consort.

**I**T was enacted by a Law made in the 27<sup>th</sup> year of the Reign of *K. HENRY* the eighth, That whosoever retained Abbey-lands, after the dissolution passed unto them from the Crown, should keep a standing House, or else forfeit every moneth Twenty Nobles, recoverable from them in any Court of Record.

True it is, King *JAMES* was graciously pleased (in the 21 of His Reign) to repeal this Act and burn this Rod, for which many under the Lash (who will not pay) still owe thanks to his Memory. But suppose this penal-Statute still in force, you may despise all Informers for any advantage they may get against you for the same.

Indeed you are possessed of the fair Covent of *WEST-BURY* in *Gloucester-shire*, and that on as Honourable Terms as any Lands in *England* of that nature are enjoyed, bestowed on your Grand-father Sir *RALPH SADLEIR* by King *HENRY* the Eighth, partly in reward of the good service he had done to Him the Father, partly in encouragement to what he might doe to His three Children, to all which he was Privie Counsellour.

Yet no danger of penalty to you, whose House is known to be the Center of Hospitality, whence even Abbots themselves (and they best skilled in that Lesson) might Learn to keep a bountifull Table, where all are welcomed; the

[ N n n ]

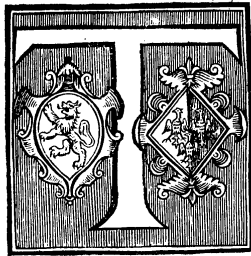
Rich

Rich for Courtesie, when their occasions bring them; the Poor for Charity, when they bring their occasions to passe by your Habitation.

Indeed, the Inne-holders of London give for the Motto of the Armes of their Company, I WAS A STRANGER, AND YE TOOK ME IN. But seeing our Saviour chiefly intended such, who did not sell, but give entertainment to strangers; more properly are the words applicable to your self, and other-self, whose House is so the Inne-generall to all poor people, that the Neighbourhood of a great and good Common, is not so advantageous as their vicinity thereunto.

I doubt not but as you often have relieved CHRIST in his poor Members, be will in due time receive you both into his House, wherein there be many Mansions of everlasting Happinesse.

### Abbeyes engrossed trade, impoverished Parish-Priests, encouraged Offenders.



THE specious pretences of piety, and contempt of the world, Abbots and Monks, were notoriously covetous, even to the injury of others: Witness their renting and stocking of Farms, keeping of Tan-houses, and Brew-houses in their own hands. For, though the Monks themselves were too fine-nosed to dabble in Tan-fats, yet they kept others (bred in that trade) to follow their work. These Covents having barke of their own woods, hides of the cattle of their own breeding and killing: and (which, was the main) a large stock of money to buy at the best hand, and to allow such Chap-

men they sold to, a long day of payment, easily eat out such who were bred up in that vocation. Whereupon, in the one and twentieth of King Henry the eighth, a Statute was made, That no Priest, either Regular or Secular, should on heavy penalties hereafter meddle with such mechanick employments.

2. Secondly, they impoverished Parish-Priests, by decrying their performances, and magnifying their own merits. Alas! what was the single devotion of a silly Priest in comparison of a Corporation of Prayers (twisted Cables to draw down blessings on their Patrons heads) from a whole Monastery? And, suppose (which was seldom done) the Parson in the Parish preaching to his people, yet Sermons in a Church once constituted were needlesse, as ministring matter of Schismes and disputes, and at the best only profiting the present: whilst prayers benefited as well the absent, as the present, dead, as living. But especially prayers of Monasteries

Abbots Farmers, Tanners, Brewers.

Abbots rob Parish Vicars by appropriations.

series commanded Heaven, pleased with the holy violence of so many and mighty petitioners. By these and other artifices they undermined all Priests in the affections of their own people, and procured from Pope and Prince, that many Churches Presentative, with their Glebes and Tithes, were appropriated to their Covents, leaving but a poor pittance to the Parish-Vicar: though the Pope (as styling himself but a Vicar) ought to have been more sensible of their bad condition.

3. Besides appropriation of such Churches, Abbeyes also wronged Parish-Priests, by procuring from the Pope Paschal the second, Anno Dom. 1100, in the Council of Mene<sup>z</sup>, that their Demesnes, Farms, and Granges (antiently paying Tithes like the Lands of other Lay-men) should hereafter be free from the same. But this exemption was afterwards by Pope Adrian the fourth, about the year 1150, justly limited and restrained: Religious Orders being enjoined the payment of Tithes of whatsoever increase they had in their own occupation (save of new improvements by culture of pasture of their cattle, and of garden fruits. Only three Orders, namely, the Cisterians, Templers, and Knights-Hospitalers (otherwise called of S. John's of Jerusalem) were exempted from the general payment of all Tithes whatsoever.

4. And, why Cisterians rather than any other Order? Give me leave to conjecture three Reasons thereof:

1. Adrian the fourth, our none Countrey-man, was at first a Benedictine-Monke of S. Albans, and these Cisterians were onely Benedictines reformed.
2. They were the Benjamins, one of the youngest remarkable Orders of that Age, and therefore made Darlings (not to say Wantons) by the Holy Father the Pope.
3. It is suspicious, that by bribery in the Court of Rome, they might obtain this privilege, so beneficial unto them. For, I finde, that R. Richard the first disposed his Daughter Avarice to be married to the Cisterian-Order, as the most grasping and griping of all others.

I leave it others to render Reasons why Templers and Hospitalers, being meer Lay-men, and divers times of late, adjudged in the Court of Aides in Paris, no part of the Clergie should have this privilege to be exempted from Tithes. But we remember they were Sword-men, and that aweth all into obedience.

5. However the Lateran-Councell, holden Anno 1215, Ordered, That this privilege of Tithes freedom to the aforesaid three Orders, should not extend to Post-nates (as I may term them) to Covents erected since the Lateran Councell, nor to Lands since bestowed on the aforesaid Orders, though their Covents were erected before that Councell. Therefore when the covetous Cisterians (contrary to the Canons of that Councell) purchased Bulls from the Pope to discharge their Lands from Tithes: Henry the fourth, pitying the plea of the poor Parish Priest, by Statute nullified such Bulls, and reduced their Lands into that state wherein they were before.

6. Once it was in my minde to set down a Catalogue (easie to doe, and usefull when done) of such houses of Cisterians, Templers, and Hospitalers, which were founded since the Lateran Councell, yet going under the generall notion of Tithes-free, to the great injury of the Church. But since on second thoughts, I conceived it better to let it alone, as not sure on such discovery of any blessing from those Ministers which should gain, but certain of many curses from such Lay-men who should lose thereby.

7. Now, when King Henry the eighth dissolved Monasteries, there was put into His hand an opportunity and advantage to ingratiate Himself and His memory for ever, namely, by restoring Tithes appropriated to Abbeyes, to their respective

[N n n 2]

Parishes.

And other Priests from exemption from Tithes:

a Vid. Alex. 4. in 6. de dec. c. 2. Statute 6<sup>th</sup> Ed. noc. 8. 10<sup>th</sup> 1. p. 4. 10. Edit. Golenius.

Freedom from Tithes goeth by favour.

b Vid. Brit. Al. noc. ex la. dille cour. Thysie 17.

Confined to Lands given before the Lateran Councell.

c Anno 2 Hen. the fourth, cap. 4.

Offend none in a capitious Age.

A price in the hand, but no heat.

Sanctuaries  
Sewers of sin.The confessions  
of the Abbot of  
Cromland.  
d In Gulbith Hi-  
stor. pag. 886.

e Idem p. 879.

The Abbot.  
a In Fish vi-  
ginti trius Ab-  
batum S. Alban.  
pag. 170.

The Prior.

b Magl. Corp.  
Christi. Trin.  
& S. John.

The Sub-Prior.

c In the subseri-  
of the Chron.  
of the August.  
of Cant. p. 2194.

The Secretary.

The Cham-  
berlain.

The Cellarer.

Parishes. But, whether He wanted *minde*, or *mind*, or both, God would not doe him so much honour, that He should doe so much honour to God, and his Church; being now past like *Lay-fees* with the rest of the *Abbey-land*, to the great empairing of the just maintenance of *Ministers*.

8. Lastly, one grand mischief (to omit many others) done by *Monasteries*, was by the *priviledges* of *Sanctuaries*, whereby their *houses* became the *link* and *center* of *sinners*, to the great dishonour of God, and obstruction of justice.

9. And here I commend the memory of *Turketill*, once Abbot of *Crowland*, being confident that the Reader will joyn with me in his commendation. Such vast immunities were bestowed on that Covent by *Witlaffe*, King of *Mercia*, that if any Officer did follow an Offender, of what nature soever, to fetch him out of that *Liberty*, he was to have his right foot cut off. Strange exchange! when a legall *Prosecutor* is made a *Malefactor*, and the *Malefactor* an *Innocent*; such the converting power of a *Monkish Asylum*. But in proceffe of time, and depredation of the *Danes*, this *priviledge* was lost and profered afterwards by some *Saxon Kings* to be restored; which *Turketill* would never consent unto: and take it in the *Authors* own words, *Antiquam vero loci impunitatem vel immunitatem nullo modo consensit acquirere, ne sceleratis & impiis refugium à publicis legibus videretur in aliquo præbere, & cum hujusmodi maleficiis compelleretur, vel in aliquo contra conscientiam suam cohabitare, seu consentire.* This *Priviledge* other Churches of *S. Albans*, *Beverly*, *Westminster*, did accept. Such *Sanctuaries* were grievances constantly complained of in Parliaments, till *Richard the second* first began, *Henry the fourth* and *seventh* proceeded to regulate them as abused and usurping, and *Henry the eighth* utterly abolished them as uselesse and unlawfull.

### Of the prime Officers and Officines of Abbeyes.

**T**He Officers in Abbeyes were either *supreme*, as the *Abbot*; or (to use a *Canonical term*) a *Obediential*, as all others under him. The *Abbot* had Lodgings by himself, with all Offices thereunto belonging. The rest took precedencies according to the *Topical Statutes* of their *Covents*, but for the generality, they thus may be marshalled.

2. First the *Prior*, who, like the *President* (under the *Master*) in our *Colledges* in *Cambridge*, was next to the *Abbot*. Note by the way, that in some *Covents*, which had no *Abbots*, the *Prior* was *Principal*, as the *President* in some *Oxford Foundations*; and, being *inſtalled* *Priors*, some voted as *Barons* in *Parliament*, whereof formerly, as the *Prior* of *Camterbury*, and *Coventrie*. But, when the *Abbot* was *Superintendent*, there the person termed *Prior* was his *ſubordinate*, who in his absence, in *miſred Abbeyes*, by courtesie was ſaluted the *Lord Prior*.

3. Secondly, the *Sub-Prior*, (as *Hugo Balciam*, *Sub-Prior* of *Elie*, Founder of *Peter-Houſe*) ſquare whether any complement deſcended ſo low as to *Lord* the *Sub-Prior* in the absence of the *Prior* and *Abbot*. As for the *third Prior*, and *fourth Prior* (for ſuch *Diminutives* appear) they come not within the ſuſpicion of ſo much favour.

4. Thirdly, the *Secretary*, who was the *Regiſter*, *Auditor*, and *Chancellour* of the *Covent*, it being proper to his place to write and return Letters, and manage the moſt learned employments in the *Monastery*.

5. With him the *Camerarius*, or *Chamberlain*, may ſeem to conteſt for precedence, as keeping the *keyes* of the *Treſury*, iſſuing out and receiving in all conſiderable ſummes of money; in which notion the *Chamberlaine* of *London* holdeth his name.

6. Fifthly, the *Cellarius*, or *Cellerarius*, a Place of more power and profit, than the name may ſeem to import. He was the *Barſer* who bought in all provisions, and appointed the *pittances* for the ſeverall *Monks*, and in ſome *Houſes* he was

Secundus

Secundus Pater in Monasterio, as in the Abbey of Burie, where a large part of the Buildings was assigned for his Residence, and Lands for his Maintenance. These Cellers were brave blades, much affecting Secular gallantry. For, I finde it complained of, that they used to swagger with their swords by their sides like Lay-Gentlemen.

7. The remaining Officers are best reckoned up by the Canonical rooms (as I may term them) in an Abbey, each giving denomination to him who had the inspection thereof. I begin with the Gate-house, and its relative the Porter; an office, I assure you, of some trust in an Abbey, to know what guests, and when (especially at the postern) are to be admitted thereunto.

8. The next room is the Refectory: and Refectories the Controller thereof. It was the Hall wherein the Monks dined together, and sometimes the Abbot on great solemnities graced them with his presence, when he had a Fastellum, that is, not common bread, but vassell bread, or smelts for his diet.

9. Adjoining to it was the Locutorium, or Parlour, because there leave was given for the Monks to discourse, who were enjoyed silence elsewhere. Thus we read how Paul the fourteenth Abbot of S. Albans, made it penal for any to talk in the Cloister, Church, Refectory, or Dormitory.

10. Oriolium, or the Oriol, was the next room. Why so called, some of the name-sake Colledge in Oxford are best able to satisfy. Sure I am, that small excursion out of Gentlemen's Halls in Dorsetshire (respect it East or West) is commonly called an Oriol. The use hereof is known for Monks, who were in latitudine morbi, rather distempered than diseased to dine therein, it being cruelty to thrust such into the Infirmary, where they might have died with the conceit of the sickness of others.

11. Dormitorium, the Dormitorie, where they all slept together, it being ordered in the Council of Aquigrane, Nisi in Dormitorio cum ceteris absque causa inevitabili, nemo dormire præſumpſerit.

12. Lavatorium succeeds, generally called the Laundry, where their clothes were washed. Haply it was also the place (such in the West-side of Westminster-cloysters) where all the Monks at the Conduit washed their hands, there being as much good fellowship in washing, as eating together.

13. Scriptorium remains, a room where the Chartularius was busied in writing, especially employed in the transcribing of these Books:

1. Ordinals, containing the Rubrick of their Missal, and Directorie of their Priests in Service.
2. Conſuetudinals, preſenting the antient customs of their Covents.
3. Troparies.
4. Collectaries, wherein the Ecclesiastical Collects were fairly written.

14. Next this the Librarie, which most great Abbeyes had exactly furnished with variety of choice Manuscripts.

15. All is marred if the Kitchen be omitted, so essential a requisite in an Abbey, with the Larder and Pantry the necessary suburbs thereof.

16. Come we now to their Abbey-Church, where we first meet their

1. Cloisters, consecrated ground, as appears by their ſolemne Sepulchres therein.
2. Navis Ecclesia, or Body of the Church.
3. Gradatorium, a distance containing the ascent out of the former into the Quire.
4. Presbyterium, or the Quire, on the right side whereof was the Stall of the Abbot, and his; on the left side the Prior, and his moiety of Monks, who alternately chaunted the Responses in the Service.
5. Vestiarium, the Vestiary, where their Copes and Clothes were deposited.

[N n n 3]

6. A

d John Bred-  
land.e Burchard, inde  
Index Gof. 8.  
Gd. The Gate-  
house.The Refectory.  
f Chron. Auguſt.  
Cent. p. 2194.g In Fish, p. 141.  
h See Gloſſarie  
of Will. Somner.  
The Parlour.The Oriol.  
i In Fish p. 100.The Dormito-  
rie.  
k Sub Ludov.  
Imp. Aug. 816.  
cap. 134.  
The Laundry.

The Librarie.

The Kitchen.

The ſeverall  
parts in the  
Church.

In Fairs,  
Pg. 125.

m In Fairs,  
Pg. 125.  
n Plal. 126.6.

The Centurie.

The Firmorie.

The Stables.  
o In Fairs, &c.  
Pg. 97.

p Halls in Gilef-  
far, at the end  
of Halls. Fair.

The Gable.

q In Fairs,  
Pg. 125.

The Grange.

6. A *Vault*, *la Vault*, being an arched-room over part of the *Church*, which in some *Abbeys* (as *S. Albans*) was used to enlarge their *Dormitory*, where the Monks had twelve beds for their repose.
7. *Concameratio*, being an arched-room betwixt the *East-end* of the *Church*, and the *High Altar*, so that in Procession they might surround the same, founding their fancy on *David's* expression, — and so will I compass thine *Altar*, O *Lord*.

As for the other Rooms of the *Church*; *Cerarium*, where their *wax candles* were kept; *Campanile*, their *Steeple*; *Polyandrium*, the *Church-yard*, and sometime the *Charnel-house*, let such be consulted with, who have written large Volumes on this subject, who will also inform them of the Dignities and Duties of the *Precentor*, *Sacrist*, *Sub-sacrist*, *Capellane*, *Ostiarius*, *Refectory*, *Crozierie*, &c. belonging thereunto. The remaining Rooms of an *Abbey* stood a distance from the main structure thereof. To begin with the best first: *Eleemosynaria*, or the *Almshouse*, being a building neer, or within the *Abbey*, wherein poor and impotent persons did live maintained by their *Charity*.

17. Secondly, *Sanctuarium*, of the *Centurie*, wherein *Debtors* taking refuge from their *Creditors*, *Malefactors*, from the *Judge*, lived (the more the pity) in all security.

18. Thirdly, *Infirmarium*, or the *Firmorie* (the *Curatour* whereof *Infirmarius*) wherein persons down-right sick (trouble to others, and troubled by others, if lodging in the *Dormitory*) had the benefit of Physick, and attendance private to themselves. No *Lent*, or *Fasting-days* came over the threshold of this room; Sicknesse being a Dispensation for the eating of *Flesh*. It was punishable for any to eat therein, except solemnly designed for the place.

19. At distance stood the *Stables*, where the *Stallarius*, or *Master of the Horse* did command; and under him *the Provenderius*, who, as his name imports, provided *Provender* for the Horses. These were divided into four ranks, and it would puzzle all the *Fockies* in *Smithfield* to understand the meaning of their names.

1. *Manni*, being Geldings for the Saddle of the larger size.
2. *Runcini*, Runts, *small Pad-Nags*: like those of *Galloway* or *Goen-hely*.
3. *Summarii*, Sumpter-horses.
4. *Averii*, Cart, or Plough-horses.

This was the quadripartite division of the Horses of *William*, the two and twentieth Abbot of *S. Albans*, on the token that he lost an hundred Horses in one year.

20. One room remains, last named, because least loved, even a *Prison* for the punishment of incorrigible *Monks*, who otherwise would not be ordered into obedience. It was a grand penance imposed on the *Delinquents*, to carry about the *Lamborn*, (though light, an heavy burden) but such contumacious Monks as would not be amended therewith, the Abbot had *tetrum & fortem carcerem*, a strong and hideous Prison, where their *Obstinacie* was corrected into *Reformation*.

21. We omit other roomes, as *Vaccisterium*, the Cow-house; *Porcarium*, the Swine-stie; as having nothing peculiar therein, but concurrent with those offices in other houses. As for *Granges*, being Farms at distance, kept and stocked by the *Abbey*, and so called (as it seemeth) *a grana gerendo* (the *Overseer* whereof was commonly called the *Prior of the Grange*) because sometimes many miles from the *Monastery*, they come not within the reach of our present discourse. Onely I adde, in Female Foundations of *Nunneries*, there was a correspondence of all the same essential Officers, and Offices.

22. Expect

22. Expect not of me a List of those mean Officers in the *Abbey*, whose employment was not so base, as their names barbarous, and of *English* extraction. Such were,

1. *Colsonarius*, Cutler.
2. *Cupparius*.
3. *Potagarius*.
4. *Scellarium Aule*.
5. *Salsarius*.
6. *Portarius*.
7. *Carcellarius Cellararii*.
8. *Pelliparius*, Parchment-Provider.
9. *Brasinarium*, Maltster.

All these appeared at the *Hall-mote*, or *Holy Court* of the *Cellarer*, and it is the degrading the soul of a Scholar (best pleased in a progressive motion to attain elegance) to stoop to the understanding of such base and unlearned Etymologies.

23. Note that the Offices aforesaid in the smaller *Abbeys* were but one fair intricate room, which in greater *Monasteries* were a distinct structure, with all under-Offices attendant thereupon. Thus the *Firmorie* in the *Priorie* of *Canterbury* had a *Refectorie* thereto belonging, a *Kitchen*, a *Dortour* distributed into several Chambers that one might not disturb another; and a private *Chappel* for the devotions of the diseased. Their *Almerie* also was accommodated with all the aforesaid appointments, and had many distinct Manours consigned onely to their maintenance.

24. It were alien from our present purpose to speak of *Cells*, which were *aut pars, aut proles*, of all great *Abbeys*, sometime so farre off, that the *Mother-Abbey* was in *England*, the *Child-Cell* beyond the Seas, and so reciprocally. Some of these were richly endowed, as that of *Windham* in *Norfolke*, which, though but a *Cell* annexed to *S. Albans*, yet was able at the Dissolution to expend of its own Revenues, seventy two pounds *per annum*. These were *Colonies* into which the *Abbeys* discharged their superfluous numbers, and whither the rest retired when Infections were feared at home.

25. Thus have we run thorough the main Rooms in all great *Abbeys*, though besides the same, particular *Abbeys* had particular Houses known to those of their own *Covent* by peculiar denominations. It were endless for one to instance in all these, and impossible to render a reason of their names, except he were privie to the fancies of the *Founders*. Thus we meet with a pile of building in the *Priorie* of *Canterbury*, called, the *Honours*; but, why so termed, my good friend, and great Antiquarie, is fain to confesse his own ignorance.

### Some generall Conformities observed in all Covents.

Soundry Orders were bound to observe severall Canonically Constitutions. However the rule of the ancient *Benedictines*, with some small variations according to time and place, hold true thorough most *Monasteries*. Some generall heads whereof (the under-branches being infinite) we will here insert, it being hard, if amongst much drossie, some gold be not found, to repair the pains of the Reader. We will contrive them into *Canons*, collected out of *Authors*, before, or in the daies of *Dunston*.

1. Let Monks, (after the example of *David*) praise God seven times a day. Seven times: J Some difference in reckoning them up, but the following computation is generally embraced.

1. At Cock-crowing: Because the *Palms* faith, At midnight will I praise the Lord: and most conceive that *Christ* rose from the dead about that time.

2. Matutines: At the first hour, or six of the clock, when the Jewish morning sacrifice was offered. And at what time *Christ's* resurrection was by the Angels first notified to the women.

3. At

Rabrous  
and  
Officers.

Rooms in  
small, houses in  
great Abbeys.

The use of  
Cells.

The Monours  
in *Canterbury*  
*Priorie*.

r Mr. William  
Somner in his  
*Antiquary*, of  
*Canterbury*,  
Pg. 196.

Rules calculated  
for the *Benedictines*,  
without any  
grand error  
will serve all  
Orders.

4. Plal. 119. 164.

5. Plal. 119. 62.

3. At the *third hour*, or *nine of the clock before none*: When according to S. *Marke*, Christ was condemned, and scourged by Pilate.

4. At the *sixth hour*, or *twelve of the clock at high noon*: When Christ was crucified and darkness over all the earth.

5. At the *ninth hour*, or *three of the clock in the afternoon*: When Christ gave up the ghost, and, which was an hour of publick prayer in the Temple, and privately in his closet with *Corneilius*.

6. *Vespers*: At the *twelfth hour*, or *six a clock in the afternoon*: When the Evening-sacrifice was offered in the Temple, and when Christ is supposed taken down from the Cross.

7. At *seven of the clock at night*, (or the first hour beginning the nocturnal twelve:) When Christ's agonie in the garden was conceived began.

The fifth of these was performed at two of the clock in the morning: When the Monks (who went to bed at eight at night) had slept six hours, which were judged sufficient for nature. It was no fault for the greater haste to come without shoes, or with unwashed hands, (provided sprinkled at their entrance with holy-water) to this nights service. And I finde no expresse to the contrary, but that they might go to bed again. But a flat prohibition after *Masutines*, when to return to bed was accounted a *petty apostasie*.

2. Let all at the sign given leave off their work, and repair presently to prayers. *Sign*:] This in England (commonly called the *ringing Island*) was done with tolling a bell; but in other Countreys with loud stroaks, as Noblemens Cooks knock to the dresser, at which time none might continue their work. Yea, the Canon was so strict, that it provided *scriptores literam non integrent*: That writers (a great trade in Monasteries) having begun to frame and flourish a Text letter, were not to finish it, but to break off in the middle thereof.

3. Let those, who are absent in publick employment, be reputed present in prayers. *Absent*:] Hence it was, that antiently at the end of prayers, there was a particular commemoration made of them, and they by name recommended to Divine protection.

4. Let no Monk go alone, but always two together. *Two*:] That so they might mutually have, both *testem honestatis*, and *monitorem pietatis*. And this was done in some imitation of Christs sending his Disciples to preach *Two, and two before his face*, that so they might alternately ease one another.

5. From Easter, to Whitsunday, let them dine at twelve; and sup at six of the clock.

*Dine*:] The Primitive Church forbade fasting for those fifty daies that Christians might be cheerful for the memory of Christs resurrection. *Immunitas jejuniandi à die Pasche Pentecosten usque gaudemus*, and therefore more modern is the custome of fasting on Ascension Eve.

6. Let them at other times fast on Wednesdaies, and Fridaies, till three a clock in the afternoon.

*Three of the clock*:] So making but one meal a day, but know that the twelve daies in Christmas were in this Canon excepted.

7. Let them fast every day in Lent till six of the clock at night.

*Six a clock*:] Stamping a character of more abstinence on that time. For though all a Monk's life ought to be a Lent, yet this, most especially, wherein they were to abate of their wonted sleep and diet, and adde to their daily devotion: Yet so, that they might not lessen their daily fare without leave from the Abbot, all things done without whose consent, will be accounted presumption, and not redound to reward; so that in such cases, obedience to their Superiours was better than the sacrifice of their own free abstinence.

8. Let

c AGs 3. 1.  
d Acts 10. 30.

c This whole Chapter is the abridgement of CONCORDIA REGULA-RUM, collected by S. Boner the Abbot, but printed with a Comment, An. 1638. See forth by Frier & E. nard.

f Luke 10. 1.

g Tertullian, Libro de corona militis.

h

8. Let no Monk speak a word in the Refectory, when they are at their meals. *Speak a word*:] Whilst their mouths are open to eat, their lips must be lockt to speak. For proof whereof they corruptly cite the Apostles words,

10<sup>b</sup> *eat their own bread with silence*, whereas indeed it is, *work with quietness*, and therein a contented minde enjoined. Such might also remember Solomon's rule, *Eat thy bread with joy*.

9. Let them listen to the Lecturer reading Scripture to them, whilst they feed themselves.

*Listen*:] This was S. *Austine's* rule, *Ne sola fauces sumant cibum, sed & aures percipiant Dei verbum*.

10. Let the Septimarians dine by themselves after the rest.

*Septimarians*:] These were weekly Officers, (not as the Abbot, Porter, &c. for term of life) as the Lecturer, Servitors at the table, Cook, who could not be present at the publick refectory: as the *Bible-Clerks* in *Queens Coll.* in Cambridge (waiting on the Fellows at dinner) have a Table by themselves, their stomachs being set, to go an hour after all the rest.

11. Let such who are absent about business observe the same hours of prayer. *Absent*:] Be it by sea, or land, on ship, in house, or field, they were to fall down on their knees, and though at distance, and very briefly, yet in some sort to keep time, and tune with the Convent in their devotions.

12. Let none, being from home about business, (and hoping to return at night) presume foris mandicare, to eat abroad.

*Eat abroad*:] This Canon was afterwards so dispensed with by the Abbot on severall occasions, that it was frustrate in effect, when Monks became common guests at Laymens tables.

13. Let the COMPLETORIE be solemnly sung about seven a clock at night. *COMPLETORIE*:] Because it completed the duties of the day. This service was concluded with that Versicle of the Psalmist, *Set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth, and keep the door of my lips*.

14. Let none speak a word after the Completorie ended, but hasten to their beds. *Speak a word*:] For they might expresse themselves by signes, and in some cases whisper, but so softly that a third might not overhear it. This silence was so obstinately observed by some, that they would not speak though assaulted with thieves, to make discovery in their own defence.

15. Let the Monks sleep in beds singly by themselves, but all (if possible) in one room.

*Singly by themselves*:] To prevent that sin of Sodomie, whereof many were detected, and more suspected in after-Ages. *One room*:] For the comfort of their mutual society.

16. Let them sleep in their clothes, girt with their girdles, but not having their knives by their sides, for fear of hurting themselves in their sleeps.

*In their clothes*:] Is there not any advantage to sanctity? This was the way, not to make the Monks to lie alone, but to carry much company about them.

17. Let not the youth lie by themselves, but mingled with their seniors. *Seniors*:] That their gravity may awe them into good behaviour. Thus husbandmen couple young colts with staid horses, that both together may draw the better.

18. Let not the candle in the Dormitory go out all the night. *Candle*:] In case some should fall suddenly sick; and that this standing candle might be a stock of light, to recruit the rest, on occasion.

19. Let Infants, incapable of excommunication, be corrected with rods. *Infants*:] Such, all were accounted under the age of fifteen years (of whom many in Monasteries) whose minorities were beneath the censures of the Church.

20. Let the offenders in small faults (whereof the Abbot is sole Judge) be only sequestered from the table. [O o o] Small

b 1 Thel. 3. 12.

i In regula Cap. quinto.

k Psal. 141. 3.

*Small faults :* ] As coming after grace to dinner, breaking (though casually) the earthen ewer wherein they wash their hands, being out of tune in setting the Psalm, taking any by the hand (as a preface forsooth to wantonness) receiving Letters from, or talking with a friend without leave from the Abbot, &c. *From the table :* ] Such were to eat by themselves, and three hours after the rest, untill they had made satisfaction.

21. *Let the offenders in greater faults be suspended from table, and prayers.*  
*Greater faults :* ] viz: Theft, adultery, &c. *And Prayers :* ] This in effect amounted to the greater Excommunication, and had all the penalties thereof.

22. *Let none converse with any excommunicated, under the pain of excommunication.*

*None :* ] Yet herein his *Keeper*, (deputed by the Abbot) was excepted. *Converse :* ] Either to eat, or speak with him. He might not so much as bless him, or his meat if carried by him; Yet to avoid scandal, he might rise up, bow, or bare his head to him, in case the other did first with silent gesture salute him.

23. *Let incorrigible offenders be expelled the Monastery.*  
*Incorrigible :* ] Whom no correction with words, nor correction with blows, nor censures of excommunication would amend: Abcision is the only plaster for such an incurable Gangrene.

24. *Let an expelled Brother, being re-admitted on promise of his amendment, be set last in order.*

*Last :* ] He was to lose his former seniority, and begin at the bottom. Know, that whosoever willingly quitted the Covent house, or was thence cast out for his misdemeanours, might not any more be received.

25. *Let every Monk have two Coats, and two Cowles, &c.*

*Two :* ] Not to wear at once, (except in Winter) but for exchange, whilst one was washed. And when new cloathes were delivered them, their old ones were given to the poor.

26. *Let every Monk have his Table-book, Knife, Needle, and Handkerchief.*  
*Needle :* ] To mend his own cloathes when torn. *Handkerchief :* ] Which they wore on their left side, to wipe away rheum, or (as we may charitably believe) tears from their eyes.

27. *Let the Bed of every Monk have a Mat, Blanket, a Rugge, and Pillow.*  
*Mat :* ] In Latine *Matta*, the Liers whercon are termed by S. *Auslin* *b* *Mattarii*. *a* *Blanket :* ] *Lana*, in Latine, *quasi de lana*, saith *Varro*, made of thick wooll. No down, feathers, nor flocks used by them, yea no linen worn on their bodies. The Abbot also every Saturday was to visit their beds, to see if they had not stuffed in some softer matter, or purloyned some progge for themselves.

28. *Let the Abbot be chosen by the merits of his life and learning.*

*Merits :* ] Though he were the last in degree, and though he had the fewest voices, the better were to carry it from the greater number. But in after-Ages, to avoid schisme, upon a parity of defects the Senior was generally chosen by plurality of votes.

29. *Let him never dine alone, and when Guests are wanting, call some Brethren unto his table.*

*Alone :* ] Such as were relieved by his hospitality, are by Canonical Criticks, sorted into four ranks:

1. *Convive, guests*, living in or near the City, where the Covent stood.
2. *Hospites, strangers*, coming from distant places, yet still of the same Country.
3. *Peregrini, pilgrims*, of another Nation, and generally travelling for devotion.
4. *Mendici, beggars*, who received their *Almes* without at the Gate.

30. *Let*

a Sagum, properly the lower coat of a Soldier.  
b Lib. 6. contra Faustum, cap. 5.  
c De lingua Latina, lib. 4.

30. *Let the CELLARER be a discreet man, to give all their meat in due season.*

*Discreet :* ] He needed to be a good Mathematician in the *gages* of mens bellies, not allowing all food alike, but proportioning it to their severall ages, labour, (for ancient Monks did work) appetites, &c. For this they alledge the Primitive practise, when all goods kept in common were divided, though *unequally*, for the *summes equally*, as to their personal necessities, And they parted them to all men, as every man had need.

31. *Let none be excused from the Office of the COOK, but take his turn in his week.*

*None :* ] The Abbot is excepted, and the Cellarer in great Convents; But know, this was onely anciently used in primitive poor Monasteries, our English Abbies having afterwards Cooks, and under-Cooks of Lay-persons able to please the palate of *Aptius* himself.

32. *Let the Cook each Saturday when he goeth out of his Office, leave the linen and vessels clean and sound to his successors.*

*Clean and sound :* ] Severe one Canon which I read, that is, To receive twenty five claps on the hand for every default on this kinde; And still more harsh what another rule enjoyneth, That the Cook might not taste what he dressed for others, nor permitted to lick his own fingers: Understand it thus, though he might eat his own pittance, or *dimensum*, yet he must meddle with no more, lest the tasting should tempt him to gluttony and excess.

33. *Let the PORTER be a grave person, to discharge his trust with discretion.*

*Grave :* ] Whose age might make him resident in his place. *Discharge :* ] In listening to no Secular news, and (if casually hearing it) not to report it again; In carrying the keyes every night to the Abbot, and letting none in, or out, without his permission.

We leave this *Porter* in the peaceable possession of his *Lodge*; and by his leave, are let out of this tedious discourse. Onely I will adde, as the Proverb saith, *The Lion is not so fierce as he is painted*. So *Monastical discipline* was not so terrible in the practise, as in the precepts thereof. And as it is generally observed in Families, that the eldest Children are most hardly used, who, (as yet being but few, and their Parents in full strength) are taught, and tutored, and nurtered, with much chiding and correction; whilst more liberty is allowed to the younger brood, age abating their Parents austeritie, and sometimes turning their harshness into fondness unto them. So those *fatherly rules* fell most heavily on the Monks of the first foundation, their rigour being remitted to such who succeeded them, inso much that in proceesse of time, Monks turned very *wanton*, through laziness and luxurie; as hereafter (God willing) shall appear.

## Of such Abbots who attained to be Parliamentary Barons.

Numerous Abbots summoned to Parliament.

2 Dors. Gloucest. 49 Hen. 3. m. 11. in fedula

Who afterwards decline their troublesome service.

Their number contracted to twenty six.

THE highest Civil honour the English Abbots arrived at, was, that some were selected to be Barons in Parliament, and called to be Assistants to the King in His Great Council. To begin at the Reign of King Henry the third, (before whose time the footsteps of solemn summons to Parliament are almost worn out) in His time all Abbots and Priors of quality were summoned thither. Alas! this King lived a long time on Abbeyes (the Patron fed by His Chaplains) the most of His maintenance issuing out of the purses of Priors. It was but sitting therefore they should be consulted with, who were so much concerned in all publick payments. In the forty ninth of His Reign, no less than sixty four Abbots, and thirty six Priors, (a jolly number) with the Master of the Temple, were voluntary summoned, out of the King's free will and pleasure (no right that they could claim themselves) summoned to Parliament.

2. But in after-Parliaments the number of Abbots summoned thither, was fluctuating, and uncertain, sometimes forty, as the twenty seventh of Edward the first; sometimes seventy five, as the twenty eighth of the same King; fifty six in the first of Edward the second; and yet but fifteen in the second of His Reign. In these Parliaments proved frequent, some Priors farre from the place where they were summoned, the way long, the weather (especially in winter) tedious, travelling on the way costly, living at London chargeable: Some Priors were so poor they could not, more so covetous they would not put themselves to needlesse expences: All so lazie, and loving their ease, that they were loath to take long journeys, which made them afterwards desire to be eased of their Honourable but Troublesome attendance in Parliament.

3. At last, King Edward the third resolved, to fix on a set number of Abbots, and Priors, not so many as with their numberlesse might be burdensome to His Council, yet not so few but that they should be a sufficient representation of all orders therein concerned, which being twenty six in number are generally thus reckoned up:

- |                      |                             |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. St. Albans.       | 15. Shrewsbury.             |
| 2. Glasenbury.       | 16. Gloucester.             |
| 3. St. Austins Cant. | 17. Bardney.                |
| 4. Westminster.      | 18. Bennet in the Holme.    |
| 5. Edmundsbury.      | 19. Thorney.                |
| 6. Peterborough.     | 20. Ramsey.                 |
| 7. Colchester.       | 21. Hyde.                   |
| 8. Evesham.          | 22. Malmesbury.             |
| 9. Winchelcombe.     | 23. Cirencester.            |
| 10. Crowland.        | 24. St. Mary Yorke.         |
| 11. Battaille.       | 25. Selbye.                 |
| 12. Reading.         | 26. With the Prior of St.   |
| 13. Abington.        | Johns of Jerusalem, first & |
| 14. Waltham.         | chief Baron of England.     |

None of these held of mean Lords by *franke almonage*, but all of the King in *capite per Baroniam*, having an intire Barony, to which thirteen Knights fees at least did belong.

4. Yet

4. Yet even after this fixation of Parliamentary Abbots in a set number the same was eiseons subject to variety. The Prior of Coventry played at *in and out*, and declined his appearance there. So did the Abbot of Lister, who may seem to have worn but half a Mitre on his head. So also the Abbot of St. James by Northampton may be said to sit but on one hip in Parliament, he appears so in the twilight betwixt a Baron, and no Baron, in the summons thereunto. But afterwards the first of these three was confirmed in his place, the two last on their earnest request obtained a discharge. Partly, because they were summoned only *interpolariis vicibus*, and not constantly; Partly, because they made it to appear, that they held not of the King a whole Barony in chief.

5. To these twenty six regular Barons, King Henry the eighth added one more for a casting voice, viz: the Abbot of Tavistocke in Devonshire, on this token, that being created in the eighth of His Reigne he enjoyed not his Baronic full twenty years, and acted so short a part on the stage of Parliament, that with *Cato* he might seem only *ingredi ut exiret*, to come in that he might go out. And, because some may be curious to know the manner of his creation, take here the form thereof:

HENRICUS, &c. b Sciatis quod certis considerationibus nos specialiter movernibus & ob specialem devotionem, quam ad beatam Virginem Mariam matrem Christi, sanctumque Rumonum in quorum Honore Abbatia de Tavistocke, qua de fundatione nobilium progenitorum nostrorum, quondam Regum Anglie & nostro patre natu dedicata existit, gerimus & habemus, hinc est quod de gratia nostra speciali ac ex certa scientia, & mero motu nostro, volumus eandem Abbatiam, sive Monasterium nostrum gaudere honore, privilegio, ac libertatibus spiritualium Dominorum Parliamenti nostri Haredem, & successorum nostrorum, ideo concessimus, & per presentes concedimus pro nobis Haredibus, & successoribus nostris quantum in nobis est, dilecto nobis in Christi, Richardo Banham Abbati de Tavistocke predicto & successoribus suis, ut eorum quilibet qui pro tempore ibidem fuerit Abbas, sit & erit unus de spiritualibus, & religiosis Dominis Parliamenti nostri Haredem, & successorum nostrorum, gaudendo honore, privilegio ac libertatibus ejusdem; Et in super, de uberiori gratia nostra, affectando utilitatem, dicti nostri Monasterii, considerando ejus distantiam, ita quod si contingat aliquam Abbatem qui pro tempore fuerit, fore vel esse absentem propter predicti Monasterii utilitatem in non veniendo ad Parliamentum predictum Haredem, vel successorum nostrorum, quam quidem absentiam eidem Abbati perdonamus per presentes; Ita tamen quod tunc solvet pro hujusmodi absentia cujuslibet Parliamenti integri in nostro Scaccario, sum per attornatum quinque Marcas nobis Haredibus sive successoribus nostris, toties, quoties, hoc in futurum contigerit. In cujus, &c. Teste &c. Vicesimo tertio die Januarii, &c.

Whereas this Charter affirmeth Tavistocke founded by King Henry's noble Progenitors; Some will wonder thereat, and the rather, because Ordulph, the son of Ordgar, Earl of Devonshire is notoriously known for the Founder of this Monastery before the Conquest, and no English King appeareth eminently a Benefactor thereunto. Yet because the English Kings successively confirmed the Charters thereof, they were in a loyal complement, acknowledged as the interpretative Founders of that Abbey. And as little children, whose parents de cease in their infancy, innocently own their Fathers and Mothers-in-laws, for their natural parents: So many Monasteries, whose first Founders, were in a manner forgotten as *time out of minde*, applied themselves to the present Kings (though but the Favourers) as to the Founders of their Corporations.

6. Know that besides these Abbots, there were four Abbesses, viz: of Shaftsbury, Barking in Essex, St. Marys in Winchester, and Wilton, who held from the King an intire Barony, yet never were summoned as Baronesses to Parliament, because that honour (frequent in Lay-persons) was never conferred on

[O o o 3]

any

Doubtful Barons among the Abbots.

A short-lived Barony made by K. Henry the eighth.

b Pat. 5. Hen. 8. part. 2. m. 12.

c Camden Br. in Devonshire.

A licesse no Baronesses, though holding Barones.



d Pat. 5. Ed. 1.  
Dors. in 11.  
Ret. Scutagii  
tjpl. m. 7.

Prior of Jerusa-  
lem chief Baron.  
e Camb. Brit.  
ME. 133.

Next the Ab-  
bot of S. Al-  
bans.  
J Gen. 48. 14.

The careless  
order of the  
rest.

Seniority not  
observed in  
the summons.

Not ranked by  
their wealth.

Tenbury to be  
added to the  
Catalogue.  
g Titles of honor,  
p 728.  
h Brit. p. 170.  
i In his Annals  
of K. Hen. 8.  
edn. 1539.

any Ecclesiastical Female. Yet were they (and almost all other Abbesses of any quality) saluted *Ladies*, as Earls Daughters are, by the courtesy of England, which custom hath made such a right, that they are beheld not only as unmanly, but unjust, who in common discourse deny the same. However the aforesaid four Abbesses, though not called to Parliament, were solemnly summoned by special Writs *ad habendum servitium suum*, that is, to have their full number of Knights in time of warre, where the Ladies personal presence was not expected, but their equal appearance by the proxies or their purses to supply the King's occasions.

7. Of all these, the Prior of S. Johns in Jerusalem, took the precedence, being generally of Noble extraction, and a Military person. Yea, not content to take place of all regular Barons, *Primus Anglia Baro haberi voluit*, saith my Author: He would be counted [simply] and [absolutely] the first, and chief Baron in England; though the expression, speaks rather his affectation, than peaceable possession of such priority.

8. Next him, the Abbot of S. Albans took place above all of his Order, to the no small grief and grudge of Glasenbury, seeing Joseph of Arimathea was two hundred years senior to S. Albans. But, who shall deny the Patriarch Jacob the privilege of crossing his own hands, to preferre the younger before the elder? The same power (but on what pretence, let others enquire) the Pope assumeth to himself, whereby Adrian the fourth (once a Monk of S. Albans) gave that Covent the precedence.

9. As for the remaining Abbots, we may observe a kinde of a careless order observed in their summoning to (and consequently their sitting in) Parliament. Now seeing it will not enter into a rational belief, that their methodizing was merely managed by the will of the Clerk of the Writs, it must descend on the disposal of the King, calling them in what order He pleaseth.

10. Sure I am, these Abbots were not summoned according to their personal seniorities of their severall instalments, nor according to the antiquity of their respective foundations: For, Waltham Abbot being ante-penultimus, as but founded by King Herold, is commonly fourteenth or fifteenth in the summons. Bataille Abbey, which in this body of Abbeyes, should be beneath the ancle, (as last of all save Selbye) is commonly about the breast, the eighth or ninth in number.

11. Nor are they ranked according to the richness of their annual Revenues, for then (according to their Valuations at the Dissolution) they should be martialled according to the method here insuing, when first I have premised a Note concerning the Abbey of Tenbury in Gloucester-shire.

12. This Abbot appeareth Parliamentary neither in any summons exhibited by Master Selden, most curious in this point; nor yet in the Catalogue of them presented by Master Camden; and reverence to these worthy Authors hath prevailed with me so much that I durst not infer him. However, since I am convinced in my judgement, he must be entered in the list; Partly, moved by the greatness of Revenues; Partly, because I finde him registred by Bishop Godwin, no lesse Criticall than the former in Historiall matters. Yet to please all parties, we will onely adde him in the Margine, and not enter him in the body of the Catalogue.

1. S. Peters

	lib.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
1. S. Peters, Westminster.	3977	6	4	1	1
2. Glasenbury, Somerset-shire.	3508	13	4	1	1
3. S. Albans, Hertford-shire.	2510	6	1	1	1
4. S. Johns of Jerusalem, Middlesex.	2385	19	8	0	0
5. S. Edmunds-Bury, Suffolke.	2336	16	0	0	0
6. Reading, Berk-shire.	2116	3	9	0	1
7. S. Marys nigh Yorke.	2085	1	5	1	1
8. Abington, Berk-shire.	2042	2	8	1	1
9. Ramfey, Huntingdon-shire.	1983	15	3	0	1
10. Peterborough, Northampton-shire.	1972	7	0	1	1
11. Gloucester.	1550	4	5	1	0
12. S. Austines, Canterbury.	1412	4	7	1	1
13. Evesham, Worcester-shire.	1268	9	9	0	0
14. Crewland, Lincoln-shire.	1217	5	11	0	0
15. Wealtham, Essex.	1079	12	1	0	0
16. Cirencester, Gloucester-shire.	1051	7	1	0	0
17. Bataille, Suffex.	987	0	11	1	1
18. Tavystoke, Devonshire.	902	5	7	1	1
19. Hide, nigh Winchester.	865	1	6	1	1
20. Selby, York-shire.	819	2	6	0	0
21. Malinsbury, Wilts-shire.	803	17	7	0	0
22. Wivelscombe, Gloucester-shire.	756	11	9	0	0
23. Middleton, Dorset-shire.	720	4	1	0	0
24. S. Beupet Hulm, Northfolke.	677	9	8	0	1
25. Shrewsbury.	615	4	3	1	0
26. Thorny, Cambridge-shire.	508	2	5	0	0
27. Bardney, Lincoln-shire.	439	7	0	0	0

The valuations of Coventry & Colchester, I cannot finde; and in all these sums we have trusted Harpsfield, and Speed, both subject to many mistakes, those standing on slippery ground, who in point of computation, tread onely on figures, and not on numbers at length. The Auditors in these accounts pretend to much exactness, descending to the fractions of half-pence and farthings, though much partiality was used therein, many of the Raters at the dissolution, being Raters for the present, proved Purchasers for the future, of the lands. The Abbey of Ramsey, commonly called the RICH, is here but the ninth in number, according to the wealth thereof, whereby it plainly appears, that much favour was used in the undervaluing of that foundation.

13. We must know there were other Abbeyes, who, though not so high in dignity, were richer in Indowments, than many of these Parliamentary Barons, viz:

	lib.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
1. Fountains, Richmond-shire.	1173	0	7	1	0
2. Lewes, Suffex.	1691	9	6	0	1
3. S. Werburghs, Cheshire.	1073	17	7	1	0
4. Leicester.	1062	0	4	1	1
5. Marton, Surrey.	1039	5	3	0	0
6. Fournace, Richmond-shire.	969	7	1	0	0

These had more Lands, at best were more highly valued, though not so Honourable a tenure, as holding of mean Landlords in frank almonage. And probably the Parliamentary Barons had more old rents, though these (as later foundations) greater incomes by improved demaens.

14. There

\* Tenbury is  
lued at 1598 li.  
15 s. d.

\* All these va-  
luations are  
taken out of  
Speed's Cata-  
logue of religio-  
us Houses,  
page 787.

1 Sir Rob. Cotton  
(under the  
name of Speed)  
in the descrip-  
tion of Hunting-  
don-shire.

Some Abbots,  
not Barons,  
richer than  
those that  
were.

*Shafis-bury* the richest Nun-  
nery.

14. There also were Nunneries corivall in revenues with Parliamentary Abbeys, whereof *Shafis-bury* the chiefest, valued at—1329 li.—21 s.—3 d. So that the Country-people had a Proverb, That if the Abbot of Glaffenbury might marry the Abbess of Shafis-bury, their Heire would have more land than the King of England. *Barkeing in Essex*, and *Sion in Middlesex*, fell not much short of *Shafis-bury*, being severally endowed with above a 1000 li. per annum.

A prophane  
proverb.

15. Of all Counties in England, *Glocester-shire* was most pestered with Monks, having four mitted Abbeys, beside *S. Austines in Bristol* (who sometimes passed for a Baron) within the compass thereof, viz: *Glocester, Tenbury, Cirencester*, and *Wevelcome*. Hence the topical wicked Proverb, deserving to be banishd out of that Countrey, being the prophane childe of superstitious parents: *As sure as God is in Glocester-shire*. As if so many Convents had certainly fastned his gracious presence to that place.

No Countrey  
free from  
Monks.

16. As *Glocester-shire* was the fullest of, so *Westmoreland* the freest from Monasteries. It seemeth the Monks did not much care for that cold Countrey, nestling themselves but in one place, called *Sharp*, which they found to answering the name, that they sought warmer places elsewhere. As for the boasting of the men of the *Ile of Wight*, That they never had hooded Monks therein, were it so (their foyle being so fruitfull, and pleasant) it would merit more wonder, than that *Ireland* hath no Venemous creatures therein. But their brag hath more of Mirth than Truth in it, seeing the Priorie at *Caris-brook*, and Nunnery at *Quarre* evidence them sufficiently stockt with such Cattell.

in Camd. Brit.  
in the Isle of  
Wight.  
Quarre what  
meant by four  
Abbeys pecu-  
liarily exempt.

17. I have done with this Subject of Mitted Abbeys when we have observed that they were called ABBOTS GENERAL, alias ABBOTS a SOVEREIGN, as acknowledging in a sort no Superiour, because exempted from the Jurisdiction of any Diocezan, having Episcopall power in themselves. And here I would be thankfull to any who would inform me, that seeing all these Abbots were thus privileged, how it came to passe that Four of them were especially termed ABBOTS EXEMPTI, viz: *Bury, Waltham, S. Albans, and Ewelham*. I say seeing these were so called, EXEMPTI, as it were, out of the EXEMPTED, I would willingly be satisfied, what extraordinary Priviledges these enjoyed by themselves above others of their own Order.

in Sic. H. Spelman  
in Glossarij ver-  
bo Abbat.

o Titles of ho-  
nour, pag. 757.

### Of the Civill benefits, and Temporall conveniences, accruing to the State by the continuance of Abbies.

Civill Abbies  
their due.

SO much of the greatnesse, somewhat of the goodnesse of Abbies, if possibly it may be done without prejudice to truth. Surely some pretences (plausible at least) did ingratiate them with the Politicians of that Age, otherwise Prince, and people in those daies (though blinded with ignorant zeal, yet worldly-wise) would never have been gulled into so long a toleration, yea veneration of them.

They conveni-  
ent to dispos-  
young children  
in.

2. They were an easie and cheap outlet for the Nobility and Gentry of the land, therein to dispose their younger children. That younger son who had not mettall enough to manage a sword, might have meeknesse to become a cowle. Which cowle in short time might grow up to be a Mire, when his merits presented him to be Abbot of his Covent. Clap a vail on the head of a younger daughter (especially if she were superannuated, not over-hand some, melancholy, &c.) and instantly she was provided for in a Nunnery, where, without cost or care of her parents, she lived in all outward happinesse, wanting nothing except (perhaps) it were an husband. This was a great cause of the long continuance of the English Nobility, in such pomp and power, as having then no temptation to torture their Tenants with racking of rents, to make provision for their younger children. Indeed, sometimes Noblemen gave small portions with their children to the Co-

vent

vent (not such as would preferre them in marriage to one of their own quality) but generally Abbeys were glad to accept them with nothing, thereby to engage the Parents, and Brothers of such young men and maidens, to be the constant friends to their Covent, on all occasion at Court, and chiefly in all Parliaments.

3. One eminent instance hereof we have in *Ralph Nevil*, first Earl of *Westmoreland*, of that Family whom I behold as the happiest Subject of England since the Conquest, if either we count the number of his Children, or measure the height of the Honour they attained:

He had by

*Margaret*, his first Wife,

*Foan*, his second Wife,

1. *John*, his eldest son, Lord *Nevil*, &c.
2. *Ralph*, in the right of *Mary* his wife, Lord *Ferrars* of *Ously*.
3. *Maud*, married to *Peter* Lord *Manley*.
4. *Alice*, married to Sir *Thomas Gray*.
5. *Philip*, married to *Thomas* Lord *Dacres* of *Giffland*.
6. *Margaret*, married to the Lord *Scroop* of *Bolton*.
7. *Anne*, married to Sir *Gilbert Umfrevill*.
8. *Margerie*, Abbess of *Bearking*.
9. *Elizabeth*, a Nun.

1. *Richard*, Earl of *Sarabury*.
2. *William*, in the right of *Foan* his wife, Lord *Faulconbridge*.
3. *George*, Lord *Latimer*.
4. *Edward*, Lord *Abergavennie*.
5. *Robert*, Bishop of *Durham*.
6. *Thomas*, in right of his wife, Lord *Seymour*.
7. *Katharine*, married to *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*.
8. *Elianour*, to *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*.
9. *Anne*, to *Humphrey* Duke of *Buckingham*.
10. *Fane*, a Nun.
11. *Cicilie*, to *Richard* Duke of *Tork*, and Mother to King *Edward* the fourth.

a Miller, p. 391.

See we here the policie of that age, in disposing of their numerous issue. More than the tithe of them was given to the Church, and I throw the Nuns (and Abbess especially) were as good *Madams* as the rest, and conceived themselves to go in equipage with their other *Lady-Sisters*. And, no wonder, if an Earl preferred his daughters to be Nuns; seeing no King of England, since the Conquest, had four Daughters living to womans estate, but He disposed one of them to be a *Volarie*. And *Bridget*, the fourth Daughter to King *Edward* the fourth, a Nun at *Darford in Kent*, was the last Princess; who entered into a Religious Order.

4. They were tolerable Tutours for the education of youth (there being a great penurie of other *Grammar-schools* in that Age) and every Covent had one, or moe therein, who [generally gratis] taught the children thereof. Yea, they, who were loose enough in their own lives, were sufficiently severe in their discipline over others. *Grammar* was here taught, and *Musick*, which in some sort sung her own *Dirige* (as to the generall use thereof) at the dissolution of Abbies.

Children  
taught therein.

5. Nunneries also were good *Shew-schools*, wherein the Girls, and Maids of the Neighbourhood, were taught to read and work; and sometimes a little Latine was taught them therein. Yea, give me leave to say, if such Feminine Foundations had still continued, provided no *now* were obruded upon them (*virginity* is least kept where it is most constrained) haply the weaker sex (besides the avoiding modern inconveniences) might be heightened to an higher perfection than hitherto hath been attained. That sharpnesse of their wits, and fuddennesse of their conceits (which their enemies must allow unto them) might by education be improved into a judicious solidity, and that adorned with Arts, which now they want, not because they cannot learn, but are not taught them. I say, if such Feminine

Convenience  
of Shew, Col-  
ledges.

[P p p]

Foundations

Monks the sole  
Historians, and  
why.

Foundations were extant now of dayes, haply some Virgins of highest birth, would be glad of such places, and I am sure their Fathers, and elder Brothers would not be sorry for the same.

6. They were the sole Historians, in writing to preserve the remarkable passages of Church, and Common-wealth. I confesse, I had rather any than Monks had written the Histories of our Land; yet rather than the same should be unwritten, I am heartily glad the Monks undertook the performance thereof. Indeed, in all their Chronicles one may feel a rag of a *Monks coule*; I mean, they are partial to their own interest. But in that Age there was a choicelesse choice, that Monks, or none at all, should write our *English Histories*. Sword-men lacked learning, States-men leisure to doe it: it was therefore devolved to Monks and Friars, who had store of time, and no want of intelligence, to take that task upon them. And surely that industrious *Bee* hath in our Age merited much of posterity, having lately, with great cost and care, enlarged many *Manuscripts* of Monks (formerly confined to private Libraries) that now they may take the free aire, and, being printed, publicly walk abroad. Mean time, whilst *Monks pens* were thus employed, Nuns with their *needles* wrote histories also; that of *Christ his passion* for their Altar-clothes, and other Scripture- (and moe Legend-) stories in hangings to adorn their houses.

b An able Stationer in Little Britain, London.

Abbeys excellent Land-lords.

7. They were most admirable good Land-lords; and well might they let, and let good *peny worths*, who had good *pounds-worths* freely given unto them. Their yearly rent was so low, as an *acknowledgment* rather than a *rent*, onely to distinguish the Tenant from the Land-lord. Their fines also were easie; for, though every Convent, as a *body politick*, was *immortal*, yet because the same consisted of mortal Monks for their *members*, and an old Abbot for the *head* thereof, they were glad to make use of the present time for their profit, taking little fines for long leases. As for rent-beeves, sheep, puellein, &c. reserved on their leases, Tenants both payed them the more easily, as growing on the same, and the more cheerfully, because at any time they might freely eat their full share thereof, when repairing to their Land-lords bountifull table. Infomuch, that long Leases from Abbeys were preferred by many before some *Tenures of freeholds*, as lesse subject to taxes, and troublesome attendance.

And admirable House-keepers.

8. Their hospitality was beyond compare, infomuch that *Ovid* (if living in that Age) who feigned *famine* to dwell in *Scythia*, would have fancied *feasting* an inhabitant of *English Abbeys*: Especially in Christmas-time, they kept most bountifull houses. Whosoever brought the face of a man, brought with him a Patent for his free welcome, till he pleased to depart. This was the method: where he brake his fast, there he dined; where he dined, there he supped; where he supped, there he brake his fast next morning: and so in a *circle*. Alwaies provided, that he provided lodging for himself at night; Abbeys having great halls, and refectories; but few chambers, and dormitories, save for such of their own society.

Objection against their hospitality.

9. Some will object, that this their hospitality was but *charity mistaken*, promiscuously entertaining some, who did not need, and moe, who did not deserve it. Yea, these Abbeys did but maintain the poor which they made. For, some Vagrants, accounting the Abbey-almes their own *inheritance*, served an *apprentiship*, and afterwards wrought *journey-work* to no other trade than *begging*; all whose children were, by their *fathers copie*, made free of the *same company*. Yea, we may observe, that generally such places wherein the great Abbeys were seated (some few excepted, where *cleathing* began, when their *Covent* did end) swarm most with poor people at this day, as if beggary were entailed on them, and that lazinesse not as yet *got out of their flesh*, which so long since was *bred in their bones*.

The same answered.

10. All this is confessed; yet, by their hospitality, many an honest and hungry soul had his *bowels refreshed*, which otherwise would have been starved; and, better it is, two *drones* should be fed, than one *bee* famished. We see the heavens themselves

themselves, in dispensing their rain, often water many stinking bogs, and noisome lakes, which moisture is not needed by them (yea, they the worse for it) onely because much good ground lies inseparably intermingled with them; so that, either the bad with the good must be watered, or the good with the bad must be parched away.

11. Of all Abbeys in *England*, *Elie* bare away the bell for bountifull feasting-making, the vicinity of the fens affording them plenty of flesh, fish, and fowle, at low rates. Hereupon the Poët,

Elie puts all Abbeys down for feasting.

*Prævisis aliis, Eliensia festa videre,  
Est, quasi prævisa nocte, videre diem.*

*When other Feasts before have been,  
If those of ELIE last be seen,  
'Tis like to one who hath seen night,  
And then beholds the day so bright.*

But, with the leave of the Poët's Hyperbole, other Abbeys, as *Glassenbury*, *S. Albans*, *Reading*, spurred up close to *Elie*, which, though exceeding them in feasts (the evidence oft of a miser) yet they equalled *Elie* in the constant tenour of house-keeping. The mention of *Reading* mindes me of a pleasant and true story; which, to refresh my wearied self, and Reader, after long pains, I here intend to relate.

12. King *Henry the eighth*, as He was hunting in *Windsor Forrest*, either casually lost, or (more probable) wilfully losing Himself, struck down about dinner-time to the Abbey of *Reading*. Where, disguising Himself, (much for delight, more for discoverie to see unseen) He was invited to the Abbots table, and passed for one of the Kings guard, a place to which the proportion of His person might properly intitle Him. A *Sir-loyne* of beef was set before Him (so Knighted, faith tradition, by this King *Henry*) on which the King laid on lustily, not disgracing one of that place, for whom He was mistaken. *Well fare thy heart*, (quoth the Abbot) *and here in a cup of sack I remember the health of His Grace your Master. I would give an hundred pounds on the condition I could feed so heartily on beef as you doe. Alas! my weak and squeazie stomach will hardly digest the wing of a small rabbit or chicken.* The King pleasantly pledged him, and heartily thanking him for His good cheer, after dinner departed, as undiscovered as He came thither.

A pleasant story of K. Henry the eighth.

13. Some weeks after, the Abbot was sent for by a Pursivant, brought up to *London*, clapped in the Tower, kept close-prisoner, fed for a short time with bread and water. Yet not so empty his body of food, as his minde was filled with fears, creating many suspitions to himself, when, and how he had incurred the King's displeasure. At last a *sir-loyne* of beef was set before him, on which the Abbot fed as the *Farmer of his Grange*, and verified the Proverb, *That two hungry meals makes the third a glutton*. In springs King *Henry* out of a private lobbie, where He had placed Himself the invisible spectatour of the Abbots behaviour, *My Lord*, (quoth the King) *presently deposit your hundred pounds in gold, or else no going hence all the daies of your life. I have been your Physician to cure you of your squeazie stomach, and here, as I deserve, I demand my fee for the same.* The Abbot down with his dust, and glad he had escaped so, returned to *Reading*; as somewhat lighter in purse, so much more merrier in heart than when he came thence.

He proves a good Physician.

*Prefages of the approaching ruine of Abbeys.*

Oliver's prophetic of the Friars fall.

a Golum in the Bishop of Winchester.

Seconded by Abbot of Westminster, Sir George Paul in Whitgift's life, p. 3.

Ominous burning of Abbeys, [often] by lightning.

c Ex Hist. Gerulph. d Ex Hist. Ingulph. e Ex Chron. Peterb. Willelm. dani Gualteri. Coventr. Fabiani. f Ex Chron. S. Edm. d. Guil. Malmesb.

Bells no effectual lightning.

THE wisest, and most religious amongst the Romanists, prefaged, and suspected a downfall of these Convents, some years before it came to passe. For, when it was in the intention, and designe of Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, to have built a Monasterie; Hugh Oldham, Bishop of Exeter, dissuaded him, affirming, That such Convents possessed more already than they would long enjoy. He advised him rather to bestow his bounty, on founding some College in the University, as which was likely to last longer, and certain to doe more good, promising also his own utmost assistance in so pious an undertaking. This was done accordingly, Fox being the first Founder of, and Oldham a liberal Benefactor to CORPUS CHRISTI Colledge in Oxford.

2. Adde to this, a Speech of Robert Whitgift, Abbot of Wellow (nigh Grimfley) in Lincolnshire (Uncle to Archbishop Whitgift) who was wont to say, That they, and their religion (chiefly in relation to Monasteries) could not long continue, because (said he) I have read the whole Scripture over, and over, and could never finde therein that our religion was founded by God. And, for proof of his opinion, the Abbot would alledge that saying of our Saviour, Every planting, which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up. And, that he proved a true Prophet herein, the next Book will sufficiently evidence.

3. We will conclude with their observation (as an ominous prefage of Abbeys ruine) that there was scarce a great Abbey in England, which (once at the least) was not burnt down with lightning from heaven.

1. The Monastery of Canterbury burnt Anno 1145.

And afterward again burnt Anno 1174.

2. The Abbey of Croyland twice burnt.

3. The Abbey of Peterborow twice set on fire.

4. The Abbey of S. Maryes in Torke burnt.

5. The Abbey of Norwich burnt.

6. The Abbey of S. Edmonds-bury burnt, and destroyed.

7. The Abbey of Worcester burnt.

8. The Abbey of Gloucester was also burnt.

9. The Abbey of Chichester burnt.

10. The Abbey of Glassebury burnt.

11. The Abbey of S. Mary in Southwarke burnt.

12. The Church of the Abbey of Beverley burnt.

13. The Steeple of the Abbey of Evesham burnt.

I will not, with Master Fox, inferre from such casualties, that God was more offended with Abbeys, than other buildings, a naturall cause presenting it selfe of such accidents; namely, because the highest structures (whatever they are) are the fairest marks for lightning, and thunder. As if those active Meteors took the usurpation of such aspiring buildings in distaste, for entering their territory, and for offering, without leave, to invade the marches of the middle region of the aire. And, if mountains of Gods own advancing thither, and placing there, pay dear for their honour, and frequently feel the weight of thunder-bolts falling upon them, *feriat summus fulmina montes*; no wonder if artificiall buildings of mens making (whatsoever they be, Palaces, or Castles, or Churches, or Convents) have their ambition often humbled with thunder, and lightning, which casually melt and consume them.

4. Onely we will adde, that such frequent firing of Abbey-Churches by lightning, confuteth the proud Motto, commonly written on the Bells in their Steeples, wherein each Bell intituled it selfe to a sixfold efficacie;

1. Funera

1. *Funera plango*, Men's deaths I tell  
By dolefull knell.

2. *Fulgura fulmina*, Lightning and thunder,  
I break asunder.

3. *Sabbata pango*, On Sabbath, all  
To Church I call.

4. *Excito lentos*, The sleepy head,  
I raise from bed.

5. *Disipo ventos*, The winds so fierce  
I doe disperse.

6. *Paco cruentos*, Men's cruell rage,  
I doe asswage.

Whereas it plainly appears, that these Abbey-steeple, though quilted with Bells almost *cap a pee*, were not of proof against the sword of God's lightning. Yea generally, when the heavens in tempests did strike fire, the Steeples of Abbeys proved often their tynder, whose frequent burning portended their finall destruction; which now, God willing, we come to relate.

*Of the Essays and Offers to overthrow Abbeys before they took effect.*

Great buildings commonly crack before they fall, to give the dwellers therein warning to depart; so was it here in Abbeys. But may we here, first premise, as an Introduction, that it was placed in the power and pleasure of Princes and great persons, their Founders, to displace & exchange particular Orders, as sometimes Monks for Nuns, and reciprocally Nuns for Monks; white for gray Friars, and gray for white, as their fancy directed them: whereof we have plenty of instances. But all this made nothing to the losse of Monks in generall, though sexes or colours of Friars were altered, the same Bells did hang still in the steeple, though *ring in changes* to content severall people.

2. Secondly, particular Convents might be wholly dissolved upon their misdemeanour, as in *Berkley Nunnery*: Here a young man (left out of designe by Earl Godwine) dissembled himselfe to be sick, who, in short space, so acquitted himself amongst the Votaries there, that all of them, with their Abbess, (whose age might have been presumed a protection for her honesty) were got with a childe: upon complaint and proof whereof unto King Edward the Confessor, they were all driven out; and their Nunnery, with large revenues, bestowed upon Earl Godwine, by the aforesaid King, who was then accounted Patron of all Abbeys, which now fallen into His hands, by this foule lapse, He bestowed, as a Lay fee, upon this new Owner, wholly altering the property thereof.

3. Thirdly, whole religious Orders might by order from the Pope be totally and finally extirpated. Here I passe by the *Frates Flagelliferi*, or scourging Friars,

[P p p 3]

Orders of Friars alterable according to the pleasures of their Founders.

Particular Convents alterable according to the pleasure of their Founders.

a De benefi. a. nussat, de agnis lupis, Gambiens Brit. in Gloucester-shire, out of Walsingham.

Whole Orders routed out by the Pope for their faults.

*Friers, religious Bedlams, who used publickly to whip themselves in the Market-place, making velame of their own skins, thereon to write their follies in legible characters.* Ifay I omit them; afterwards put down by the Pope himself: the rather because I finde them not in England, or elsewhere, endowed with considerable revenues. I will insist on the *Templers*, whose numerous and wealthy fraternity was for their *virtuousness*, by the Pope, in the Cancell of *Pieuna*, dissolved all over Europe, and in England all or most of their land was given to the *Knights Hospitallers*. This was a great shaking of all religious Orders, the plucking out of these chief threads, made a in the whole cloth, as well as the single *Arrows*, seeing, perchance, other Societies led lives not more religious, but lesse examined.

b See Supplement  
not the  
Holy Wars,  
chap. 1543.

The first blow  
at the root of  
Abbeyes.  
c Thomas H. 21.  
fugham.

d Being heard  
to say, That  
Princes had too  
little, and Re-  
ligious men  
too much.  
Hairsfield.  
pag. 514.

The objection  
of covetousness  
against Abbeyes  
(though not  
answered) evi-  
ded by Archb.  
Chicheley.

4. But the first terrible blow in England given generally to all Orders, was in the *Lay Parliament*, as it is called, which did wholly *Wicclisfize*, kept in the twelfth year of King *Henry the fourth*, wherein the Nobles and Commons assembled, signified to the King, that the temporal possessions of Abbots, Priors, &c. lawfully spent within the Realm, would suffice to finde and sustain 150 *Earls*, 1500 *Knights*, 6200 *Esquires*, 100 *Hospitals*, more than there were. But this motion was mauld with the King's own hand, who dashed it, personally interposing Himself contrary to that character, which the jealous *Clergie* had conceived of Him, that coming to the Crown He would be a great enemy to the Church. But though *Henry Plantagenet Duke of Lancaster* was no friend to the *Clergie*, perchance to ingratiate himself with the people, yet the same *Henry King of England* His interest being altered, to strengthen Him with the considerable power of the *Clergie*, proved a Patron, yea, a Champion to defend them. However, we may say, that now the *Axe is laid to the root of the tree of Abbeyes*; and this stroke for the present, though it was so farre from hurting the body, that it scarce pierced the bark thereof, yet bare attempts in such matters are important, as putting into peoples heads a feasibility of the project, formerly conceived altogether impossible.

5. Few years after, namely, in the second year of King *Henry the fifth*, another shroud thrust was made at English Abbeyes, but it was finely and cleverly put aside by that skillfull State-Fencer *Henry Chicheley Archbishop of Canterbury*. For the former Bill against Abbeyes, in full Parliament was revived, when the Archbishop minded King *Henry of His* undoubted Title to the fair and flourishing Kingdome of *France*. Hereat, that King who was a spark in Himself, was enflamed to that designe by this Prelates persuasion: and His native courage ran fiercelly on the project, especially when clapt on with conscience and encouragement from a Church-man in the lawfulness thereof. An undertaking of those vast dimensions, that the greatest covetousness might spread, and highest ambition reach it self within the bounds thereof: If to promote this project, the Abbeyes advanced not onely large and liberal, but vast and incredible summes of money, it is no wonder if they were contented to have their nails pared close to the quick, thereby to save their fingers. Over goes *K. Henry into France*, with many martiall spirits attending him, so that putting the King upon the seeking of a new Crown, kept the Abbots old Mitres upon their heads, and Monasteries tottering at this time, were (thank a pollicke Archbishop) refixed on the firm foundations, though this proved rather a reprieve than a pardon unto them, as will afterwards appear.

Of

## Of the suppression of alien Priories.

Next followed the dissolving of *alien Priories*, of whose first founding and severall sorts something must be observed. When the Kings of England by Conquest or Inheritance were possessed of many and great Territories in *France* (*Normandy, Aquitaine, Picardy, &c.*) many French Monasteries were endowed with lands in England. For an English kitchen or larder doth excellently well with a French hall. And whilst foreigners tongues slighted our Island (as barren in comparison of their own Country) at the same time, they would lick their lips after the full fare which our Kingdome afforded.

2. Very numerous were these Cells in England relating to forreign Abbeyes scattered all over the Kingdome. One *John Norbury* erected two for his part, the one at *Greenwich*, the other at *Lewesham in Kent*. Yea, *e Roger de Poitiers*, founded on in the remotest corner of the Land, in the Town of *Lancaster*; the richest of them all for annual income was that which *Two Talbois* built at *Spalding in Lincoln shire*, giving it to the *Monks of Angiers in France*, & valued at no lesse than 878 lib. 18s. 3d. of yearly revenue. And it is remarkable, that as one of these Priories was granted before the Kings of England were invested with any Dominion in *France* (namely, *Deorbis in Gloucester shire*,<sup>b</sup> assigned by the Testament of *Edward the Confessor* to the Monastery of *S. Denis near Paris*) so some were bestowed on those places in forreign parts, where our English Kings never had finger of power, or foot of possession. Thus we read how *Henry the third* annexed a Cell in *Thredneedle-street in London* to *S. Anthony in Vienna*, and near *Charing-Crosse* there was another annexed to the *Lady Runciwall in Navarre*. Belike men's devotion, in that Age, look'd on the world as it lay in common, taking no notice how it was sub-divided into private Principalities, but proceeded on that rule, *The earth is the Lord's, and the fulnesse thereof*, and Charity, though wandering in forreign parts, counted it self still at home, because dwelling on its proper pious uses.

3. These *alien Priories* were of two natures, some had *Monks* with a *Prior* resident in them, yet not *Conventuall*, but dative and removable *ad nutum* of the forreign Abbey, to which they were subservient; Others were absolute in themselves, who though having an honorary dependance on, and bearing a subordination of respect unto French Abbeyes, yet had a *Prior* of their own, being an intire body of themselves to all purposes and intents. The former not unlike *Stewards* managing profits for the behoof of their Master, to whom they were responsible. The later resembling retainers at large, acknowledging a generall reference, but not accountable unto them, for the revenues they received. Now both these kinds of Priories peaceably enjoyed their possessions here, even after the revolve of those Principalities from the Crown of England: yet so, that during open hostility and actual warre betwixt England and France, their revenues were seized and taken by the King, and restored again when amity was sealed.

4. But King *Richard the second*, and King *Henry the fourth*, not so fair as their predecessors herein, not onely detained those revenues in time of peace, but also diverted them from their proper use, and bestowed them on some of their *Lay-servants*. So that the Crown was little enriched therewith: especially if it be true what *Arundell Archbishop of Canterbury* averred in the house of Commons to the face of the *Speaker*, That these Kings were not half a mark the wealthier for those rents thus assumed into their hands. And a Synod of the *Clergie* in the last of *Henry the fourth* petitioned the King, That *Lay-men* might not invade the possessions of *alien Priories*,\* but those Foundations might be furnished, Native English substituted in their rooms, whose request, by reason of the King's death ensuing took no effect. But this doth intimate, (though I had rather learn than reach in so dark a point) that those *alien Priories* still stood undissolved by Act of State, with a possibility to revert to their former use, and though the King had fastned

The original  
of Priories  
aliens.

c Cambl. Brit. in  
Lancashire.

f Tlem in Lin-  
colnshire.  
g Hairsfield in  
Glouc. religio-  
rum & Edm. lib.  
fol. 71.  
h Camb Brit. in  
Gloucestershire.

i Hairsfield, ut  
prioris, pag. 763.

k 1 Cor. 10. 28.

Alien Priories  
of two natures.

l Antiq. Brit.  
Pag. 774.

\* Hairsfield  
Hist. Ang. fol.  
decimo quinto  
cap. octavo.

Their dissolution.

m Parliament  
Rolls  
Raffall. titul.  
Monasteries.

The dangerous  
influence of  
this precedent

fastned upon their profits by his absolute power, yet as yet they were not settled and established in the Crown by *Act of Parliament*.

5. But in the fourth year of King *Henry the first*, in the heat and height of His *Warres with France*, all such *Priories alien*, as were not *Conventuall*, were by *Act of m Parliament* dissolved, and bestowed on the *King*. It being conceived unsafe, that men, moving according to a foreign interest, having their affections leading them beyond the seas, and their actions following, (when befriended with *secrecie*) should be maintained in this Kingdom. Besides it tended to the manifest detriment of the State, that such should transport our *coyn and commodities* into an enemies Countrey, without returning a proportionable profit to the Common-wealth. Other *alien Priories*, which were *Conventuall*, survived untill the general mortality of *English Monasteries*. These *alien Priories* were not conceived to have such a temptation to disloyalty, as the others, having their absolute subsistence here; and though the *Monks* therein were strangers in respect of their birth, they were counted *Naturalized* in a manner in regard of their education and livelyhood.

6. The dissolving of these *Priories*, made a dangerous impression on all the rest. Say not that *English Abbeys* were unconcerned, because these strangers being rather *fuckers* than *branches* of their tree, their growing was a burthen, and their pruning off a benefit thereunto; for, though *Aliens* in their Countrey, they were *Allies* in their Cause, there being an *affinity* betwixt all *religiow Foundations*. And now here was an *Act of State* for precedent, That *without sin of Sacrilege* such *Donations might be dissolved*. Use was made hereof, beyond the *Kings intention*, who, in this act not *covetous*, but *politick*, aiming rather to *secure* than *enrich* Himself: whereas now some *Courtiers* by His *bounty* tasting on the sweet of *Abbey-lands*, made their *break-fasts* thereon in the time of *Henry the first*, which increased their appetites to *dine* on the same in the daies of *King Henry the eighth*, not so glutted, but they could *sup* on the reverfions left in the Reign of *K. Edward the sixth*.

## SECTION X



## SECTION X III.

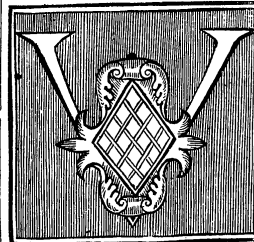
To the Honourable, the Lady MARY FOUNTAINE.

M A D A M,

**T**hough none can expect Courtship, many will require Congruity from me. Such will charge me with a great Impropriety, for dedicating a discourse of Monks and Friers to your Ladiship, where some passages of their wantonnesse, may occasion your blushing for them, who never blushed for themselves. But, know it done by design, that you may plainly perceive how far Marriage-chastity transcended forced and pretended virginity: or, if you please, how much a springing Fountain, is better than a standing-Pool soon subject to putrefaction.

Your Family, though not a Nunnery, may be a Religious house, seeing God hath multiplied you into a whole Convent, I mean, the fourteen Children which you have at this present; I say have; for this reason is rendred, why the Children of Job (after his restitution) were not doubled unto him as his Cattle were, because they were utterly foregone, his Children onely gone before; on which account those six removed from you, into a better world, still remain yours. God in due time translate you, and your worthy Husband, in a good old age, into the same Place of Happiness.

of Cardinal Wolsey's ominous suppressing of forty lesser Monasteries, therewith to build two Colledges.



As were the revenues of Cardinal Wolsey, if we account both his Wives, and Concubines, I mean, the place whereon he resided, and Churches he held in *Commendam*, being at the same time, the Pope's Legate à laicere, Archbishop of Yorke, Chancellor of England, Bishop of Winchester, Abbot of *S. Albans*, besides other meaner preferments. Yet he found a *Solomon's* observation true, When goods encrease, they are encreased that eat them: Inasmuch, that his magnificent mind was poor in his plenty; & in the midst of his wealth, wanted means to compass his vast designs. Wherefore, intending to erect two fair Colledges, one, where he was born, in *Ipswich*; the other, where he was bred, in *Oxford*; and finding himself unable to endow them at his own charges, he obtained license of Pope Clement 7th, An. 1525, to suppress forty smaller Monasteries in England, and to lay their old land to his new foundations, which was done accordingly. For the Cardinal thought,

[Q. q.]

Wolsey's wealth  
and want.

4 Eccles. 5. 11.

thought, that these petty Houses, like little sparks of diamonds, were inconsiderable in themselves, whereas they would make a fair show, if all were put together into two jewels only, his two Collegges ) and he carry away all the credit thereof.

2. An action condemned by the conscientious in that Age, accounting it essentially to charity, that the thing given be the proper goods of the Donour. *Cast thy bread* (saith Solomon) *upon the water.* It must be *thy bread*, otherwise, though *spilled bread* may be pleasant to men, it is nauseous and distastfull to the God of heaven; who, in such cases will not be the receiver, though man be the thief; solemnly disavowing the acceptance of such donations, witness his own words, *I hate robbery for burnt offering.*

3. Plead not in the Cardinal's excuse, that the houses by him suppressed were of small value, it being as great, yea, greater sacrilege to invade the widows mite, than the large gifts, which the rich Priests cast into *Corban*: because their bounties were but superfluous wants, whilst hers was an essentiall limb; yea, as our Saviour observes, the whole body of her estate. As probably, some of those poor Foundations were erected by Founders, like those of Macedonia, to their power, and beyond their power willing of themselves. As for the poor people, formerly living in these then dissolved houses, they may be presumed more religious than others that were richer; poverty being a protection for their piety, and they unable to go to the cost of luxurious extravagancies. I finde not what provision was afterward made for these helpless souls, thrust out of house and home, so that it is suspicious, that the Cardinal, notwithstanding his prodigious hospitality, made more beggars than ever he relieved.

4. Others alledge, that these houses were still continued to the generall end of pious uses: however, it was not fair to alienate them from the primitive intention of the Founders; yea, God himself seemed not well-pleased therewith. I know, that *no man knoweth either love, or hatred, by all that is before them.* All things come alike to all, there is one event to the righteous and to the wicked, &c. However, Gods exemplary hand ought to be heeded in the signall fatality of such, as by the Cardinall were employed in this service: Five they were in number, two whereof challenging the field of each other, one was slain, and the other hanged for it. A third, throwing himself headlong into a well, perished wilfully. A fourth, formerly wealthy, grew so poor, that he begged his bread. The fifth Dr. Allen, one of especiall note, afterward Archbishop of Dublin, was slain in Ireland. What became of the Cardinal himself, is notoriously known: and, as for his two Collegges, that in Ipswich (the embleme of its Builder, soon up, soon down) presently vanished into private houses; whilst the other, Christ-Church in Oxford, was faine to disclaim its Founder, and (being adopted the issue of the bounty of King Henry the eighth, at this day owns not him for Father, who first gave it life, but who afterwards kept it from dying. In a word, this dissolution of fourty small Houses caused by the Cardinall, made all the Forest of religious Foundations in England to shake, justly fearing the King would finish to fell the oaks, seeing the Cardinal began to cut the underwood.

### Of the first Priory which was solemnly suppressed by King Henry the eighth.

SOME six years after, whilst as yet all other Abbeyes flourished in their height and happinesse, as safe and secure as ever before; King Henry the eighth, for reasons best known to Himself, singled out the Priory of Christ-Church neigh Allgate in London, and dissolved the same. This He bestowed as a boon on Thomas Audley Speaker in the Parliament; and indeed, it was an excellent recit to clear his voice, to make him speak shrill, and loud for his Master. This shrewdly took the freehold of all Abbeyes, seeing now, two such great men, Wolsey and Audley, both in their times Lord-Chancellours of England, (and therefore presumed well versed in cases of conscience) the one a Divine first took, the other a Common-Lawyer first received such lands into their possession.

2. A

Wolsey his act  
justly censured.  
b Eccle. 11. 1.  
c Prov. 9. 17.

d Isa. 61. 8.  
Fig leaves to  
cover in  
vain.

e Luke 12. 4.  
f 1 Cor. 8. 3.

The miserable  
ends of the  
Cardinals in-  
struments  
herein,  
g Eccle. 9. 1, 2.

h Godwin his  
Annals of Hen.  
the eighth,  
vol. no 1515.  
Ye Mr. Fox  
maketh the  
Lord Cromwell  
the principal  
person employ-  
ed by the Car-  
dinall therein.

Christ-Church  
Priory near  
Allgate first,  
and solely  
dissolved.

a Hall's Chro-  
nicle, An. 1555.

2. A word of the antiquity, wealth and dignity of this Covent, because in each respect it was remarkable. It was founded Anno 1108: by Queen Matilda, Wife to King Henry the first, dedicated to the holy Trinity, for Black Canons, or Canons-Regular, and one Norman (by name and nation) was first Prior thereof. In proceesse of time it became rich in land and ornaments, and passed all the Priories in London or Middlesex, especially in this particular, that the Prior thereof was alwaies an Alderman of London, namely, of Portoken Ward (though otherwise their Covent standeth in Ealgate Ward) and used to ride amongst the Aldermen in a livery like the rest, save that his habit was in the shape of a spiritual person. In the year 1264, Eustachius the eighth Prior of this Covent, because he himself was loth to deale in temporall matters, instituted Theobald Fitz. Ivo, Alderman in his place. They were most bountifull house-keepers, relieving all comers and goers, and got themselves much reputation for their hospitality.

3. Some conjecture this was King Henry's designe in dissolving this Priory, thereby to make a discovery in peoples affections, how they resented the same. He dispatched this Covent first, as the forelorn hope is sent out before the body of the Army, which, if meeting with unsuspected dangers, may give timely notice to the rest, to advance no farther. And, if He had found the people much startled thereat, He could quickly knock off, retrench His resolutions, and (dexterous to decline envy for Himselfe) handsomely cast the same on His instruments employed therein. Others think, the King as yet had no such project in intention, but did it merely to gratifie Sir Thomas Audley, whom He loved the better for hating Cardinal Wolsey, now beginning to fall, against whom he had bitterly inveighed in the Parliament.

4. As for the manner of the dissolving thereof, whereas all other Abbeyes afterwards were *formed by violence* (whatsoever is plausibly pretended to the contrary) this onely was fairly taken by composition. For the Prior thereof was sent for by the King, commended for his hospitality, promised preferment as a man worthy greater dignity, which promise surely He performed, though the particulars of the agreement are not to be known. Whereupon, Anno 1531, the twenty third year of the King's reign, in the month of July, he surrendered the same to the King's use. As for the Canons, they were sent to other houses of the same Order; who now, being severally disposed in other Covents, they might serve them as *Monitors* to warn all the rest, seasonably to prepare for the time of their dissolution.

5. The rooting out of this Priory wrought a middle effect in people, for they were neither dumb, nor clamorous thereat, but grumbled out their discontentment for a time, and then returned to their former temper. However at first they were so abstemious, that, whereas the Priory, Church and Steeple was proffered to whomsoever would take it down, no man would undertake the offer. Whereupon, Sir Thomas Audley was faine to be at more charges than he could make of the materials; the workmen with great labour beginning at the top, loosed stone from stone, and throwing them down, most part of them were broken in the fall, and remained uselesse.

6. What might move the King to single this Priory out of all the rest, to lead this sad dance, is variously conjectured. Indeed, this was the antientest of all England of that Order since the Conquest, I mean, of Canon-Regulares, as our Author telleth us. And therefore it was but reasonable, the oldest should go first, the first-born should be first buried. But surely, no such consideration moved King Henry to this choice, who was not so methodical in His deeds of undoing.

7. As for the Lord Audley, on whom this Priory was bestowed, Margaret his sole Daughter & Heir was married to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, who dwelt therein, and which from him was called the Dukes-Place. No ingenious soul will envy to Honourable person the accommodation of so handfome an habitation: onely some, perchance, will bemoan that the Lords-Place (for so in their, and Jacob's language, they called the Church) whither alone the numerous neigh-

[Q q q 2]

bour.

The antiquity,  
wealth, and di-  
gnty thereof.  
b Henry the first  
in his Catalogue  
of Abb-ys.

c Stow's Survey  
of London,  
p. 145.

d Item ibidem.

A gueste at  
King Henry's  
design.

The Priory  
taken by com-  
position.

The effect  
thereof upon  
the people.

e Idemus prius.

This the anti-  
entest of all  
Priories.  
f Stow, in prius.

At this day  
called the  
Dukes-Place.

g Gen. 38. 17.



6 viz. An Dom.  
1621.

bour-inhabitants repaired for publick service, should be so destroyed, that the people were for many years left Church-lesse, till their wants<sup>b</sup> very lately were supplied by the re edifying thereof out of the ruins, by the charity of others; I am sure, none of the Heirs of Him, who demolished the same.

*Of the suppression of the Order of Observant Friers, and a preparatory for the dissolution of all the rest.*

Observant Fri-  
ers, why first  
falling under  
King Henry's  
displeasure.

**I**T is the practise of advised Physicians, in purging of long corrupted bodies (where the ill humours may prescribe peaceable possession for many years) to proceed not violently, all at once; but gently, by degrees. The same course was embraced by King Henry in dissolving of Abbeyes, gradually (and therefore the lesse visibly) to work their tubversion, so to avoid the danger of a sudden and extreme alteration. And first He began with the *Minorities*, or *Franciscan Observant Friers*, whose chief seats were *Greenwich*, and *Canterbury*. Two motives mainly incited Him against this Order; One, because two of their most eminent Fathers, *Hugh Rich* (Prior of a Convent in *Canterbury*) and *Richard Ruby*, had tampered with *Elizabeth Barton* (alias the holy maid of Kent) and were convicted, and executed with her for high Treason. A second, because this Order generally manifested most contumacie and contempt against the King, in the matter of Queen *Katharine's* divorce, inveighing both in their sermons, and disputations against the unlawfulness thereof, especially *Elston* and *Payton*, two famous Friers in London. A great Papist beholds it as ominous, and a prognostick of sad successe, that the Lady (afterward Queen) *Elizabeth*, just eleven moneths before, had been *Christened* in these Friers Church in *Greenwich*, as if Her baptizing therein portended, That those Friers should soon after be wathed away from this their Convent.

a Sanders de  
Schif. Anglie.  
lib. 1. pag. 81.  
b Idem, pag. 80.

Totally and fi-  
nally dissolved.

2. Hereupon, in the year of our Lord 1534, the aforesaid whole Order of *Friers Observant* were suppressed, and *Augustine-Friers* substituted in their places. Nor were these *Observants* (like the *Canon-Regulares* in the last Chapter) disposed of in other Foundations, but totally and finally banished out of all Religious Societies. For, King Henry his smiles complemented the former out of their Houses, by their own willing condescension; whilst His frowns outed these as Delinquents, by a violent expulsion. Yea, probably, some of them had been expelled their lives, as well as their *livings* (two hundred of them being at once imprisoned) had not Sir *Thomas Wriotheslie*, their great friend and favourer, seasonably interceded for them to the King, on hopes of some of their future conformity to His Majesties desires.

c Sanders, p. 89.

The Supplication  
of Beggars,  
with the sense  
thereof.  
d Fox Monum.  
vol. 1. pag. 279.  
e Idem ibidem.

f Ex. 1. 1. 8.

3. Immediately after, a famous Petition, called the *Supplication of Beggars*, came into publick view. It was made some years before by one Mr. *Simon a Fish* a Gentleman of *Grays-Inne*, and solemnly presented by *George Eliot* an *English-Merchant*, and entertained by King Henry for a great rarity: Though indeed the same long since had been tendered Him by Queen *Anna Bollen*, and the King acquainted with the passages therein. So that possibly, this Supplication might first come from some near His Majesty, as contrivers thereof. And, as *Moses* was sent to be nursed unto her, who (though generally unknown) was indeed his own Mother which bare him: so Petitions may sometimes be recommended back to the same power that first framed them. Great ones delighting, not only for the greater solemnity, but also for their better security to transference their intentions to be others intricacies; their private designs finding more acceptance, when passing under the notion of a publick desire. The effect thereof was to complain, how a crew of strong, puissant, counterfeited-boly, idle beggars, and vagabonds, by their luxuriose starved a number of needy, impotent, blinde, lame, and sick people, which otherwise might comfortably be maintained. As also to discover the foul enormities

enormities and filthy conversation used amongst those pretended pious Fraternities, as the same is set forth at large in the *Book of Martyrs*, whither we remitt the Reader.

4. Only a word of the *Geometry*, *Arithmetick*, and *Chronologie*, used by the Author of this *Supplication*. For his *Geometry*, I conceive he saileth not much in proportion, when, in measuring the content of this Kingdome, he affirmeth, That they had got into their hands more than the third part of all the Realm. But, whereas he auditeth the Revenues of the Friers in England (besides their lands) to amount yearly to Four hundred thirty thousand three hundred thirty and three pounds, allowing their quarteridge to arise out of Fifty two thousand Parishes, he highly over-reacheth their number, not completing Ten thousand. Indeed, the Papists tell us of Ten thousand Churches in England destroyed all in one year,

The Geometry,  
Arithmetick,  
and Chrono-  
logy of the Au-  
thor thereof.

g See Comb.  
Bislin his di-  
vision of Brit.  
pag. 161.

*Millia dena unus Templorum destruit annus.*

Yet, these being Conventual, not Parochial Churches, adde nothing to the former computation. Yea, should all the *Chappels of Ease* in this Land be admitted to take a new degree, and to commence Churches in this catalogue, it would not make up the number. But, it is given to Beggars, sometimes to hyperbolize, to make their case the more pitifull: and indeed, if we defalk a third part of that summe, yet still vast was the remainder of such Friers revenues. But, whereas the said Authour of this *Supplication*, saith, That four hundred years past these Friers had not one penny of this money, *Quare*, whether he be not mistaken in his *Chronologie*: and, whether some of the same profits accrued not to the *Benedictines* before the Conquest.

5. In answer to this, an *Anti-Supplication* was made, and set forth by Sir *Thomas More* (extant amongst his other works) called, *The Supplication of the souls in Purgatory*. The scope whereof is, to presse the continuation of those lands, given to pious uses, for the good of the deceased, and that they might not be aliened without danger of Sacrilege. In this *Supplication*, pleasant dallying and scoffing are so intermixt with complaints, that the Authour thereof discovereth himself more *Satyrist* than *Saint* in his expressions. So hard it is for an Author so to devote himself of himself, as not to vent some of his own humours, with the property of that person whom he is to represent. And, seeing Sir *Thomas More* would have his own jelts when dying, no wonder if he makes others to jeer when dead.

The Anti-Sup-  
plication of the  
souls in Purg-  
atorie.

6. These two *Supplications* pressing both together for audience and reception, that of the Beggars on earth found the best entertainment. Whether because it came first, which we know is great advantage in Beggars, first come, first served: Or, because these *Terrestrial beggars* were nearer at hand (and so best able to manage their own suit) whilst those in *Purgatory* were conceived at a greater distance: Or, chiefly, because their *Supplication* suggested matter of profit to the King and His Courtiers; and such whispers found loud, and commonly meet with attentive ears. And, as an introduction to the dissolution of all Abbeyes, *Pies* were sent forth to make strict discovery of mens behaviours therein. Indeed, the Lord *Cromwell*, Scout-Master-General in this designe, stayed at the Court, whilst his subordinate Emisaries (men of as prying eyes, as afterwards they proved of gripple hands) sent unto him all their intelligence, in manner and form as in due time shall ensue.

The first Sup-  
plication best  
received.



## The lesser Monasteries bestowed on the King.

A gainful motion made for the King.

Reported by mistake opposed by Bishop Fisher.

Easily passed in Parliament.

A Preamble of importance recorded out of the Records to the Printed Statute.  
4 Of Henry 8, pag 376.

**N**OW because some moneths were employed in that service before a perfect account was returned to the Lord Cromwell: The suppressing of the smaller Monasteries may here seasonably be inserted: For in the twenty seventh of the Kings Reign Anno 1539, a motion was made in Parliament, That to support the Kings States, and supply his wants, all Religious Houses might be commended on the Crown, which were not able clearly to expend above Two hundred pounds a year.

2. Some may report, that John Fisher Bishop of Rochester earnestly (though pleasantly) opposed the motion, by alledging an Apologue out of *Aesop*, That the Helve of the Axe craved a Handle of the wood of Oaks onely to cut off the Sere-bowes of the Tree, but when it was a complete instrumentall Axe, it felled down all the wood. Applying it, That the grant of these smaller Houses would in fine prove destructive to all the rest. But Fisher, being now in his grave, this could not be spoken in this Parliament; which, with more probability was formerly urged by him against Cardinal Wolsey in dissolving the forty Houses, whereof before.

3. This Proposition found little opposition in either Houses. Henry the eighth was a King, and His necessities were Tyrants, and both suing together for the same thing, must not be denied: besides the larger things they cut out of other mens leather, the more intire they preserved their own hide, which made the Parliament to ease their own purses by laying the load on those lesser Houses, which they accordingly passed to the Crown.

4. The Lord Herbert in his *Historie* complaineth, and that justly, That this Statute for dissolution of the lesser Monasteries doth begin very bluntly, without any formall Preamble in the Printed Books they are Published. It seemeth that herein he never searched the Record it self (otherwise industrious in that kinde) to which a solemn Preface is prefixed, shewing some Reasons of the dissolution, and pious uses, to which they were attained: In form as followeth:

## The Preamble is this:

**F**orasmuch as manifest sin, vitious, carnall and abominable living, is daily used and committed commonly in such little and small Abbeys, Priories, and other religious houses of Monks, Canons, and Nuns, where the Congregation of such religious persons, is under the number of twelve persons, whereby the Governours of such religious Houses and their Covent, spoile, destroy, consume, and utterly waste, as well the Churches, Monasteries, Priories, principall Houses, Farms, Granges, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, as the ornaments of the Churches, and their goods and Chaitels, to the high displeasure of Almighty God, slander of good Religion, and to the great infamy of the King's Hignesse and the Realm, if redresse should not be had thereof. And albeit that many continuall Visitations have been heretofore had by the space of two hundred years and more, for an honest and charitable reformation of such unchristy, carnall, and abominable living, yet nevertheless little or no amendment is hitherto had, but their vitious living shamefully increaseth and augmenteth, and by a cursed custome so grown and infected, that a great multitude of the religious persons in such small Houses, do rather choose to rove abroad in Apostasie, than to conform themselves to the observation of good Religion; so that without such small Houses be utterly suppressed, and the Religion therein committed to the great and honourable Monasteries of Religion in this Realm, where they may be compelled to live religiously for reformation of their lives, there can else be no redresse nor reformation in that behalf. In consideration whereof, the King's most royall Majesty, being Supreme head in earth under God, of the Church of England, daily

daily studying and devising the increase, advancement, and exaltation of true doctrine and virtue in the said Church, to the onely glory and honour of God, and the totall extirpating and destruction of vice and sin, having knowledge that the premises be true, as well by the compts of his late visitations, as by sundry credible informations; considering also that divers and great solemn Monasteries of this Realm, wherein, thanks be to God, Religion is right well kept and observed, be destitute of such full numbers of religious persons as they ought and may keep, have thought good that a plain Declaration should be made of the premises, as well to the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, as to other His loving Subjects, the Commons in this present Parliament assembled.

**W**HEREUPON the said Lords and Commons by a great deliberation finally be resolved, That it is, and shall be much more to the pleasure of Almighty God, and for the honour of this His Realm, that the possessions of such small religious Houses, not being spent, spoiled and wasted for increase of maintenance of sin, should be used and converted to better uses; and the unchristy religious persons so spending the same, to be compelled to reform their lives. And hereupon most humbly desire the King's Highnesse, that it may be enacted by authority of this present Parliament, That His Majesty shall have to Him and to His Heirs for ever, all and singular such Monasteries.

His Majesty shall have and enjoy, &c. As it foloweth in the printed Statute.

In this Preamble two principles are laid down of infallible truth, and posterity must not be so presumptuous as to question them.

1. The smallest Convents were the greatest sinners, and they who had the least lands led the least lives.
2. It was harder to reform little Convents than those that were greater.

It seems such small Houses, like little fishes, could not be caught with the net of Reformation, as slipping through the holes thereof, and therefore no way to repress their faults except by suppressing their foundation. All I will add is, God first punished great *Sodome*, and spared little *Zoar*, (though probably also in fault) here *Zoar* was first punished, let great *Sodome* beware, and the larger Monasteries look to themselves.

5. And now adieu all religious Houses in England that could not clearly spend above Two hundred pounds per annum, and we must not believe any finister dealing was used by favour to wrack the revenues of some above, and our of dislike to shrink the rents of others, beneath the standard of dissolution, when Twenty shillings a year, under or over the aforesaid summe, might save or destroy a small Monastery. As for such (if any in that posture) who had just Two hundred pounds, and no more, they were obnoxious to the Statute, whilst Five shillings more saved all, as that is a fair ball in the Tennis-Court, which toucheth the line, yet goeth over it.

6. Ten thousand persons were by this dissolution sent to seek their fortunes in the wide world, some indeed had Fathers or Friends to receive them, others none at all; some had Twenty shillings given them at their Ejection, and a new Gown, which needed to be of strong cloth to last so long till they got another. Most were exposed to want. I see no such certainty for a comfortable livelihood as a lawfull calling, for Monkish profession was no possession, and many a young Nun proved an old Beggar. I pity not those who had hands and health to work, but surely the gray hairs of some impotent persons deserved compassion, and I am confident such, had they come to the doors of the charitable Reader hereof, should have had a meals meat and a nights lodging given unto them.

b. Cap. 28.

Two principles which must not be questioned.

Exact measuring to the Standard of dissolution.

Many aged persons at a loose for live; lihood.



## The return of the Visitors of Abbeyes.

The return of  
the L. Crom-  
wells agents.

The principal  
Commissi-  
oners.  
a L. Hobbes in  
the Life of  
Hen. 8. p. 298.  
b Fox Act. &  
Mon. p. 1222.  
where is a pi-  
cture thereof.  
Their two-  
edged sword.

Monks weary  
of their lives.

Others undone  
by their own  
diffusions.

A charitable  
confer.

**B**Y this time, the *Instruments* employed by the Lord Cromwell, to make discovery of the vicious lives of *Monks*, and *Friers*, were all returned in their *persons*, or in their *intelligence* lent unto him. They were men, who well understood the Message they went on, and would not come back without a satisfactory answer to him that sent them, knowing themselves were likely to be losers thereby. And now they had found out *water enough to drive the mill*, (besides what ran by) a sufficient detection to effect the business. Of these, some were put in *Commission to visit Abbeyes*, others moving in a *lower*, (but no less *needfull*) sphere of activity.

2. Of these *Commissioners* the principal were *Rich: Layton, Tho: Legh, William Peters*, Doctors of the Law; \* Doctor *John London* Dean of *Wallingford*. Of the three former I can say nothing, but find the later (though employed to correct others) no great *Saint* himself. For afterwards he was publicly convicted of perjury, and adjudged to ride with his face to the Horse-tale at *Windfor and Ockingham* with papers about his head, which was done accordingly.

3. Their power was partly *Inquisitive*, to search into the former lives of *religious persons*; partly *Impositive*, to enjoin them stricter rules for their future observation. It is hard to say, whether their eyes were more prying for what was past, or hands more heavy for the time to come; and, most true it is, that *betwixt both*, many *Monks* formerly *laxie in*, were now weary of their present profession.

4. Some counted their *Convents*, their *Prisons*, being thus confined; for, once out of the house, (without *lawful cause* and *leave* obtained) and never in again. It was a fine thing when they might, but sad case, when they must, live in their *Monasteries*; the *Eighty six Articles* of the *Visitors*, (looking with *Janus* partly backward, partly forward) did so vex them, that many who had hopes of others subsistence, cast off the *Couls* and *Vails*, and quitted their *Convents*.

## The second sort of insinuating Emisseries.

**T**Hese *Visitors* were succeeded with a second sort of *publick Agents*, but working in a more *private way*, encouraging the *members* in *Monasteries* to impeach one another: for seeing there was seldom such general agreement in any great *Convent*, but that *factions* were found, and *parties* did appear therein, these *Emisseries* made an advantageous use thereof. No *Abbey* could have been so soon destroyed, but by cunning setting it against its self, and secret fomenting of their own divisions. Whereupon, many being *accused*, did recriminate their *Accusers*, and hopelesse to recover their own innocence, *pleased* themselves by *plunging* others in the like guiltiness. Others being conscious to themselves, prevented accusing, by confessing their faults, and those very foul ones. Inasmuch that some have so much charity as to conceive, that they made themselves worse than they were, though it was a needlesse work for a *Black-Moore* to besot his own face.

2. Yea, some hold that as *Witches* long-tortured with watching and fasting, and pinched when but ready to *nod*, are contented causelessly to accuse themselves to be eased of the present pain; so some of these poor souls frightened with *menaces*, and fearing what might be the success, acknowledged all, and more than all against themselves, the truth whereof none on earth can decide.

Soliciting

## Soliciting and tempting Emisseries complained of by the Papissts.

**T**HE *Papissts* doe heavily complain (how justly, *God* alone knoweth) that a third sort of *Agents* were employed, to practise on the *chastity* of the *Nuns*, so to surprize them into *wantannesse*. Some young *Gallants* were on designe sent to some *Convents*, with *fair faces, flattering tongues, store of gold, and good cloather, youth, wit, wantannesse*, and what else might work on the weaker sex. These having with much craft, secured themselves into the affections of *Nuns*, and brought them to their lure, accused them afterwards to the *Kings Commissioners* for their incontinence. A damnable act, if true, and which mindeth me of the ensuing story, here not impertinently interted.

2. Some sixty years since, an *English Gentleman* had the *chastity* of his *Wife* in suspicion, jealous of a particular *person*, who kept her company. To put it to trial, this her *Husband* so contrived the matter, a private place was appointed, with all accommodations for such a deed of darkness, whither the *Woman* with her suspected *Paramore*, were by set designe, (but wearing to them the visage of a seeming casualty) brought, and left together. Mean time her *Husband* made himself *Master* of a secret inspection out of the next room, where, with some of his friends, he was the witness of his *Wives* dishonesty, and his own disgrace. Soon after he entered his action, sues for a divorce, and the Court seemed generally inclined to the granting thereof.

3. But a *Reverend Judge* there present, refused to consent thereunto, alledging it the duty of every *Husband* by his prayers, counsel, and all other lawful means to save and secure the *chastity* of his *Wife*; and not to tempt temptations to tempt her: who otherwise might charitably be presumed honest, if such a fore-plotted occasion had not debauched her, and this not the detecting, but first causing of her *fidelity*. Seeing therefore in some sort he had been a Pander to his *Wife*, let him satisfy himself in the assurance of what was doubtfull before, and bear the burthen of his own betraying her.

4. How just this *Judges* sentence was (all circumstances considered) I will not interpose. Onely in application to the present purpose, though I confesse the relation betwixt *Husband* and *Wife* the nearest, (and therefore most obliging to their mutual preservation) the general Principles of Religion, and the Communion of *Saints*, tieeth all *Christians*, as they tender the honour and glory of *God*, to preserve the consciences of others undisturbed. It was therefore a meer *Satanical* trick, who is commonly called the Tempter in Scripture, first to sollicit souls to sin, and after the committing thereof to be an *Accuser* of the brethren. And seeing the Tempter is deeper guilty than the tempted, (as more active and voluntary) no reason that he should escape, and the other be punished. But all this discourse fincketh the foundation failing, namely, if the premises cannot be (which as yet are not) proved, that such indirect dealing was used in surprizing of any *Volaries* into uncleanesse.

5. But still the *Papissts* go further, complaining of false returns, that many of these *Envieiglers* of *Nuns* met with impregnable pieces of *chastity*, (neither to be battered by force, nor undermined by fraud) who despairing to lie with their bodies, did lie on their reputations, making their fames to suffer in those false reports, which they returned to the *Kings Commissioners*. And the following story is, I assure you, traditioned with very much credit amongst our *English Catholics*.

6. Two young Gentlemen (whose names for just cause I forbear) went to a *Nunnery* within twelve miles of *Cambridge*, in the nature of Travellers on the high way, who being handsomely habited, and late at night, were admitted into some out-Lodgings of that *Nunnery*: next day their civil addresses to the *Abbesse* were returned with such entertainment as became the laws of *hospitality*. Afterwards (producing or pretending a Commission to visit their *Convents*) they abode there

[ R r r 2 ]

A devilish designe, if true.

A memorable story.

Sin plot, sin pay for.

Application as far as concerns the matter in hand.

Mat. 4. 3. & Thel. 2. 5. Rev. 12. 10.

A complaint of the Papissts.

A God Rort, if true.

The Pedigree  
of this tradi-  
tion.

See Camden Eliz.  
in anno 1587.  
page 507.  
1 Item. ibidem.

Some Covens  
retaining their  
primitive piety.  
g Lord Herbert  
in Henry 8.  
page 399.

But see how  
prelate v. de  
ref.  
b. Ann. 12.

Charitable  
premisses.  
1 Gen. 7. 7.  
1 Gen. 4. 1.  
1 Jam. 3. 2.

Read, and  
blush, and  
sigh.  
m. Feb. Spect.  
Hist. of Great  
Brit. p. 791.  
Col. 1.

certain daies, and how bad soever they were, met with no counterpart to embrace their wanton profers. However, at the return they gave it out, that nothing but their weariness bounded their wantonness, and that they enjoyed those Nuns at their own command.

7. One of the aforesaid Gentlemen, with great grief and remorse of heart did in private confesse the same to Sir William Standly Knight, (afterwards employed in the Low Countreys) avowing that nothing in all his life lay more heavy on his conscience than this false accusation of those Innocents: and the said Sir William told this passage to a noble Catholick still alive. All I will say to this story is this, that if this Sir Will. Standly was he, who contrary to his solemn Oath to the Earl of Leicester and the united States, betrayd the strong City of *Daughter* to the Spaniards, (and lived many years after in a neglected, forlorn condition) one so faithlesse in his deeds, may be presumed false in his words, and the whole credit of the relation may justly at least be suspected.

### Some Covens on examination appearing very vertuous.

IT is confessed by impartial people, that some Monasteries of both sexes, being put to the test, appeared very commendable in their behaviour, so that the least aspersion could not justly be cast upon them. I read in one *Author*, that some Societies behaved themselves so well, that their lives were not only exempt from notorious faults, but their spare times bestowed in writing books, painting, carvill, engraving; so that their Visitors became Intercessours for them. Amongst these, the Nunnery of *Godstow* near *Oxford* must not be forgotten, which as it hath a good name, being a *Bethel*, that is, Gods house or habitation) well answered thereunto, in the conditions of the people living therein.

2. But there were few such black swans, and these innocent Covens being inconsiderable in number, could not preserve the rest from ruin. Eight, and one, pious persons, are insufficient to save *Sadome* from destruction, if ten be the lowest number to which Divine Mercy will descend.

### The generality of Monasteries notoriously vitious.

I Say the generality, otherwise take any numerous Society, and where there be many people there will be many offenders; there being a *Cham* amongst the *Eights* in the *Ark*; yea, a *Cain* amongst the four primitive persons in the beginning of the world. I add, also notoriously vitious; for, in many things we offend all. Yea, if the Visitors had been visited, they were conscious to the lives of many failings, which might make them more favourably to reflect on the infirmities of others.

2. Here I shall present the Reader with a black Bill of some eminent Male-factors, as I finde them in my *m* *Author* in the same nature.

#### In Battle-Abbey.

John Abbot	Gregory Champion	John Hamfield	} Sodomites.
Richard Alchurst	Clement Westfield	John Iherom	
Thomas Cuthbert	John Croft	Clement Grigge	
William March	Thomas Erasmbrook	Richard Towey	
John Hastings	Thomas Bayll	John Austine	

#### In Canterbury.

Richard Gomerisham	Nicholas Clement	Thomas Farley	} Sodomites.
William Liechfield	William Cawston	Thomas Morton	
John Goldington	John Ambrose	Christoph. James kept 3 married (Whores.	

In St. Augustine.

Thomas Barham a Whoremonger and a Sodomite.

In Chichester

John Champion, and Roger Barham, both of them natural Sodomites.

In Cathedral Church

John Hill had no lesse than thirteen Whores.

In Windsor-Castle

Nicholas Whyden had 4

George Whiteborn kept 5

Nicholas Spier kept 5

Roberts Hunne had 5

Robert Danyson kept 6

In Shulbred Monastery

George Walden Prior

of Shulbred, had 7

John Standney had

at his command 7

Nich. Duke to supply

his Vencry had 5

In Brisfow

William, Abbot of Brisfow, kept 4 Whores.

In Mayden Bradley

Richard, Prior of Mayden-Bradley, kept 5 Whores.

In Bath Monastery

Richard Lincombe had 7 Whores, and was also a Sodomite.

In Abingdon Monastery

Thomas, Abbot of Abingdon kept 3 whores, and had 4 children by his own Sister.

In Bermondsey Abbey

John White, Prior, or rather Bull of Bermondsey had 20 Whores.

I finde this Catalogue only in the third Edition of *Speed*, proving it a posthumous addition after the Authors death, attested in the margin with the authority of *Henry Steven* his Apologie for *Herodotus*, who took the same out of an English Book, containing the *Pilensse* discovered at the Visitation of Monasteries. Thus this being but the report of a forrainer, and the Original at home not appearing, many justly abate in their belief of the full latitude of this report. Indeed, tradition is the only Author of many stories in this nature, amongst which the infamous story intireth it self to as much probability as any other.

3. One Sir *Henry Colt* of *Neither-Hall* in *Essex*, much in favour with *King Henry* the eighth for his merry conceits, suddenly took his leave of Him late at night, promising to wait on His Grace early the next morning. Hence he hastned to *Walsham* Abbey, being informed by his setters, that the Monks thereof would return in the night from *Cheesham* Nunnery, where they had secretly quartered themselves: Sir *Henry* pitcht a Buckstall, wherewith he used to take Deer in the Forest) in the narrowest place of the Marsh where they were to passe over, leaving some of his Confederates to manage the same.

4. The Monks, coming out of the Nunnery, hearing a great noise made behind them, and suspecting to be discovered, put out the light they had with them, whose feet without eyes could finde the way home in so used a path. Making more hast than good speed, they ran themselves all into the Net. The next morning Sir *H. Colt* brought, and presented them to King *Henry*, who had often seen sweeter, but never faster Venison.

5. Here I cannot believe what is commonly told of under-ground Vaults leading from *Frieries* to *Nunneries*, confuted by the situation of the place, through Rocks improbable, and under Rivers impossible to be conveyed. Surely had *Walsham Monks* had any such subterranean contrivances, they would never have made use of so open a passage; and such Vaults extant at this day in many Abbeys extend but a few paces, generally used for the conveyance of water, or sewers to carry away the filth of the Covent.

6. More improbable it is, (what is generally reported) that Abbots made provision

[R r r 3]

n Cap. 21.  
fol. 103.

A coltsick trick  
ferved

upon the  
Monks of  
Walsham.

More talk than  
cruth of under-  
ground Vaults.

Provision  
made for  
their lust.

a Mr. Seven  
Marshall.

Charity befit  
in doubtful evi-  
dence.

A Sculm in  
Sion Nunnery.

sion for their lusts on their Leases, enjoying their Tenents to furnish them, (as with wood and coles, so) with fuel for their wantonness. A<sup>o</sup> Reverend Divine hath informed me, that he hath seen such a passage on a Lease of the Abbey of Essex, where the Lessee was enjoyed yearly to provide, *Unam claram & lepidam puellam, ad purgandos renes, Domini Abbatis.*

7. It was never my hap to behold any Instrument with such a lustfull clause, or wanton reservation therein, and shall hardly be induced to believe it: First, because such *turpis conditio* was null in the very making thereof. Secondly, because it was contrary to the *Charta magna*, as I may call it, of *Monasticall* prudence, *Si non casu, tamen casu*; wherefore what private compact forever was by word of mouth made betwixt them upon their Leases parole, sure all Abbots were, (if not so honest) so discreet, that no act in *scriptis* should remain, which on occasion might publickly be produced against them.

8. As for the instances of their private incontinence, they are innumerable. I will insit but in one hapning just at this juncture of time; and which may be presumed very operative to the ruine of such Religious Houses.

*A Lettore certifying the incontinence of the Nuns of Syon, with the Friores, and after the acte done, the Friores reconcile them to God.*

Endorsed,

To the Right Honourable, Master Thomas Cromwell,  
chief Secretary to the Kings Highnesse.

p He was one  
of Fryers who  
(according to  
the constitution  
of your Order)  
lived here  
with the Brigi-  
tarian Nuns.  
\* I conceive  
this two pro-  
per names.

**I**t may please your goodnesse to understand that Bulhope this day preached, and declared the Kynges tyele very well, and made a grete Audyense, the Chorche full of people, one of the *Focaces* in his said declaration, only called him false knave, with other foolish words; it was the foolish fellow, with the corled head, that kneeled in your waye when you came forth of the Confeiores Chamber. I can no lesse doe, but set him in prison, ut pena ejus sit meritis aliorum: yesterday I learned many enormous things against Bulhope, in the examination of the lay Brederen, first that Bulhope perswaded some of the Brederene to have gone their wayes by night, and he himselfe with them, and to the accomplishment of that, they lacked but money to buy them *seculare* apparell. Further, that Bulhope would have perswaded one of his lay-Brederen a Smith, to have made a key for the doare, to have in the night time received in Wenches for him and his fellows, and especially a Wiffe of Uxbridge, now dwelling not farre from the old Lady Derby, nigh Uxbridge: which Wiffe his old customer hath byne many times here at the grates communing with the said, and he was desirous to have her conveyed in to him. The said Bulhope also perswaded a Nanne, to whom he was Confessor, ad libidinem corporis perimplendum. And thus he perswaded her in Confession, making her believe, that whensoever, and as ofte as they shold melle together, if she were, immediately after; confessed by him, and tooke of him absolution, she shold be cleere forgiven of God, and it shold be none offence unto her before God. And she writte divers and sundry Lettores unto him of such their foolishnesse and unbrithynesse, and would have had his Broden the Smith to have pulled out a barre of iron of the window, whereas the examined the Lady Abbas, that he might have gone in to her by night. And that same window was their communing place by night. He perswaded the Sextene that he would be in his contemplation in the Chorche by night, and by that meanes was many nights in the Chorche talking with her at the side gate of the Nunnus Quire, and there was their meeting place by night besides their day communications, as in confession: it were too long to declare all things of him that I have heard, which I suppos it true. This afternoone I intend to make forder serche, both of some of the Brederen, and some also of the Sisters of such like matters; if I fynde any thing apparent to be true, I shall God willing thereof certefy your Majestie to morrow, by vij in the morning. And after this daye I suppos there will be no other shinges to be knowne as yet here; for I have already

g This Copie  
was taken out  
of the MS. Let-  
ters in the Lib.  
of Sir Simon  
Denes.

already examined all the Brederen, and many of them wold gladly departe hence, and be ryght weary of their hobbys; such Religion, and fained sanctitee, God save me free. If Master Bedle had byne here a Prior, and of Bulhopes counsell, he wold right wel have helped him to have brought his matorres to passe, without brekyng uppe of any grate, or yet counterfetting of keyes, such capassitee God hath sent him.

From Syone this Sondaye xij. Decembere. By the speedy hand of your  
affured poor Priest,  
Richard Layton.

We will conclude this discourse with one observation, how through ignorance the true meaning of that word [*Recluse*] was in that Age abused: For, in pure Latine it signifieth, one set open, or let loose to their own liberty;

\* *Quid non ebrietas designat, aperta reclusis?*

whereas *Recluse* was taken in that Age for one close shut up: so that many Monks and Fryers were *Recluses* indeed, not in the common acception, but true notation of that name.

\* This was one  
of the prime  
Vices above  
mentioned.

\* Hor. l. b. 1.  
Epist. 5.

Abbots willingly unwilling resigned their Monasteries  
to the King.

**S**anders saith, that King Henry sent a large Instrument to every Monastery, fairly ingrossed in Parchment, enjoying them all to subscribe, signe, and seal the same, with their *seale conventual*, upon the pain of His displeasure. It is not probable that such a formal Writing was sent unto them, drawn up before hand by the Kings Officers; but most certain it is (which amounts almost to as much in effect) a general intimation was given to all Houses, how acceptable such an act would be to the King. It was also pressed upon the said Monks, Fryers, and Nuns, that they (through their viciousness) being obnoxious to the Kings anger, this might, and would be done without their consent; so that it was better for them, *rebus sic stantibus*, to make a virtue of necessity; the rather, because this complement conducted nothing to the Kings right, (on whom the Parliament had already bestowed those Abbey lands) but might adde much to their own advantage, as being the way whereby their *Pensions* might the more easily be procured, largely allotted, and surely satisfied unto them.

2. The premises made such impression on the parties concerned therein, that fearing the *Lagge* would be looked on with bad eyes, they ran, as it were, a race, in their resignations, who should be first and foremost therein. However they used severall forms therein, some onely condemning their lives for *superstitious*, but not confessing themselves personally vicious, as by the following Instrument may appear.

The Surrender of the Warden and Fryers of S. Francis in Stanford.

**F**or as moche as we, the Warden, and Freers, of the Howse of Saynt Frances in Stanford, comenly called the gray Freers in Stanfords, in the Countie of Lincoln, doo profoundly consider that the perfection of Christian living dothe not consist in the dome ceremonies, wearing of the grey cowl, disgearing our selfe after straunge fashions, doking, and beeking, in guarding our selves with a gurdle full of knots, and other like papistical ceremonies, wherein we have byn moelt principally practised, and misseled in tymes past; but the very true waye to please God, and to live a tru Christian man, wythe owie all ypocrisie, and fained simulation, is sincerely declared unto us by our Maister Christe, his Evangelists, and Apostles. Being mynded hereafter to followe the same, conformyng our selfe unto the will and pleasure of our supreme hedde undre God in erthe the Kinges Majestie, and not to followe henceforth the superstitious tradicions of any fornicall potentate, or poore, wishe mutually assent,

Monks perswa-  
ded into a re-  
signation.

Swive who  
should be the  
foremost.

f Out of the  
Records of the  
Court of Aug-  
mentation.

assent, and consent, doo submitte our selves unto the mercy of our said soveraygne Lorde. And wiche like mutuell assent, and consent, doo surrender, and yelde up unto, the hands of the same, all our said howse of Saynt Frances in Stanforde, comenly callid the grey Freers in Stanforde, with all Lands, tenements, gardens, medowes, waters, pondyards, feedings, pastures, comens, rentes, reversions, and all other our interst, ryghtes, or tytles, aperteyning unto the same, mooste humbly besycheing His mooste Noble grace, to dispose of us, and of the same as best schall stonde wiche His mooste graciouse pleasure. And farther, freely to graunt unto every one of us His licens undre wrytyng and seall, to change our abites into secular fasson, and to receive such maner of livyngs, as other secular Priestres comenly be preferryd unto. And we all faithfully schall pray unto Almighty God long to preserve His moost noble grace, wiche encrease of moche felicitie and honor.

And in wittnes of all and singuler the premisses, we the said Warden, and Covent of the grey Freers in Stanforde, to these presents have put our Covent Seall the yeght day of Octobre, in the thyrtythe yere of the Raygne of our moost Soverayne King Henry the yeght.

Falsum Johannis Schemy Gardian.

Per me Fratrem Johannem Robards.

Per me Fratrem Johan. Chadworth.

Per me Fratrem Ricardum Pye.

Per me Fratrem Johannem Clarke.

Per me Fratrem Johannem Quoyte.

Per me Fratrem Johannem Jarman.

Per me Fratrem Johannem Yonget.

Per me Fratrem Johannem Lovell.

Per me Fratrem Willielmum Tomson.

A more humble form of surrender.

3. Other Resignations were far more humble and submissive, with an acknowledgment of their vitious and voluptuous lives; such was the *surrender* made by the Prior and Covent of S. Andrews in Northampton, which because very tedious, we shall onely transcribe so much thereof as concerneth our present purpose.

But as well we as others our predecessors, called religious persons within your said Monastery, saking on us the habite of outward vesture of the said rule, onely to the intent to lead our liffes in the ydle quietnesse, and not in vertuose exercise, in a stately emulation, and not in obedient humylyte, have undre the shadowe, or color of the said rule and habite, waynely, detestably, and also ungodly, employed, yea rather devoured, the yerely revenues issuing and comyng of the said possessions, in continuall inurgitations and faryngs of our carayne bodies, and of others, the supporters of our voluptuose and carnal appetyte, with other wayne and ungodly expensys; to the manifest subversion of devotion, and clenness of lyving; and to the moost notable slaunder of Christs holy Evangely, which in the forme of our profession, we did ostentate, and openly devaunt to kepe moost exactly: withdrawing thereby from the symple, and pure myndys of your graces subiectes, the onely truth and comfort, which they oughte to have by the true faith of Chriffe. And also the devyne honor, and glory, onely due to the glorious Majesty of God Almighty, fleyng them with all persuasions, ingynes, and polyce, to dedd images, and counterfett reliques, for our dampnable lucre. Which our moost horrible abominacions, and execrable persuations of your graces people, to detestable errors, and our long coveryd hypocrysie cloyed with feyned sanctitie; We revolvynge dayly, and continually ponderynge in our forrowfull hart, and thereby perseyving the bottomlesse gulfe of everlastynge fyre, ready to devour us, if persystyn in this state of lyving, we shalde depart from this uncerteyn and transitory liff, constrained, by the insufferable anguyshe of our conscience, callid as we trust by the grace of God, who wold have no man to persyst in synne: wiche hart moost contrite, and repentante, prostrate at the noble feet of your moost royal Majesty, moost lamentably doo crave of your highnes, of your abundant mercy, to graunt unto

us moost greivous against God, and your Highnes, your moost graciouse pardon, for our said sondry offences, omysions, and negligences, comytted as before by us is confessed agaynst your Highnes, and your moost noble Progenitors. And where your Highnes, being Supreme headd, immediately afte Chriffe, of his Church, in this your Roialme of England, so consequently generall and onely Reformer of all religious persons, there, have full authority to correct or dissolve at your Graces pleasure, and libertie, all Covents and religious companies abusing the Rewles of their profession. And moreover to your Highnes, being our soveraygne Lord, and undoubted fownder of your said Monastery, by dissolution whereof apperteyneth onely the Originall title, and propre inheryance, as well of all other goods moveable and unmoveable, to the said Monastery in any wyse apperteyning or belonging, to be disposed, and imployed, as to your graces moost excellent wysdome shall seme expedient and necessary.

Per me Franciscum Priorem.  
Per me Johannem Sub-Priorem.  
Per me Tho. Smyth.  
Per me Tho. Golsfon.  
Per me Rob. Martin.  
Per me Jacob. Hopkins.  
Per me Ric. Bunbry.

Per me Johannem Petre.  
Per me Jo. Harrold.  
Per me Tho. Barly.  
Per me Will. Ward.  
Per me Tho. Atterbury.  
Per me Will. Fowler.

Other Resignations varying in their words met (for the maine) in the matter, and were with all speed presented to the Kings Visitors: As School-boys hope to escape with the fewer stripes for being the first in wrytyng their points, those Covents promised to themselves the kindest usage, which were forwardest in their Resignations, though all (on the matter) fared alike.

4. Yea, John de Warbuse fo called from the place of his nativity in Huntingdonshire (where my worthy friend Mr. William Johnson is well beneficed) though the first, with his sixty Benedictine Monks, who with solemne subscription renounced the Popes Supremacy, and now as officious as any in surrendering his Convent to the Kings Visitors, met with no peculiar and extraordinary civility above others of his Order.

5. Such Resignations seal'd and deliver'd; the Visitors called for the Seales themselves (which now had survived their own use, having passed the last official Act) and these generally made of silver, were by the Kings Officers pretently broken in pieces. Such material Stamps being now abolished, it will be charity to preserve their Impressions, and exhibit them to posterity, which here we shall endeavour, rendering some probable reason how moost of them referre to the Founders, or foundation, or some remarkable action therein.

Between six and last no great difference. A Sped in his description of Huntingdonshire.

### The Seale of Armes of the Mired Abbeyes in England.

IN presenting of them, I will not be confined to the strict termes of *Blazoury*, the rather, because some of their Armes may be presumed to antient, as fitter to give Rules to, than take them from our *moderne Heraldry*: And what my pen cannot sufficiently describe; therein the Reader may faulsh himselfe by his own eye: To which these Coats are presented in the last sheet of this Volume after the History of *Walsham Abbey*.

1. I will make a method of my own beginning (where the Sun ends) in the West: *Taustock* in Devonshire gave *Barry* or and *Azure*, on a *Chief* Or, two *Mulletts*, Gules.

2. *Glossbury* gave *Vers* (as I conjecture the Colour) a *Crosse* *Buttine Argent*. In the first Quarter the Woman with a *Gloire* holding a *Babe* (radiated about his head in her Armes, because [forsooth] by the direction of the Angel *Gabriel* their Church was first dedicated to the *Virgin Mary*).

[S f t]

4. Middleton

The designe of the work.

The Armes of Taustock.

Of Glossbury.

\* See the fifth Cent. Parag. 11.

322	The History of Abbeys.	VI. Book.
Of Middleton.	3. Middleton in Gloucester-shire gave <i>Sable</i> , three <i>Baskets Argent</i> replenished with Loaves of Bread, <i>Gules</i> . Had the number of the <i>Baskets</i> been either <i>Seven</i> or <i>Twelve</i> , some would interpret therein a reference to the <i>Reversions</i> preferred by Christ his command of the Loaves miraculously multiplied: whereas now they denote the Bounty of that Abbey in relieving the poor.	
Of Malmesbury	4. What <i>Malmesbury</i> in <i>Wiltshire</i> gave I cannot yet attain.	
Of Abingdon	5. <i>Abingdon</i> gave a <i>Crosse flurs</i> betwixt <i>Martellets Sable</i> , much alluding to the Armes of our English Kings before the Conquest, who, it seems were great Benefactors thereunto.	
Of Reading.	6. The Abbey of <i>S. James</i> in <i>Reading</i> , gave <i>Azure three Scallop Shells Or</i> . Here I know not what secret sympathy there is between <i>S. James</i> and <i>Shells</i> ; but sure I am that all Pilgrims that visit <i>St. James</i> of <i>Compostella</i> in <i>Spain</i> (the Paramount Shrine of that Saint) returned thence obfist* <i>conchis</i> , all beset with abouts on their clothes, as a religious Donative there bestowed upon them.	
* Erasmus in his Dialogue, called Perigrinus Religioſus, cigo.	7. The Abbey of <i>Hild</i> , <i>juxta Winton</i> , gave <i>Argent a Lyon rampans Sable</i> , on a cheiff of the second, four <i>Keys Argent</i> .	
Of Hild.	8. <i>Bataille</i> -Abbey in <i>Suffex</i> gave <i>Gules a Crosse</i> betwixt a <i>Crown Or</i> , in the first and third Quarter. A <i>Sword</i> (bladed <i>Argent</i> , hilted <i>Or</i> ) in the second and fourth Quarter thereof. Here the <i>Armes</i> relate to the <i>Name</i> , and both <i>Armes</i> and <i>Name</i> to the fierce Fight hard by, whereby Duke <i>William</i> gained the <i>Engliſh-Crown</i> by Conquest, and founded this Abbey. Nor must it be forgotten, that a Text $\Phi$ pierced through with a <i>dash</i> , is fixed in the navill of the <i>Crosse</i> . Now, though I have read, * <i>Letters</i> to be little honourable in <i>Armes</i> , this cannot be disgracefull, partly because <i>Church-Heraldrie</i> moveth in a sphere by it self, partly because this was the Letter of <i>Letters</i> , as the received character to signify <i>Christus</i> .	
* Accidence of Armes.	9. <i>S. Auguſtine</i> in <i>Canterbury</i> gave <i>Sable a Croſs Argent</i> .	
Of S. Auguſtine.	10. <i>Crosse</i> we now the <i>Thames</i> , where <i>Westward</i> we first fall on <i>S. Peters</i> in <i>Glouceſter</i> , whose Dedication to that <i>Apoſtle</i> sufficiently rendreth a reason for the Armes thereof, viz. <i>Azure two Crosse Keys</i> (or two <i>Keys Sable</i> ) <i>Or</i> .	
Of Glouceſter.	11. <i>Tenſbury</i> gave <i>Gules</i> , a <i>Croſs</i> of an antick form <i>Or</i> , a border <i>Argent</i> .	
Of Tenſbury.	12. I will not adventure on the blazoning of the <i>Armes</i> of <i>Wincombe</i> (having much conformity therein with <i>Mortimers Coat</i> ) but leave the Reader to satisfy his own eyes in the inspection thereof.	
Of Wincombe.	13. I ſhould be thankfull to him who would inform me of the <i>Armes</i> of <i>Glouceſter</i> , which hitherto I cannot procure.	
Of Glouceſter.	14. * <i>St. Albans</i> gave <i>Azure a Croſs Sable</i> <i>Or</i> .	
Of S. Albans.	15. <i>Westminster</i> -Abbey gave <i>Azure a Croſs flurs</i> betwixt five <i>Martellets Or</i> , and this I humbly conceive were antiently the entire Armes of that Abbey being in effect the same with those of King <i>Edward</i> the Confessor the first Founder thereof: But afterwards their Conventual Scale was augmented with the <i>Armes</i> of <i>France</i> and <i>England</i> on a <i>Chief Or</i> betwixt two <i>Roses Gules</i> , plainly relating to King <i>Henry</i> the seventh, enlarging their Church with his Chappell.	
* S. Maryes in Coventry had no Armes in their Seal, as my good friend Mr. Dugdale informed me.	16. The Prior of <i>St. Johns</i> of <i>Jerusalem</i> gave <i>Gules a Croſs Argent</i> , which the Lord Prior sometimes employed with (but before) his own Coate, and sometimes bare it in a <i>Chief</i> about it.	
Of S. Johns of Jerusalem.	17. The <i>Armes</i> of <i>Walsham</i> -Abbey in <i>Essex</i> , appear at this day neither in glass, wood, nor stone, in, or about the Town or Church thereof. At last we have recovered them (that <i>long buried</i> ) out of a faire Deed of <i>Robert Fillers</i> , the last Abbot, though not certain of the metall and colours, viz: <i>Gules</i> , (as I conjecture) two <i>Angels</i> (can they be lesse than <i>Or</i> ?) with their hands (such we finde of them in Scripture) holding betwixt them a <i>Croſs Argent</i> , brought hither (saith our Antiquary) by miracle out of the <i>West</i> , whence <i>Walsham</i> hath the addition of <i>S. S. Croſs</i> .	
Of Walsham.	18. The Armes of <i>S. Johns</i> in <i>Colchester</i> , I leave to the eye of the Reader.	
Of Colchester.	19. <i>Burie</i> gave <i>Azure three Crowns Or</i> , The Armes of the <i>Kings</i> of the <i>Engliſh</i> , assumed in the memory of King <i>Edmund</i> (to whom this Abbey was dedicated).	
Of Burie.		

VI. Book.	The History of Abbeys.	323
	dicted) martyred by the <i>Danes</i> , when his <i>Crown</i> of <i>Gold</i> , thorough a <i>Crown</i> of <i>Thorns</i> (or <i>Arrows</i> rather) was turned into a <i>Crown</i> of <i>Glory</i> .	
	20. <i>St. Benet</i> in the <i>Holme</i> , in <i>Norfolk</i> , gave <i>Sable</i> , a <i>Pastoral Staffe Argent</i> , pickled below, and reflexed above, (intimating the Abbots Episcopall Jurisdiction in his own precincts) betwixt two <i>Crowns Or</i> , pointing at <i>England</i> and <i>Norway</i> , the two Kingdomes of <i>Cannins</i> , the Founder thereof. The aforeſaid <i>Staffe</i> was insuſeſed, that is, adorned with an holy <i>Lace</i> or <i>Label</i> , carefully hanging down, or cast a <i>croſs</i> , such with which their <i>Mitres</i> use formerly to be fastned.	Of S. Benet.
	21. <i>Thorney</i> -Abbey in <i>Cambridge shire</i> gave <i>Azure three Croſſes croſſed ſiches</i> , betwixt three <i>Pastoral Staffes Or</i> .	Of Thorney.
	22. <i>Ramsay</i> in <i>Huntingdon-shire</i> gave <i>Or three Rams Heads coupes Argent</i> , on a <i>Bend Azure</i> : The rest of the <i>Rams</i> must be supposed in the <i>blue Sea</i> , the <i>Fennes</i> , appearing such when overflowed. Besides, such changes were common here, whereof <i>Melibus</i> complaineth in the <i>Marishes</i> * of <i>Manina</i> .	Of Ramsay.
	Non bene ripa Creditor, ipse Arias etiam nunc velleris siccus.	* Virgil. Ælog. 9.
	There is no trusting to the founding bank. The <i>Ramme</i> still dries his fleece so lately dank.	
	But, since the draining of the <i>Fennes</i> hath (I hope) secured their <i>Cattell</i> from casualties.	
	23. The very name of <i>Peterborough</i> unlocks the reason why that <i>Abbey</i> gave <i>Gules</i> , two <i>croſſes</i> <i>Keys</i> betwixt four <i>Croſſes croſſed ſiches</i> , <i>Or</i> .	Of Peterborough.
	24. <i>Cromland</i> Abbey gave quarterly three (call them long <i>Knives</i> , or short) <i>Swords</i> bladed <i>Argent</i> hilted or pommel'd <i>Or</i> , <i>Azure three Whips fringed and knotted Or</i> , the second like the third, the fourth like the first. Instruments of cruelty relating to their <i>Monks</i> massacred by the <i>Danes</i> , Anno 870. whereof their Historian gives us this account, That first they were examinati, tortured, see there the <i>Whips</i> ; and then examinati, killed, see there the <i>Swords</i> . But if any will have those <i>Whips</i> to relate to the <i>Whip</i> of <i>S. Bartholomew</i> , the most remarkable Relique of that Monastery, I will not appole.	Of Cromland.
	25. The Armes of <i>Everſham</i> Abbey in <i>Worceſter-shire</i> , I cannot recover, but possibly may before the conclusion of this Work.	Of Everſham.
	26. <i>Shrewsbury</i> gave <i>Azure</i> , a <i>Lyon Rampant</i> over a <i>Pastoral Staffe Bendwayes</i> , so that both the ends thereof are plainly discovered.	Of Shrewsbury.
	27. <i>Crosse</i> we now North of <i>Trent</i> , where only two remain: <i>Selby</i> (founded by <i>William</i> the Conquerour) which gave <i>Sable</i> , three <i>Swans Argent</i> , member'd <i>Or</i> , alluding, as I believe, to the depressed situation of the place, where the neighbouring River of <i>Ouse</i> affordeth such Birds in abundance.	Of Selby.
	28. <i>St. Maryes</i> in <i>Torke</i> gave <i>Argent</i> a <i>Croſſe</i> , <i>Gules</i> , and a <i>Key</i> , in the first Quarter of the same. In the midst of the <i>Croſſe</i> a <i>King</i> in a circle in his <i>Robes</i> of state, with his <i>Scepter</i> and <i>Mound</i> : Yet hath he only a <i>ducall Cap</i> (and no <i>Crown</i> ) on his head. I humbly conceive (under favour of better judgments) this <i>King-Dukes</i> picture to relate partly to King <i>Vffilam Rufus</i> , partly to <i>Alan Duke</i> of <i>Britain</i> and <i>Richmond</i> , the principall Co-Founders of that Monastery.	Of Torke.
	The Lord Darcy his Extraction justly vindicated.	
	A mongst the principal persons who suffered for their zeale in defending of Abbeys was the lately mentioned <i>Thomas Lord Darcy</i> , whose extraction I finde foully aspersed by the pen of that passionate Prince, <i>K. Henry</i> the eighth: for when the <i>Rebels</i> boasted of the many <i>Noblemen</i> who sided with them, in confutation thereof, <i>King Henry</i> returned a Letter to them, interlined with His own hand, wherein this passage, [Others, as the Lord Marney and Darcy are but mean, scarce well-born Gentlemen, and yet of no great Lands till they were promoted by Us, and so made Knights.] It cannot be denied but that <i>K. Henry</i>	A causeſſe aspersed grounded on passion, a vide supra, p. 313. pag. 5.
	[S f 2]	b Speeds Ch. 6. in his 1. Edit. pag. 796.



What the Lord Marney was.

Three noble Branches of the Darcys in the North.

\* Dooms-day book, chap. 13 in Lincolnshire.

too much consulted His *choller* (now swelling high, because opposed by the *Rebels*) more than His *judgment* in this His expression; and seeing an Historian should, *sum cuique tribuere*, give me leave a little to enlarge in this subject.

2. Of the Lord *Marney*, I can say but little, finding him whilst as yet but a *Knight*, Sir *Henry*, Servant, and one of the Executors to the Lady *Margaret*, Countess of *Darby*: at which time, he was Chancellour of the Duchie of *Lancaster*. It seemeth he rose by the Law, being the first and last *Baron* of his name, whose sole *Daughter* was married to *Thomas Howard* Vicount *Bindon*.

3. Longer must we insist on the *Parentage*, *performances*, and *posterity* of *Thomas Lord Darcy*, finding in the *North* three distinct branches thereof, whereof the first was

### Begin

In *Norman de Adreay* or *Darcy* possessed under *K. Will.* the Conquerour, of many Manours in *Torke shire* and *Lincoln shire*, where *Normanby* His prime seat seemeth to named by him.

### Continued

For ten Generations, most of them buried in *Noke-ton Priory* in *Lincoln sh.* by them founded, and indowed, viz:

- |                   |                    |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| 1. <i>Robert.</i> | 6. <i>Philip.</i>  |
| 2. <i>Thomas.</i> | 7. <i>Norman.</i>  |
| 3. <i>Thomas.</i> | 8. <i>Philip.</i>  |
| 4. <i>Norman.</i> | 9. <i>Norman.</i>  |
| 5. <i>Norman.</i> | 10. <i>Philip.</i> |

### Extinguished

In *Philip Darcy* dying issueless, whose two Sisters and Co-heires were married, the one to *Roger Pedwardine*, the other, to *Peter of Limbergh*.

4. The first *Male Line* of the *Darcys* being thus determined, a *second Race* succeeded, derived from *Norman Darcy* the *Penultima* Lord in the last Pedigree,

### Begin

In *John Darcy* (Son to the aforesaid *Norman* Steward to the King's Household, Justice of *Ireland*).

### Continued

For five descents, being Barons of *Knaith* & *Meynill*.

- |                 |                   |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1. <i>John.</i> | 3. <i>Philip.</i> |
| 2. <i>John.</i> | 4. <i>John.</i>   |
|                 | 5. <i>Philip.</i> |

### Extinguished

In *Philip* the fifth Baron, who (though dying under age) left two Daughters, *Elizabeth* married to Sir *James Strangeways* of *Harley Castle*, and *Margaret* to Sir *John Coigniers* of *Hornby Castle*.

5. Thus expired the *second Male Stem* of the *Darcys*, styled Barons of *Knaith*, long since aliened from their Family, and for this last hundred years the habitation of the Lord *Willoughby of Parham*. Come we now to the *third Semme*, which was

### Begin

In Sir *John Darcy* of *Torrey*, second Son to the last Lord *John Darcy* of *Knaith*.

### Continued

Through seven Generations,

- |                    |                    |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1. <i>Richard.</i> | 4. <i>George.</i>  |
| 2. <i>William.</i> | 5. <i>John.</i>    |
| 3. <i>Thomas.</i>  | 6. <i>Michael.</i> |
|                    | 7. <i>John.</i>    |

### Extinguished

In *John Lord Darcy* of *Alston*, dying issueless, (though hee had fourte Wives) in the Reigne of King *Charles*.

6. Tho.

6. *Thomas Darcy* here named is the person, the subject of this discourse, of whom four things are memorable:

1. He was Knighted by *K. Henry the seventh*, who made him Captain of the Town and Castle of *Barwick*, \* and Commander of the East and Middle *Marches*.

2. *K. Henry the eighth*, in the first year of his Reign, made him *Justice* in *Eyre* of the Forests beyond *Trent*, summoned him the same year as a *Baron* to Parliament, employed him with a Navie, *An. 1511*. to assist *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon* against the *Moor*, and made him Knight of the *Garter*.

3. Though the Ancestours of this *Thomas Darcy* (since the second Branch was expired) were styled *Lords* in some Deeds (whether by the courtesy of the Country, or because the right of a *Barony* lay in them) yet this *Thomas* was the first summoned *Baron* to Parliament, in the first of King *Henry the eighth*, and his Successours took their place accordingly.

4. Though the Revenue of this *Thomas Lord Darcy* was not great at the beginning of King *Henry the eighth*, (because the Heires Generall of the Lord *Darcys* of *Knaith* carried away the maine of the Inheritance) yet he had a considerable Estate, augmented by his Match with *Doufabelle* the Daughter and Heire of Sir *Richard Tempest*.

The result of all is this, This Lord was most Honourably descended, and his Nobility augmented; not first founded by *K. Henry the eighth*, as his words did intimate. Let therefore passionate Princes speak what they please, their patient Subjects will believe but their just proportion. And although the *Foxes ears* must be reputed *born* whilst the *Lyon* in presence is pleased so to term them; yet they never alter their nature, and quickly recover the name after the *Lyons* departure. This I thought fit to write in vindication of the Lord *Darcy*, who though he owed his life to the *Law*, it is cruelty he should lose both it and the just honour of his *Extraction*.

7. As for the present *Coigniers Lord Darcy*, he is not onely descended from the foresaid Lord *Thomas*, but also from the Heire Generall of the second Stem of the Lord *Darcys* of *Knaith*, and was by King *Charles* accordingly restored to take his place in Parliament.

## The antient English Nobility great Losers by the Dissolution of Abbeyes.

ALTHOUGH many Modern Families have been great Gainers by the destruction of Monasteries, yet the Antient Nobility (when casting up their *Audits*) found themselves much impaired thereby both in power and profit, commodity and command: I mean such, whose Ancestours had been Founders of Abbeyes, or great Benefactors unto them. These reserved to themselves and their Heirs many Annual Rents and Services, Reliefs, Ecuage, as also that such Abbots and their Successours should doe Fealty and Homage to their Heirs for such Lands as they held of them in Knights Service.

2. Now although order was taken at the dissolution to preserve such Rents to the Founders Heires (payable unto them by the Kings Officers out of the Exchequer) yet such summes after long attendance were recovered with so much difficulty that they were lost in effect. Thus, when the few *sheaves* of the Subject are promiscuously made up in the Kings mowe, it is hard to finde them there, and harder to fetch them thence.

3. As for the foresaid Services reserved (either at money, or money-worth) to them

\* promissio de de an. 14 Henrici 7.

Antient Nobility losers.

Good rents ill paid.

Services wholly lost.

[S C C 3]



them and their Heires, they were *totally and finally* extinguished: for formerly such Abbeyes used

1. To send men on their own Charges in Voyages to Warre to aid and attend such of their Founders and Benefactors Heires, of whom they held Land in *Knights service*.
2. They bountifullly contributed a Portion to the Marriage of their *eldest Daughters*.
3. They bear the Costs and charges to accoutre their *eldest Sonnes* in a *gentile* military equipage when Knighted by the King.

But now the Tree being pluckt up by the roots, no such fruit could afterwards be expected.

4. Nor must we forget the benefit of *Corrodies*, so called à *conradendo*, from *eating together*: for, the Heires of the foresaid Founders (not by *courtesie*, but *composition* for their former favours) had a privilege to send a set number of their poor Servants to Abbeyes to diet therein: Thus many aged Servants past *working* not *feeding* (*costly to keep, and cruel to cast off*) were sent by their Masters to such Abbeyes where they had plentiful food during their lives. Now though some of those *Corrodies* (where the property was altered into a set summe of money) was solvable out of the Exchequer after the dissolution of Abbeyes; yet such which *continued in kinde* was totally extinct, and no such Diet hereafter given where both *Table and House* were overturned.

With the commodity of Corrodies.

### The Premisses proved by instance in the Family of the Berkeleys.

THE Noble Family of the Berkeleys may well give an *Abbott Misre* for the Crest of their Armes, because *so loving their Nation, and building them so many Synagogues*. Hence it was, that partly in right of their *Ancestors*, partly by their Marches with the Co-heirs of the Lord Mowbray and Seagrave, in the Vacancies they had a *right of Nomination* of an Abbot, in following Foundations.

Place.	Founder.	Order.	Value.
1. St. Augustines in Bristol.	1. Robert Fitz Hard- ing, whose posterity assumed the name of Berkeley.	1. Black Canons of the Order of S. Victor.	l. s. d. ob. q. = 767-15-3-0-0
2. Burton Lam in Leicester shire.	2. The Lord Mowbray in the Reign of K. Henry the first.	2. Leprous peo- ple professing the Order of S. Augustine.	
3. Byland, or Bella- Lannda, in York sh.	3. Robert de Mowbray, & Gonnora his Mother.		
4. Chancomb in North- hampton shire.	4. Hugh de Ansf. Kn <sup>t</sup> , in the time of the Conq. whose Son Robert took the name of Chancomb, & Annabisa his daugh- ter was married to Gil- bert Lord Seagrave.		
5. Combe in Warwick shire.		6. Premonstra- ntian Monks.	= 458-19-11-1-1
6. Croxton in Leice- ster shire.		7. Carthusians.	7. 290-14=
7. Eborah in the Isle of Axholme in Lin- coln shire.	7. Tho: Mowbray Earl of Nottingham in the Reign of K. Rich. the 2. to which the Mowbrays were grand Benefactors.		
8. Fountains.		9. Canons Regu- lar of S. Augu- stine.	= 178-7-100-1-
9. Kirkby in Leicester shire.	9. Roger de Beller, who held this Manour of the Lord Mowbray.		
10. Newburge in York shire.			

What shall I speak of the small Houles of Longbridge and Tintern in Gloucestershire, not (mentioned in Speed) the Hospitals of S. Katharine and Mary Maudlins near Bristol, the well endowed Schoole of Watton Under hedge in Gloucester shire, besides forty *Chameries* founded by the Berkeleys: yea, I have read in a *Manuscript* belonging unto them, no lesse judiciously than industriously composed by Mr. John Smith (who *did, and received* many good offices *to, and from* that Family, as is mutually confessed) that the forenamed Abbeyes and others, held of the Lord Berkeley at the dissolution, no fewer than eighty *Knights fees*, and payed services unto them accordingly, all which are now lost to the value of *ten thousand pounds* within the compasse of few years.

2. Nor will it be amisse to insert, that Robert Derby the last Abbot of Croxton, was presented thereunto, April 22. the 26. of King Henry the eighth, by Thomas (the first of that name) Lord Berkeley, (the place being void by the death of one *Attercliffe*) belonging to his *presentation* by *inheritance*. And in the *Record*, he commandeth the *Prior* and *Convent* to receive and obey him as *Abbas*.

Rob. Derby last  
Abbot of  
Croxton.

### Ingratitude to their Founders, a grand fault in many Abbeyes.

INGRATITUDE is the *abridgement* of all beneficence, a fault never found unattended with other vicioussness. This is justly charged on the account of many Abbeyes, whose stately *structures* grew so proud as to forget the *Rack* whence they were *Hewn, and the Hole of the Pit* whence they were *digged*: unthankfull to such Founders who under God had bestowed their *maintenance* upon them.

If unthankfull  
all bad.

2. One instance of many. Vast was the liberality of the Lord Berkeleys to S. *Aspines* in *Bristol*, leaving themselves in that their large Estate not one *Abbey* to which they might present a *Chaplain*: all the *Benefices* in their numerous *Manours* being appropriated to this and other *Monasteries*: Now see the Requital.

Great bounty.

3. Maurice, the first of that name, Lord Berkeley, having occasion to make the *disb* about his Castle the *broader* (for the better fortifying thereof) took in some few feet of ground out of Berkeley Church-yard, which Church with the Tithes thereof, his Ancestors had conferred on the aforesaid Monastery. The Abbot beholding this as a *great trespass*, or rather, as a *little sacrilege*, so prosecuted the aforesaid Lord with Church-censures, that he made him in a manner *cast the dirt of the ditch in his own face*, enforcing him to a publick confession of his fault, and to give Five shillings rent for ever, with some Tithes and Pasture for as many Oxen as would till a Plow-land, by the words of his Will, *Pro emendatione culpe mee de fossato quod feci de Camiterio de Berkeley circa castellum meum*.

Ill requited.

4. I know it will be pleaded for the Abbot that there is as much right in an *inch* as in an *ell*, that he was a *Fiduciary* intrusted to defend the *rights* of his *Convent*, that *Founders Heirs* are not privileged to doe injuries: yea, they of all persons most improper to take back what their *Ancestors* have given. However, the *Lords* inroachment on the Church-yard being in a manner done in *his own defence*, the thing in it self so *small*, and the merit of his *Ancestors* so *great* to that *Abbey*, might have met with that meeknesse which should be in the breasts of all Spirituall persons to abate his rigorous prosecution against him.

Summum jus.

5. Thomas the first Lord Berkeley of that name, found little better usage from the Abbot of S. *Aspines*, though he had formerly (besides *confirmation* of many Lands) conferred on that *Convent* pasture for Twenty four Oxen; discharging also their Lands (lying within certain of his Manours) from all Services and Earthly demands, onely to remember him and his in their prayers; yet did that Abbot and Convent implead him before the Popes Delegates for Tythes of Pannage of his Woods, for Tythes of his Fishing and of his Mills. The Lord removed the Suit to Common Law, (as challenging the sole power to regulate *Modum Dicimandi*;) And now when all was ready for a Tryall before the Judge

Another ing-  
ratitude.

intendant

A cause of  
their ruine.  
\* For the dis-  
solution of  
Chantries &  
Colleges, 17  
of Hen. 8. cap. 4.  
An overwise  
conceit

Easily con-  
futed.

Strong faith  
to believe so  
much of King  
Henry's charity

inherent at Gloucester, it was compounded by Friends on such Terms as the Abbot in effect gained his desire.

6. Indeed, so odious and obvious was the unthankfulness of some Convents, that it is reputed by some, the most meritorious Cause of their Dissolution, and their doing things without and against the Will of their Founders is instanced in the \* Statute as a main Motive to take them away.

7. Some who pretend to a *Prometheus* wit, fondly conceive that the Founders of Abbeyes might politickly have prevented their dissolution had they inserted a provision in their Foundations, That in case Abbey Lands should be alienated to other uses against or besides the Owners intents, then such Lands should revert to the true Heirs of the said Founders, if then in being.

8. But such consider not that such a Reservation would have favoured more of *wildnesse* than *wisdom* in that Age: as well might one have sought to secure himself with a shelter against the *falling of the skies* as equally probable as the diverting of Abbey Lands to other intentions. Besides, such a jealous clause might be interpreted *hereticall* to put into peoples fancies a feizability of such alterations: Yea, I have heard it questioned by the Learned in the Law, whether such a conditionall settlement with such a clause were Legall or no, many maintaining that such Donations must be absolute. But suppose such a Clause in their Foundations, it had not much befriended them at this time, seeing Cables are as easily cut off as Twine-threads by power of Parliament, when disposed to make such a dissolution.

9. Now some conceived it just *Abbey-Lands* should have been restored to the Heirs of their Founders; but seeing the most and greatest Abbeyes were built and endowed before the Conquest, it was hard to finde out their Heirs, if extant. Besides this would minister matter of much *linguistesse* equally to share them amongst their many *Benefactors*. Wherefore the King the Founder General of them all, mediately or immediatly in himself or in His Subjects, as who in His person or Ancestors confirmed, consented, or at least connived at their Foundations, may charitably be presumed to feize them all into His own hands, so to cut off the occasion of dangerous division amongst His subjects about the partition of those Estates.

SECT.

## SECTION V.

To the Right Honourable,

The Lady ELIZABETH POWLET of St. George-Hinton.

MADAM,

There be three degrees of gratitude according to mens severall Abilities: The first is to requite, the second to deserve, the third to confesse a benefit received. He is a happy man, that can doe the first, no honest man that would not doe the second, a dishonest man who doth not the third.

I must be content (in reference to your favours on me) to sit down in the last Form of thankfulness, it being better to be a Lagge, in that School, than a Trewant, not at all appearing therein. Yea, according to our Saviours counsell and comfort, the lowest place is no hindrance to a \* higher, when the Master of the household shall be pleased to call him up. When this is done, and God shall ever enable me with more might, my gratitude shall wait on your Lady-ship in a greater proportion.

Mean time, this Present (having otherwise little of worth) may plead something of propriety therein, seeing Somersetshire is the chief subject of this Section, the same County, which receiveth honour from You by Your Birth, and returneth it to You by Your Baronry therein. God blesse You in all Your relations, and make Your afflictions, which are briers and thistles in themselves, become sweet-brier, and holy-thistle by sanctifying them unto You.

\* Luke 14. 10.

## Of Miracles in generall, to which Monasteries did much pretend.



RIGHT is the Rule of what is So, and what is other wise. We will therefore premitt the description of a true Miracle. A Miracle is a work of God, passing the power of nature done for the confirmation of Faith on the Mission generally of a new Ministry.

A true Miracle described.

1. Works of God.] who onely doth wondrous things. For though He sometimes useth men as Morall instruments whereby, yet never as Naturall causes to effect Miracles.

4 Psalm 72. 18.

2. Passing the power of Nature.] Hence it is, that it is not done by leisure, but presently; not by degrees, but perfectly. Gods Cures are never subject to Relapse, once healed and ever healed, except the party run on the score of a new guilt, *Thou art made whole, sinne no more, lest a worse thing befall thee.*

5 John 5. 14.

[ T r e ]

3. Done

3. Done for the confirmation of faith.] God will not make his works cheap by prostituting them merely for the satisfaction of mans curiosity.
4. On the Mission generally of a new Ministry.] For, although some sprinkling of Miracles on other occasions; yet their main body was done by *Moses*, a new Law-giver to the *Jewes*; by *Elias*, and *Elisha*, two grand Restorers (adequate almost to a Giver) of the Law, in a generally-visible defection to Idolatry, by *Christ* and his *Apostles*, as the first Preachers of the Gospel.

In this our description, no mention of the rarity of Miracles, because the same resulteth from the premises, frequency abating from the due wonder thereof.

2. Now that such Miracles long since are ceased, appears by the confession of ancient Fathers, and most ingenious Romanists: S. Chrysost: 23 Hom: on S. John, thus expresseth himselfe, *Kai γὰρ οὐκ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ ἀνάγκη τῶν θαυμάτων, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἀνάγκην τῆς πίστεως*. For even now there be Seekers and Sayers, wherefore also now are not Miracles done? for if thou beest a Believer, as thou oughtest to be, and dost love Christ as thou oughtest to love him, thou hast no need of Miracles. For Miracles are given to unbelievers.

3. S. Augustine passing his Censure on the Miracles of his Age, had so low an opinion of their truth, that he ranked them under two heads:

1. *Figmenta mendacium hominum*, Forgeries of lying men.
2. *Portenta fallacium spirituum*, Prodiges of deceitfull Devils.

4. Bishop Fisher himself writing against Luther, and occasionally treating of the power of Miracles, Cujus effectum nunc nullum cernimus, of which (saith he) we now see no effect; which addeth to the wonder, that so wise a man should engage in the foolish wonder of the holy Maid of Kent.

5. The true cause of the ceasing of Miracles is not any want of Divine power to effect them, as if that infinitesim could ever, like *Naomi*, be superannuated and effate to have no more true wonders in the womb thereof, but because Miracles are the swaddling clothes of infant Churches. And when Doctrines are once established and received in a Church, Miracles are impertinent: yea, it is no better than a tempting of God, after such assurance given long since to the Truth, still to expect a miraculous confirmation thereof.

6. Wherefore when the importunity of Papists presseth us to produce Miracles to attest our Religion, we return unto them, That ours is an old Faith founded long since on the Scriptures, and we may justly lay claim to all the Miracles in the New Testament to be ours, because done in demonstration of that Doctrine, which we at this day doe defend, and are the Seals of that Instrument, the writing wherein we desire and endeavour to maintain and practice.

7. Such forgery must needs be an high and heinous offence. If the counterfeit of the Mark, Tokens, and Letters of others, so as to gain any money into their hands thereby, be punishable by Pillory, Imprisonment, or any other corporall penalty under death, at the discretion of the Judge; yea, if it be Treason for any to forge the King's Signe Manual, Privy Signet, for Privy Seale, How great a guilt doe they contract, who falsifie the Signature of the high God of Heaven? Miracles being of that nature whereby he immediately impresteth his own Power and Presence on that, which is so supernaturally brought to passe.

8. I knew what such Forgers plead for themselves, viz: That they have a good intent therein to begot, continue, or increase a reverence to Religion, and veneration to the Saints and Servants of God, so to raise up vulgar fancies to the highest pitch of piety. Wherefore, as *Lycurgus* made a Law, not that Theft should be death, but death to be caught in their Thieving; so these conclude, counterfeiting Miracles no fault, but when done so bunglingly, that it is detected, conceiving otherwise the glory accreth to God by their hypocrisie.

9. But, what saith the Holy Spirit? Will you speak wickedly For God, and talk

Miracles long since ceased.

By Saint Augustine's confession, c De Unitate Ecclesie, cap. 16.

De Captivitate Babylonica, cap. 11.

Why Miracles ceased.

The Magazine of Protestant Miracles.

Counterfeiting Miracles, a heinous offence. c Statute 33 of Henry 8. f Statute 1 Mar 7.

The forgers Plea.

Confuted. \* Job 13. 7.

talk deceitfully For Him: will you accept his Person, will you yet contend for God? Doe you so mock him, shall not his Excellency make you afraid? Yea, so farre is such fraud from adding repute to Religion, that being found out, it disposeth men to Atheisme, and to a suspicion of the truth, even of the reall Miracles in Scripture.

10. The pretended causes of which Miracles are generally reducable to these two heads:

1. *Saints Relicks*.
2. *Saints Images*.

How much forgery there is in the first of these is generally known; So many pieces being pretended of *Christ's Crosse* as would load a great Ship, but amongst all of them, commend me to the Crosse at the Priory of Benedictines at *Brome-holme* in *Northfolke*, the Legend whereof deferreth to be inserted: Queen *Hellen*, they say, finding the *CROSSE* of *Christ* at *Jerusalem*, divided it into nine parts, according to the nine Orders of Angels, of one of these (most besprinkled with *Christ's blood*) she made a little Crosse, and putting it into a box, adorned with precious stones, bestowed it on *Constantine* her Son. This Relick was kept by his Successors untill *Baldwin* Emperour of *Greece*, (fortunate so long as he carried it about him, but) slain in fight when forgetting the same, after whose death, *Hugh* his Chaplain, (born in *Northfolke*, and who constantly said Prayers before the Crosse) stole it away, Box and all, brought it into *England* and bestowed it on *Brome-holme* in *Northfolke*. It seems there is no felony in such wares, but catch who catch may; yea, such faileledge is supererogation. By this Crosse thirty nine dead men are said to be raised to life, and nineteen blinde men restored to their sight. It seems such Merchants trade much in odd numbers which best fasteneth the fancies of folk, whilst the smoothness of even numbers makes them slip the sooner out of mens memories.

11. *Chemist*us<sup>b</sup> affirmeth from the mouth of a grave Author, That the teeth of Saint *Apollonia* being conceived effectually to cure the Tooth-ach, in the Reign of King *Edward the first*, (when many ignorant people in *England* relied on that receipt to carry one of her teeth about them) the King gave command in extirpation of superstition, That all her teeth should be brought in to a publick Officer deputed for that purpose, and they filled a Tun therewith. Were her stomach proportionable to her teeth, a County would scarce afford her a meals meat.

12. The English Nuns at *Lisbon* doe pretend, That they have both the Arms of *Thomas Becket*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and yet Pope *Paul the third* in a publick Bull, let down by *Sanders*, doth pitifully complain of the cruelty of King *Henry the eighth*, for causing the bones of *Becket* to be burnt, and the ashes scattered in the winde: the solemnity whereof is recorded in our Chronicles, and how his Armes should escape that Bonfire is to me incredible.

13. The late mentioning of *Apollonia* curing the Tooth-ach, mindeth me of the Popish designing of Saints, some to be Physicians of diseases, and others Patrons of occupations.

S. Sebastian, cureth the Plague.  
S. Petronel, the Fever.  
S. Macurine, the Frensie.  
S. Maine, the Scab.  
S. Genow, the Gout.  
S. Clare, the Sore-eyes.  
S. Crepin, protects Shoemakers  
S. Roch, the Coblers.  
S. Wendelin, the Shepherds.

S. Peland, protects Neatherds.  
S. Anthony, the Swineherds.  
S. Gertrude, the Rat-catchers.  
S. Honor, the Bakers.  
S. Eloy, the Smiths.  
S. Luke, the Painters.  
S. Nicholas, the Mariners.  
S. Hubert, the Hunters.  
S. Iac, the Lawyers.

Not to speak of S. Anne, proper to help people to lost goods: S. Leonard laid to open the doors of Gaales, and make Prisoners fetters fall off; and pity it is, that

[T t t 2]

The forgery in Relicks, and the Crosse especially.

g Feb. Congress in the Life of R. Edmund.

Falle teeth of Apollonia, s in his Exam. Gen. viii. cap. de imag. pag. 1.

Falle Arms of Tho. Becket, s Anacorete of the Nuns of Lisbon. k De scrib. Angl. lib. i. pag. 171.

Saints, their severall employments.

he should shew a *cast of his office* to any fave to *honest Persons in durance*. Expect not from me a reason why such Saints are Patrons to such Professions, superstitious fancy being all the Author thereof. Otherwise were Judgment consulted with, *Luke* should be Tutelar to *Physicians* as his proper calling, though perchance he entertained *Painting* also as a quality for delight and accomplishment.

Miracles why most in Convents.

14. Now most Miracles may be called Conventual, Monks being more detestable thereat than Secular Priests, because their Convents afforded greatest convenience of contrivance, with more heads and hands to plot and practice therein. And this may be conceived one main cause, which justly incensed Divine jealousy against them, and in due time advanced the destruction of Monasteries, because fattering the issue of *earth* or *Hell* to be the *offspring of Heaven*, intuiting their monstrous delusions to be miraculous operations.

### Of false Miracles, many broods whereof were hatched in Monasteries.

A Dichotomy of Miracles.

Such false Miracles are reducible to two Ranks :

1. Reported, but never done.
2. Done, but not true Miracles, as either the Product of Nature, Art, or Satanicall Machination.

Reported not done.

2. Of the former, whose being is only in report, were many thousands, whose Scene, for the better countenancing thereof, is commonly laid at distance both of Time and Place. These, like the stuffe called *Stand-farre-off*, must not have the beholder too near, lest the course thereof doth appear. Thus any redish liquor ( especially if neer the eyes of the Image of a Saint ) is reported blood, any whitish moisture, ( especially if neer the breast of the Image of a the Saint ) is related to be milk. Though both of them neither more nor lesse true, than what *William* of *Nuborough* writes of the place neer *Battail-Abbey* in *Suffex*, where the fight was fought between the *Normans* and *English*, that on every shewer fresh blood springeth out of the earth, as crying to God for vengeance ; being nothing else than a naturall tincture of the earth, which doth dye the rain red, as in *Rain-land*, and in other places.

A Camb. Brit. in Suffex.

3. Of pretended Miracles which are really done, let precedency be allowed to those which proceed from Naturall causes, and here we will instance in one out of many thousands. *St. Nuns Pool* in *Cornwell*, was formerly famous for curing Mad folk, and this the manner thereof :

Done by Nature.

4. The Water running from *St. Nuns Well*, fell into a square and close walled Plot, which might be filled to what depth they listed. Upon the Wall was the Frantick person set, his back being towards the Pool, and from thence with a suddain blow on the breast tumbled head-long into the Pond : where a strong fellow ( provided for the nonce ) took him and tossed him up and down along and athwart the water, untill the Patient forgoing his strength had somewhat forgot his fury. Then was he conveyed to the Church, and certain Masses said over him, and *St. Nun* had the thanks of his recovery. Amidst all this Water there was not one drop of Miracle, but meer naturall causes artificially managed, and that not curing the frensie, but abating the Fit for the present.

St. Nuns cure of mad men. In Grove in his Survey of Corn. walls, p. 123.

5. But other seeming Miracles, done by Nature and the concurrence of Art, were spun with a finer thread, especially when they made advantage of occult qualities, the certain reason whereof no Philosopher can render. Such casualties happen in some times and places, which properly are not Miracles, though they puzzle all men to assign the cause whereby they are effected. One of which kind I here transmit to posterity, invested with all the circumstances thereof, which I have carefully ( not to say curiously ) inquired into.

Occult qualities no miracles.

6. In

6. In the year of our Lord 1646, on the 16 of February, this hapned in the Parish Church *S. Leonard's* Eastcheap, whilst Mr. *Henry Roughborough* was Minister, and Mr. *John Taylor* upper Church-Warden thereof. *Thomas Hill* the Sexton of that Parish, making a Grave in the Night-time for *George Streaton* in the South-side in the passage into the Chancell, and under the first Stone opened a Grave wherein he found two Skulls; and ( as he conceived ) the proportionable Bones of Bodies belonging unto them ; under all these, he light on a Corps, whose Coffin above was consumed, but the Body, which he brought out of the Grave, compleat and intire, save that the Nose thereof flatted with his Spade, as the Sexton believed : The Flesh thereof, both for Colour and Hardnesse like Scalded Bacon dried : His Hair and Nails compleat with his Eyes, ( but sunk into his Head ) and all his Entrails intire ( for a young Chirurgion did open him ) save that shrunk very much within his Body.

A wonder as in to a miracle in London.

7. Some said it was the Corps of Mr. *Pomuncy* in *Soper-lane*, a Merchant, buried Thirty four years before ; others, of one *Paul*, a wealthy Butcher in *Eastcheap*, ( which was averred both by his principal Apprentice, as also by *William Hails* the old surviving Sexton ) interred Four and twenty years agoe. I read a Memoriall hereof entred in their Parish Register, and thousands of people are alive to attest the truth thereof. Had this hapned in the time of Popery, what a Stock had here been to graft a Miracle on, the branches of the same whereof would have spread all over Christendome.

A Corps unconsumed.

8. Such false Miracles succeed which are effected by Art alone, whereof several kinds, first such as are done by confederacy, wherein if but five complete together, they may easily deceive five thousand. Thus the holy Maid of *Kent* was admired for telling mens secret sins, by keeping correspondency with the Friars that formerly had heard their confessions : others, done by *Leger-de-maine*. Thus there was a *Rode at Boxley* in *Kent* made with devices to move the eyes and lips, ( but not to see and speak ) which in the year 1538, was publicly shewed at *S. Paul's* by the Preacher ( then Bishop of *Rocheſter* ) and there broken in pieces, the people laughing at that which they adored but an hour before. Such imposture was also used at *Hales-Abbey* in *Gloucester-shire*, where the blood of a Duck ( for such it appeared at the dissolving of the Houſe ) was so cunningly conveyed, that it strangely stirred or sprang up, to the great amazement of common people, accounting it the blood of our Saviour.

Seeming miracles done by Art.

Stones Chron. in that year.

9. Thirdly, strange things are done by *Ventriloqui*, which is a mysterious manner of uttering words, not out of the porch of the mouth & entry of the throat ( the common places of speech ) but out of the inward-room or rather arched-cellar of the belly, yet so that the hollownes thereof seemingly fixeth the found at a distance, which ( no doubt ) hath been misitook for the voice of Images.

Mysterious Ventriloqui.

10. Lastly, such as are done by the power of Satan, who hath a high Title and large Territory, as termed *Prince of the power of the aire*. Now the aire being Satan's shop, he hath therein many tools to work with, and much matter to work on. It is the Magazine of *Meteors*, Lightning, Thunder, Snow, Hail, Winde, Rain, Comets, &c. wherewith many wonders may be achieved, and it is observable that Aire is required to those two Senses, sight and hearing, which usher in most outward objects into the soul. False lights are of great advantage to such as vent bad wares : Satan's power must needs be great in presenting shewes and sounds, who can order the aire, and make it dark or light, or thick or thin, at pleasure.

4 Eph. 1. 2.

11. We will conclude with one particular kinde of Miracles, wherein Monks by the Devil's help did drive a great trade: namely, Predictions, or pretended Prophecies. Of these some were Post-nate cunningly made after the thing came to passe, and that made the Invention of *Prometheus*, which was the act of *Epemethus*. Others were languaged in such doubtful Expressions, that they bare a double sense, and commonly came to passe contrary to the ordinary acceptance of them. However, hereby Satan saved his credit ( who loves to tell lies, but loathes

Plenty of false prophecies.

[T t t 3]

to

A Forreft-bur-  
ning Image.

Harve's Delphi-  
nia in silens

Prophetical  
Mottoes incrib-  
ed in Glouster  
Church.

to be taken in them) and we will only instance in two or three, which we may write and hear with the more patience, because the last in this kinde, which at the dissolution of Abbeyes, brought up the rest of Monastickall Prophecies.

12. There was in *Wales* a great and Loobily Image, called *DARVELL GATHERNE*, of which an old Prophecie went; That it should burn a Forreft, and on that account was beheld by the Ignorant with much Veneration. Now at the dissolution of Abbeyes it was brought up to *London*, and burnt at the Gallows in *Smithfield*, with Fryer Forreft, executed for a Traytor.

13. A Prophecie was current in the Abbey of *Glaffenborough*, That a *Whiting* should swim on the top of the *Torr* thereof, (which is a steep hill hard by, and the credulous Countrey-people understood it of an eruption of the Sea, which they suspected accordingly. It happened that Abbot *Whiting* (the last of *Glaffenbury*) was hanged thereon for his Recusancy to Surrender the Abbey, and denying the King's Supremacy, so swimming in aire and not water, and waved with the winde in the place.

14. We will close all with the Prophetickall Mottoes (at leastwise as men since have expounded them) of the three last successive Abbots of *Gloucester*, because much of modesty, and something of piety contained therein.

1. Abbot *Boulers*, *Memento, memento*, that is, (as some will have it) Remember, remember this Abbey must be dissolved.
2. Abbot *Sebruck*, *Fiat voluntas Domini*, that is, if it must be dissolved, the will of the Lord be done.
3. Abbot *Ataurnef*, *Merito reatu suscita*, Raise up these which are drowned in guiltinesse.

Which some say was accomplished, when this Abbey found that favour from King *Henry the eighth*, to be raised into a Bishoprick. But, I like the Text better than the Comment, and there is more humility in their Mottoes, than solidity in their Interpretations.

### That many precious Books were embezeled at the dissolution of Abbeyes, to the irreparable losse of learning.

English Libras  
ries excellently  
furnished.

THE English Monks were bookish of themselves, and much inclined to hoord up monuments of learning. *Britain*, (we know) is styled *Another world*, and in this contradistinction (though incomparably lesse in quantity) acquits it self well in proportion of famous Writers, producing almost as many Claffical School-men for her Natives, as all *Europe* besides. Other excellent Books of forraign Authors were brought hither, purchased at dear rates; if we consider that the Presse (which now runs so incredibly fast) was in that Age in her infancy, newly able to goe alone, there being then few Printed Books, in comparison of the many Manuscripts. These, if carefully collected and methodically compiled, would have amounted to a Librarie, exceeding that of *Proleme's*, for plenty; or many *Vaticans*, for choicenesse, and rarity. Yea, had they been transported beyond the seas, sent over, and sold entire to such who knew their value, and would preserve them, *England's* losse had been *Europe's* gain, and the detriment the lesse to Learning in generall. Yea, many years after the *English* might have repurchased for pounds, what their Grand-fathers sold for fewer pence into forraign parts.

The miserable  
martyrdome of  
Innocent  
Books.

2. But alas! those Abbeyes were now sold to such Chap-men, in whom it was questionable, whether their ignorance, or avarice were greater, and they made havock, and destruction of all. As Broakers in *Long-lane*, when they buy an old suit, buy the linings together with the out-side: so it was conceived meet, that such as purchased the buildings of Monasteries, should in the same grant have

have the Libraries (the stuffing thereof) conveyed unto them. And now these ignorant owners, so long as they might keep a *Lieger-book*, or *Torrier*, by direction thereof to finde such stragling acres as belonged unto them, they cared not to preserve any other Monuments. The covers of books, with curious braffe bosses, and claspes, intended to protect, proved to betray them, being the baits of covetousness. And so many excellent Authors, stripp'd out of their cases, were left naked, to be burnt, or thrown away. Thus *Esope's* cock, casually lighting on a pearl, preferred a grain before it; yet he left it as he found it; and, as he reaped no profit by the pearl, it received no damage by him. Whereas these cruell Cormorants, with their barbarous beaks, and greedy claws, rent, tore, and ratter'd these inestimable pieces of Antiquity. Who would think, that the Fathers should be condemn'd to such servile employment, as to be Scavengers, to make clean the foulest sink in mens bodies? Yea, which is worse, many an antient manuscript Bible cut in pieces, to cover filthy Pamphlets: so that a case of *Diamond* had been made to keep dirt within it; yea, the *Wise-men of Gotham*, bound up in the *Wisdom* of *Solomon*.

3. But hear how *John Bale*, a man sufficiently averse from the least shadow of Popery, having all Monks with a perfect hatred, complained hereof to King *Edward* the first. *Covetousnesse was at that time so busie about private commodity, that publick Wealth in that most necessary, and of respect, was not any where regarded. A number of them, which purchased those superstitious mansions, reserved of those Librarie-books, some to serve their jakes, some to scour their candlesticks, and some to rub their boots; some they sold to the Grocers, and some to the Sopsellers, and some they sent over sea to the Book binders, not in small number, but at times whole ships full. Yea, the Universities of this Realme are not all clear in this detestable fact. But cursed is that belly, which seeketh to be fed with so ungodly gains, and so deeply shameth his natural Countrey. I know a Merchants-man (which shall at this time be namelasse) that bought the contents of two noble Libraries for forty shillings price, a shame it is to be spoken. This stuffe hath been occupied instead of gay paper, by the space of more than threetyen years, and yet he hath store enough for as many years to come. A prodigious example is this, and to be abhorred of all men, which love their Nations, as they should doe. Yea, what may bring our Realm to more shame, and rebuke, than to have it noised abroad, that we are despisers of learning? I judge this to be true, and utter it with heavinesse, that neither the Britains, under the Romans, and Saxons; nor yet the English people under the Danes, and Normans, had ever such damage of their learned monuments, as we have seen in our time. Our posterity may well curse this wicked fact of our Age, this unreasonable spoil of Englands most noble antiquities.*

4. What foul can be so frozen, as not to melt into anger hereat? What heart, having the least spark of ingenuity, is not hot at this indignity offered to literature? I deny not, but that in this heap of Books there was much rubbish. Legions of lying Legends, good for nothing but fowell, whose keeping would have caused the losse of much pretious time, in reading them. I confesse also, there were many volumes full fraught with superstition, which notwithstanding might be usefull to learned men; except any will deny Apothecaries the priviledge of keeping poison in their shops, when they can make antidotes of them. But besides these, what beautifull Bibles? rare Fathers? subtille School-men? usefull Historians, antient, middle, modern? what painfull Comments were here amongst them? what monuments of Mathematics? all massacred together; seeing every book with a crosse was condemned for Popish; with circles, for conjuring. Yea, I may say, that then holy Divinity was prophaned; Physick it self, hurt; and a trespass, yea, a riot committed on the Law it self. And, more particularly, the History of former times, then, and there received a dangerous wound, whereof it halts at this day; and without hope of a perfect cure, must go a cripple to the grave.

5. Some

John Bale la-  
mentably be-  
moaned this  
massacre.  
In his Decla-  
ration upon Le-  
land's Journal.  
Anno 1549.

Learning recel-  
led an incur-  
able wound by  
the losse of  
books.

N. Anshap:  
Bitch humour  
but a more right  
than any the  
cause thereof.

c Jude v. 23.

Sullen disposi-  
tions easily  
aggravated.

5. Some would persuade us, that in all this there was a smack, or taste of Anabaptistical fury, which about this time began in Germany, where they destroyed the stately Libraries of *Munster*, and *Osnabruck*: Indeed, as the wicked tenants in the Gospel, thought themselves not safe in; and sure of the vineyard, till they had killed the heire, that so the inheritance might be their own; so the Anabaptists conceived themselves not in quiet possession of their Anarchie, and sufficiently established therein, whilst any learning did survive (which in process of time might recover its right against them) and therefore they bent their brains to the final extirpation thereof. But I am more charitably inclined to conceive, that simple ignorance, not irritated & embosomed with malice, or affected hatred to learn; caused that desolation of Libraries in England: though perchance some there were, who conceived these books, as the garments spotted with sin, had contracted such a guilt, being so long in the possession of superstitious owners, that they deserved as an *anathema*, to be consigned to a perpetual destruction.

6. Some will say, that herein I discover an hankering after the *onions*, and *fish pots of Egypt*, and that the bemoaning the losse of these monuments; is no better than *Lot's* wives looking back, with a farewell-glance to the filthy City of *Sodom*. To such, I protest my self not to have the least inclination to the favour of Monckery. But enough. For, I know, some back-friends of learning there be, that take it ill, that we have jogg'd them in this discourse, and therefore we will let them alone to be settled quietly on the lees of their own ignorance, praying to God, that never good Librarie may lie at the mercy of their disposal; lest having the same advantage, they play the like prank, to the prejudice of Learning and Religion.

*Many good bargains, or rather, cheap penny-worths,  
bought of Abbey-lands.*

IF ever the Poets fiction of a *golden shoure* rained into *Danae* her lap, found a morall or reall performance, it was now, as the dissipation of Abbey-lands. And, though we will not give hearing, or belief in full latitude of his slanderous pen, that reports, how King *Henry* (when ancient and diseased, cholerick and curious in trifles) was wont to rewards such as ordered His *skrine*, or *chaire*, in a convenient distance from the fire, so as to please Him, with the Church of some Abbey, or lead of some Church. Yet it is certain, that in this Age, small merits of Courtiers met with a prodigious recompence for their service. Not onely all the *cooks*, but the meanest *turn-broach* in the King's kitchen, did lick his fingers. Yea, the King's servants, to the third and fourth degree, tasted of His liberality, it being but proportionable, that where the Master got the *Manour* in fee, his man under him should obtain some long Lease of a *Farme* of considerable value.

2. Indeed *K. Henry* (besides His own disposition to munificence) was doubly concerned to be bountifull herein. First, in honour; for, seeing the Parliament with one breath had blown so much profit unto Him, and had with their suffrage conferr'd the harvest of Abbey-lands on the Crown; it was fitting that some (especially the principal Advancers of the business) should, with *Ruth*, glean among the sheaves. Secondly, in policie; to make many, and great men, effectually sensible of the profit of this dissolution, and so engaged to defend it. Wherefore, as He took the greater flowers to garnish His own Crown: so He bestowed the lesser buds to beautifie His Noble-mens Coronets. But, besides these, He passed Abbey-lands in a fourfold nature to persons of meaner quality.

3. First, by free Gift. Herein take one story of many. Master *John Champenoun*, Sonne and Heire apparent of Sir *Philip Champenoun*, of *Modbury* in *Devon*, followed the Court, and by his pleasant conceits won good grace with the King. It hapned, two or three Gentlemen, the King's servants,

The profuse  
gifts & grants  
of K. Henry.

A Samites de  
scribit. Angl.

King Henry's  
engagement to  
liberality.

c Ruth 1. 16.

How Mr. G. b. u.  
person got the  
Privie of Saint  
Germanes.  
\* G. b. u. Survey.  
† G. b. u. Survey.  
¶ G. b. u. Survey.

and Mr. *Champenoun's* acquaintance, waited at a door where the King was to passe forth, with purpose to beg of His Highness a large parcel of Abbey-lands, specified in their Petition. *Champenoun* was very inquisitive to know their suit, but they would not impart the nature thereof. This while our comes the King; they kneel down, so doth Mr. *Champenoun* (being assisted by an implicit faith, that Courtiers would beg nothing hurtfull to themselves) they preferre their Petition; the King grants it; they render Him humble thanks, and so doth Mr. *Champenoun*. Afterwards he requires his share, they deny it; he appeals to the King, the King avows His equall meaning in the *Largeesse*. Whereupon, his companions were faine to allot this Gentleman the Priory of *S. German* in *Cornwall* (valued at two hundred forty three pound and eight shillings of yearly rent; since, by him, or his heirs, sold to Mr. *Elmer* for his partage. Here a dumb beggar met with a blinde giver; the one as little knowing what he asked, as the other what He granted. Thus King *Henry* made *curfrie Charters*, and in *transitu* transacted Abbey-lands. I could adde, how He gave a Religious house of some value, to *Mistresse* for presenting Him with a dish of Puddings, which pleased His palate.

4. Secondly, by Play. Whereat He lost many a thousand pound per annum. Once being at dice, He played with Sir *Atiles Patridge*, (stakeing an hundred pounds against them) for *Jesus Bells*, hanging in a Steeple not farre from *S. Paul's* in *London*, and as great, and tuneable as any in the City, and lost them at a cast. I will not (with some) heighten the guilt of this act, equal to that which cast loss on *Christ's* garments; but sure it is no sin to say, that such things deserv'd more serious and deliberate disposall.

5. Thirdly, by Exchange. To make these chops, none were frighted with the Kings power, but flattered into them, by the apprehension of their own profit. For, many lands of subjects, either naturally bald, or newly shaven of their woods, were commuted for *Granges* of Abbeys, which like Satyres, or Salvages, were all overgrown with trees and timber: besides other disadvantages, both for quantity and quality of ground, as enhanced for old rent. Oh! here was the *Royal Exchange*.

6. Lastly, by sale at Under-rates. Indeed, it is beneath a Prince (enough to break His state, to stoop to each Virgate and rod of ground) Pedlar-like to higgler for a toy by retail; and all Tenants, and Chapmen, which contract with Kings, expect good bargains; yet Officers entrusted to manage the revenue of the Crown, ought not to behold it abused out of all distance, in such under-valuations. Except any will say, He is not deceived who would be deceived, and King *Henry* (for the reason aforesaid) connived at such bargains; wherein rich Meadow was sold for barren Heath, great Oaks for Fewell, and Farms for revenue passed for Cottages in reputation. But for farther instruction, we remit the Reader to that information: presented to Queen *Elizabeth* by a man in authority (though namelesse) of the severall frauds and deceptions offered the Crown in this kinde. But the motion rather drew odium on the Authour, than brought advantage to the Crown: partly, because of the number, and quality of persons concerned therein; and partly, because (after thirty years) the owners of Abbeys were often altered. And, though the chamber be the same, yet if the guests be a new company, it is hard for the host from them to recover his old arrearages. Yea, by this time (when the foresaid information was given in) the present possessors of much Abbey-land were as little allied to those, to whom King *Henry* granted them, as they, to whom the King first passed them, were of kin to the first Founders of those Monasteries.

g Speed. But  
quarre, whether  
he had all the  
lands, or onely  
the five of the  
Priory.

How Sir Miles  
Patridge got  
Jesus bells.  
b Divers Survey  
of London in  
Varington  
ward within  
-----

Gloucester, and  
Dismayed his  
exchange.

Unconscion-  
able under-sale  
of Abbey-  
lands.

i Wotton's fu-  
nerrall Mon.  
pag. 125.

[Vuu]

Of

*Of the actions of policie, pietie, charitie, and justice, done by King Henry the eighth, out of the revenues of dissolved Abbeyes.*

Good, as well as bad, must be observed in mixt actions.

K. Henry augmented the Crown-revenues.

Founded five new Bishopricks.

**W**E would not willingly be accounted like those called the *monachorum* amongst the *Jewes*, whose office it was, only to take notice of the blot or blemishes, the defects and deformities in sacrifices. We would not weed King Henry's actions in His dissolving of Abbeyes, so as only to mark the miscarriages, and misdemeanours therein. Come we to consider, what commendable deeds this King did raise on the ruines of Monasteries.

2. First, He politickly increased the revenues of the *Crown*, and *Duchie of Lancaster* (on which He bestowed the rich Abbey of *Fountains* in that County) with annexing much land thereto, and erecting the *Court of Augmentations* (whereof largely hereafter) for the more methodicall managing thereof; though (alas!) what the Crown possessed of Abbey-land, was nothing to what He passed away. Surely, had the revenues of Monasteries been entirely kept, and paid into the Exchequer, there to make an *Erarium sacrum*, or Publick treasure, it is questionable, whether the same had been more for the ease of the Subject, or use and honour of the Sovereigne.

3. Secondly, He piouly founded five Bishopricks *de novo* (besides one at *Westminster* which continued not) where none had been before. For, though anciently there had been a Bishop's Seat at *Chesher* for a short time, yet it was then no better than the *Summer-house* of the Bishop of *Lichfield* (onely during the life of one *Peter* living there) which now was solemnly made a Bishoprick for succession, and four others, namely,

Bishopricks Sec.	Diocesse assigned it.	Taken from the Bishoprick of
1. <i>Oxford.</i>	1. <i>Oxfordshire.</i>	1. <i>Lincolne.</i>
2. <i>Bristol.</i>	2. <i>Dorset</i> , and some part of <i>Gloucester-shire.</i>	2. <i>Salisbury.</i>
3. <i>Peterborough.</i>	3. <i>Northamptonshire</i> , and <i>Rutland.</i>	3. <i>Lincolne.</i>
4. <i>Gloucester.</i>	4. <i>Gloucestershire</i> , the rest.	4. <i>Worcester.</i>
5. <i>Chesher.</i>	5. <i>Chesher</i> , <i>Lancaster</i> , and <i>Richmondshire.</i>	5. <i>Lichfield</i> , and <i>Tork.</i>

Such who are *Prelatically* perfwaded, must acknowledge these new foundations of the King's, for a worthy work. Those also of contrary judgment, will thus farre forth approve His act, because had He otherwise expended these Abbey-lands, and not continued them to our times in these new Bishopricks, they had been in being, by their late sale, to supply the Common-wealth.

4. Thirdly, where He found a Prior and Monks belonging to any ancient Cathedral Church, there He converted the same into a Dean and Prebendaries; as in

1. <i>Canterbury.</i>	3. <i>Elie.</i>	5. <i>Worcester.</i>	7. <i>Darresme.</i>
2. <i>Winchester.</i>	4. <i>Norwich.</i>	6. <i>Rochester.</i>	8. <i>Carlisle.</i>

I dare not say, that He entirely assigned (though a good Author affirmeth it) all, or the most part of those Priorie-lands, to these His new foundations. However the expression of a late Bishop of *Norwich*, is complained of, as uncivil, and untrue, that King Henry took away the sheep from that Cathedral, and did not restore so much as the trotters unto it.

5. Fourthly, He charitably founded many Grammar-schools (great need whereof in that Age in this Land) as in *Canterbury*, *Coventry*, *Worcester*, &c. allowing

Monks places turned into Prebends.

a *Gedwin* in Henry the 8. Anno 1539. Nothing was taken away, b *Dr. Menagius.*

Grammar-schools founded by Him.

lowing liberrall salaries to the Masters and Ullers therein, had they been carefully preferred. But sometimes the gifts of a bountifull Master shrink in the passage thorough the hands of a covetous Steward.

6. Fifthly, He charitably bestowed *Gray Friars* (now commonly called *Christ Church*) and the Hospital of *S. Bartholomew* in *London*, on that City, for the relief of the poor thereof. For the death of *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolke*, His beloved Brother-in-Law, happening the *July* before, so impressed King Henry with a serious apprehension of His own mortality (such the sympathy of tempers, intimacie of converse, and no great disparity of age betwixt them) that He thought it high time to bethink Himself of His end, and to doe some good work in order thereunto. Hereupon on the 13 of *January* following, Anno 1546. He bestowed the said Hospitals on the City; a gift afterwards confirmed, and enlarged by King *Edward the sixth*.

7. Sixthly, He built and endowed the magnificent Colledge of *Trinity*, finished *Kings-Colledge Chappell* in *Cambridge*, and founded Professours places for Languages, Physick, Law, and Divinity, in both Universities; as in the proper place thereof shall hereafter largely appear.

8. Seventhly, He employed *John Leland*, a most learned Antiquary, to perambulate, and visit the ruines of all Abbeyes, and record the Memorables therein. It seems, though the buildings were destroyed, King Henry would have the builders preferred, and their memories transmitted to posterity. This task *Leland* performed with great pains, to his great praise, on the King's purse, who exhibited most bountifullly unto him, as himself confesseth in these his Latine verses:

*Ante suos Phœbus radios ostendere mundo  
Desinet, & claras Cynthia pulchra faces:  
Ante fluet rapidum tacitis sine piscibus æquor,  
Spinifer & nullam sentis habebit avena:  
Ante sacra quercus cessabunt spargere ramos,  
Floræq; sollicita pingere prata manu:  
Quàm, Rex drive, tuum labatur pectore nostro  
Nomen, quod studii, portus, & aura, meis.*

*The Sun shall sooner cease his shine to show,  
And Moon deny her lamp to men below;  
The rapid seas shall sooner fisible slide,  
And bushes quite forget their birds to hide;  
Great oaks shall sooner cease to spread their bowers,  
And Flora for to paint the meads with flowers,  
Than Thou, Great King, shalt slip out of my breast,  
My studies gentle gate, and quiet rest.*

Pity is, that *Leland's* worthy Collections were never made publick in print; and some, justly to be praised for care in preserving, may as justly be taxed for envy in ingrossing such monuments of Antiquity. But let us a little trace *Leland's Itineraries*, after he in writing had finished the same. First, his Collections came into the hand of Sir *John Cheek*, School-master, then Secretary to King *Edward the sixth*, leaving the same to *Henry Cheek*, his eldest son, Secretary to the

[V u u 2]

Counsell

Hospitals by Him confirmed on London.

c *Stew.* Survey of London. pag. 417.

Trinity Colledge in Cambridge, and Professours places by Him endowed.

Leland employed by Him to survey, collect, and preserve Antiquities.



d Page 29, &  
40.Read, and be  
thankfull.  
For with in  
Henry the 8.  
Anno 1525.

e a Tim. 1.7.

Intelligences  
bred by Him  
beyond the  
seas.f Gmld. Edit.  
in An. 1777.The good nature  
of K. Henry  
herein.High injustice  
to detain prom-  
ised pensions.

Counsell in the North. Here our great Antiquary, who afterwards described Britain, got a sight, and made a good use thereof, it being most true, *Si Lelandus non laborasset, Camdenus non triumphasset.* From Mr. Cheek (by what transactions I know not) four of Leland's Works came into the possession of William Burton, as he confesseth in his Description of <sup>a</sup> Leicester-shire, and by him were bestowed on the Publick Library at Oxford, where the Original remaineth, and scarce so many Copies of them as properly may be called some, are at this day in private mens possessions.

9. This Leland, after the death of King Henry the eighth, his bountifull Patron, fell distracted, and so died; uncertain, whether his braines were broken with weight of worke, or want of wages, the latter more likely; because after the death of King Henry, his endeavours met not with proportionable encouragement. By the way, we may sadly observe, that two of the best Scholars in this King's Reign (loved, and preferred by Him) died both mad, and bereft of their wits; Richard Pacie, Dean of S. Paul's, and this Leland. Which I mark not out of ill will to the dead, to lessen their memory amongst men; but of good will to the living, to greaten their gratitude to God. Especially to Scholars, that God may preserve them in a *sound minde*, both in the Apostles high sense, and in the common acceptation thereof. The rather, because the sinner the *fring*, the sooner, if overstrained, is it broken.

10. He maintained many learned youths on great cost and charges, in all forraigne Courts, and Countreys. For, this was the fashion in His Reign, to select yearly one, or moe, of the most promising pregnancies out of both Universities, and to breed them beyond the seas on the King's exhibitions unto them. Sir Thomas Smith, bred in Queens-College in Cambridge, and afterward principal Secretary to Queen Elizabeth, was one of the last, educated in this manner. These young men proved afterwards the pick-locks of the Cabinet-Counsell of forraigne Princes, no King having better intelligence, than King Henry, from beyond the seas.

11. Lastly, He justly paid a great yearly summe of money to many Monks, and Nuns, during their lives: the manner and condition of which Pensions we will now at large relate.

### Of the many and large Pensions constantly paid by King Henry, to Monks and Nuns, during their lives.

IT was in those daies conceived highly injurious, to thrust Monks and Nuns out of house and home, without assigning them any allowance for their subsistence. Alas! many of them *dig they could not*, and, to beg they were ashamed. Their fingers were, either too stiffe (by reason of their old age) to begin now to bow to a manual trade; or hands too soft (because of their tender breeding) to take pain in a laborious vocation. And, although there wanted not some to persuade the King, to out them without any maintenance (it being but just they should practice reall, who had professed seeming poverty) yet the King, better natur'd herein than some Courtiers, allowed, and duly paid, to some large, to most competent, to all certain annuities.

2. Indeed, there cannot be an higher piece of injustice, than for a King, or State, publicly to promise pensions to necessitous persons, and never perform the same; so that poor people shall have some hundreds in common report, and not one peny in reall and effectual payment. For, first, the grant raiseth and erecteth the spirits of such Pensioners for the present, which soon after (tyranny so to torture them) sink, and settle down on the non-performance thereof. Secondly, such expectations often make people proportion their present expences, according

according to those their hopes, to their great damage and detriment, yea, sometimes to their utter undoing. Thirdly, such noife of pensions granted, takes off from the charity of their kinned and friends, as needlesse to persons presumed able to subsist of themselves. Not to speak, how much it lessens the reputation of a State, rendring them justly censurable, either of indirection in granting pensions where not deserved, or injustice in not paying them when granted.

3. Yet all persons were not promiscuously capable of the King's pensions, but onely those who were qualified accordingly. Namely, first, such as at the dissolution of their Abbeys, were not preferred to any other dignity, or Benefice. By the way, this was a temptation to the King, and Chancellor, oft-times to preferre mean men (which formerly had been Monks, and Priests) to no mean Livings, because (beside the generall want of able Ministers) such Incumbents being so provided for, their pensions ceased, and the Exchequer was disburdened from future paying them any exhibition.

4. These pensions of the King were confirmed to the Monks and Nuns by his Letters Patents under the Broad Seal, and Registered in the Court of Augmentations: One Copie whereof we here insert, having seen some hundreds of them, all the same in essentials, not conceiving it impertinent to translate the same, desiring the Lawyers not to laugh at us if we misse the Legall terms, whilst we hit the true meaning thereof:

HENRICUS Octavus, Dei gratia Angliæ et Franciæ Rex fidei defensor Dominus Hiberniæ & in terra supremum caput Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ. Omnibus ad quos presentes litteræ pervenerint Salutem. Cum nuper Monasterium de Carthusia de Hinton in Com' nostro Somers. jam dissolutum, unde quidam Edmundus Hordc tempore dissolutionis illius et diu antea Prior inde fuit, Nos volentes rationabilem annualem pensionem sive promotionem condignam eidem Edmundo ad victum exhibitionem & sustentationem suam melius sustentandam provideri. Sciatis igitur quod nos in consideratione premissorum de gratia nostra specialiac ex certa scientia & mero motu nostro per advisamentum & consensum Cancellarii & consilii Curia Augmentacionum. reventionum Coronæ nostræ, dedimus & concessimus, ac per presentes damus & concedimus eidem Edmundo quandam annuatim sive annualem pensionem quadraginta quatuor libras sterlingorum, habendam, gaudendam & annuatim percipiendam eadem quadraginta quatuor libras prefato Edmundo & assignatis suis à festo Annuntiationis beate Mariæ

HENRY the Eighth, by the Grace of God, King of England and France, Defender of the Faith, Lord of Ireland, and supreme Head of the English Church on earth. To all to whom Our present Letters shall come Greeting. Whereas the Monastery of the Carthusians of Hinton in Our County of Somerset is now lately dissolved, whereof Edmund Horde was Prior at the time of the dissolution thereof, and long before; We are willing that a reasonable Pension annuall, or suitable promotion should be provided for the said Edmond, the better to maintain and sustaine him in diet and maintenance. Know therefore, that Wee, in consideration of the premises, out of Our speciall Grace and favour, certaine knowledge, and Our meere motion, by the advice and consent of the Chancellour, and Counsell of the Court of Augmentations of the Revenues of Our Crown, Have given and granted, and by these presents doe give and grant to the same Edmond an annuity or yearly Pension of forty four pounds sterling: that the said forty four pounds may be had, enjoyed, or yearly received by the aforesaid Edmond, and his Assignes, from the Feast of the Annuntiation of the blessed Virgin Mary last past to the term and for the term of the life of the said Edmond, or until

[V u u 3]

The first qualification of His Pensions.

A Copie of the Kings Letters Patents for Pensions.



Matris virginis ultimo praterito ad terminum & pro termino vite ipsius Edmundi vel quousq; idem Edmundus ad unum vel plura Beneficia Ecclesiastica, sive aliam promotionem condignam clari annui valoris quadraginta quatuor librarum aut ultra per nos promotus fuerit, tam per manus Thesaurarii reventionum augmentationum Corona nostra pro tempore existentis de Thesauo nostro in manibus suis de reventionibus predictis remanere contingen' quam per manus receptor. exituum & reventionum dicti nuper Monasterii pro tempore existentis de eisdem exitibus & reventionibus ad festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, & Annuntiationis beate Mariæ virginis, per aequales portiones. Et ulterius de uberiori gratia nostra, Deditimus & pro consideratione predicta pro presentes concedimus prefato Edmundo Horde undecim libras sterlingorum habenda, eidem Edmundo ex dono nostro per manus Thesaurarii predicti de Thesauo predicto vel per manus dicti Receptoris de exitibus & reventionibus maiorem terrarum & tenementorum dicti nuper Monasterii solvend'. Eo quod expressa mentio de vero valore annuo, Aut de certitudine premissorum, sive eorum alicuius aut de aliis donis sive concessionibus, per nos prefato Edmundo ante hac tempora facti in presentibus minime facti existit, aut aliquo statuto actu ordinatione provisione, sive restrictione in contrarium inde habet, facti, ordinati seu provis, aut aliqua alia causa, vel materia quacunque in aliquo non obstante. In cuius rei testimonium has Literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste Ricardo Riche Militie apud Westmonasterium vicesimo septimo die Aprilis, anno Regni nostri tricesimo primo.

Duke

Per Cancellarium & concilium Curie Augmentationum Reventionum Corona Regie virtute warranti Regie.

til the said Edmond shall be preferred by Us to one or more Ecclesiastical Benefices or other futable Promotion of the cleer yearly value of forty four pounds or upwards, as well by the hands of the Treasurer of the Augmentations of the Revenues of Our Crown for the time being, out of Our treasure, which shall chance to remain in his hands, of the Revenues aforesaid; as from the Receiver of the profits and revenues of the said late Monastery for the time being, out of the said profits and Revenues at the feast of Saint Michael the Arch-angel, and the Annuntiation of the blessed Virgin Mary, by equall portions. And furthermore of Our more plentiful Grace, We have given, and for the consideration aforesaid by these presents doe grant to the aforesaid Edmond Horde eleven pounds sterling, that the said Edmond may have it from Our gift by the hands of Our foresaid Treasurer of Our foresaid Treasure, or by the hands of Our foresaid Receiver to be paid out of the profits and Revenues of the Manours, Lands, and Tenements of the said late Monastery.

any Statute, A&Q, Ordinance, promission, or restriction to the contrary, had, made, ordained, or provided, or any other matter, cause, or thing whatsoever in any wise notwithstanding. In testimony whereof We have made these Our Letters Patents, witness Richard Rich Knight, at Westminster, the twenty seventh day of April, in the one and thirtieth of Our Reign.

Duke

By the Chancellor and Council of the Court of Augmentations of the Revenues of the Crown by virtue of the King's Warrant.

See

See we here the payment to this Prior consisted of two Summes of several natures or conditions: Namely,

1. The forty four pounds being properly the Pension paid yearly unto him.
2. The additional eleven pounds, granted with an *ultimus*, paid but once as *advance money*, to fit him with necessaries at his departure out of the Covent.

This is observable in all the Patents I have seen, That constantly the King's gratuity for their *wale* (some small fractions excepted) bears the proportion of a fourth part of their yearly Pension.

5. Suppose then this our Prior preferred to a Church Dignity, or Living, amounting very neer, but not to the full value of forty four pounds yearly, this did not avoid his Pension; but that he might hold it and his Living together. Wherefore, as it was the desire and endeavour of every Monk fo advanced, to bear down the value of his Church Living as low as might be (thereby to render himself capable of it and his Pension) so was it the proper work of the King's Officers in the Augmentation Court truly to state the valuation of the Livings of such Pensioners, that the Crown might not be defrauded. Where, by the way, I conceive Livings were estimated not according to the favourable rates in the King's Book (where few of forty four pounds per annum) but according to the ordinary value as they were worth to be let and set in that Age.

6. Here I am would I be satisfied from some Learned in the Lawes, That whereas provision is made in this Patent for the Prior to enjoy his Pension untill per nos by the King's self, or His under-Officers, he was preferred to promotion of equal value, whether or no this Pension determined, if not the King, but some inferior Patron provided such preference for him. Seeing in a general sense all may be said, preferred by the King, as Patron Paramount of the Church of England, who by virtue of His Law have institution and induction into any Ecclesiastical promotion.

7. That effectual passage is inserted in all Patents of Abbots, Priors, and Monks, that they were in the Covent *diu antea, Long before* the Dissolution thereof. Otherwise many young folk who lately came in, even barely went out, without any Pensions. Such *Novices* and *Probationers*, whose *Conules* came but yesterday out of the Drapers shop, having youth and strength to provide for themselves, were left to the choice of their own calling, without any other annuity allowed them.

8. Their Pensions, though seeming but small, being many in number, made a deep hole in the King's revenue, inasmuch that He received from some Houses but small profits de claro untill the said Pensions were extinguished: As will appear (guess *Hercules* from his Foot) by comparing the Profits arising from, with the Pensions allotted to the Monks in the aforesaid Priory of *Himen* in *Somerfetshire*.

Edmond Hord Prior, his Pension 44 li. his Gratuity 11 li.

Monks.	Pensions.	Gratuities.	Monks.	Pensions.	Grat.
li. s. d.	li. s. d.	li. s. d.	li. s. d.	li. s. d.	li. s. d.
Thomas Fletcher	6 13 4	1 13 4	William Reynold	6 13 8	1 13 4
William Burford	6 13 4	1 13 3	Robert Savage	6 13 4	1 13 3
Hugh Laycooke	8 00 0	2 00 0	Will: Robinson	2 00 0	0 10 0
Robert Frye	6 13 4	1 13 4	Jo: Chamberlaine	6 13 4	1 13 4
Jo: Bachcroft	8 00 0	2 00 0	William Coke	6 13 4	1 13 4
Robert Russell	2 00 0	0 10 0	Jam: Marble	6 13 4	1 13 4
Robert Lightfoot	2 00 0	0 10 0	Roger Legge	2 00 0	0 10 0
Robert Nolinge	6 13 4	1 13 4	Hen: Bourman	6 13 4	1 13 4
Henry Gurney	6 13 4	1 13 4	John Calert	2 00 0	0 10 0
Thomas Hellyer	6 13 4	1 13 4	Robert Stamerdon	6 13 4	1 13 4
Nicholas Baland	6 13 4	1 13 4			

The total sum of yearly Pensions 163 6 8 The total sum of Grat. 40 16 9

What Church Livings were inconsistent with Pensions.

A Quere propounded.

Seniority in Covenants an advantage.

Many Pensions amount to much money.

\* Spec. in his Catalogue of religious Houses, pag. 707.

The Penfions of the Abbots in Somerset.  
\* Mr. Edward Pryn of the Temple.

Now whereas the Priory of *Hinton*, at the dissolution thereof, was valued at no more than *two hundred sixty two pounds twelve shillings*; if the aforesaid summe of yearly Penfions be thence deducted, the clear remainder to the King was but *ninety nine pounds five shillings four pence*. But the Crown had a double advantage: One, that Priory-Lands were lasting, whilst Penfions expired with Monks lives: and the other, that the Penfions were but bare Penny-Rent, whilst Abbey-Lands were lowly rated farre beneath their true valuation.

9. Now because *our hand is in*, and I for the present can make use of an Authentick Manuscript: once *Henry Baron Hunsdon's*, Lord Chamberlain) kindly communicated to me by a worthy friend of all the Penfions in *Somersetshire*, it will not be amiss to exemplifie such as were allotted to the severall Abbots and Priors therein.

Place.	Abbot.	Penfion.	Gratuity.
		li. s. d.	li. s. d.
<i>Athelnye.</i>	<i>R. Hamlyn</i>	50 00 00	the Prebend of <i>Sutton</i> .
<i>Briston.</i>	<i>Fo: Ely</i>	80 00 00	20 00 00
<i>Keynham.</i>	<i>Fo: Stonefon</i>	60 00 00	00 00 00

Place.	Prior.	Penfion.	Gratuity.
		li. s. d.	li. s. d.
<i>Bath.</i>	<i>William Gibby</i>	08 00 00	an House in <i>Bath</i> .
<i>Montacute.</i>	<i>R. Whitlocke</i>	80 00 00	20 00 00
<i>Taunton.</i>	<i>W. Williams</i>	60 00 00	30 00 00
<i>Wisham.</i>	<i>Fo: Michell</i>	33 06 08	08 06 08

Place.	Master.	Penfion.	Gratuity.
		li. s. d.	li. s. d.
<i>Bridgewater.</i>	<i>Ro. Walfhe</i>	33 06 08	16 13 04
<i>Wells.</i>	<i>Ric. Clarkefon</i>	12 00 00	00 00 00

These two last were Hospitalls.

The aforesaid Book reacheth not *Bristol*, because not properly in *Somersetshire*, but a County Incorporate by it self. As for *Whiting*, late Abbot of *Glassenbury*, he was executed for a Traytour, and so his Penfions paid. No mention therein of the Prior of *Muchelnye*, whose place may be presumed void by his death, or he otherwise preferred.

10. We may observe great inequality in these Penfions, not measured as the Jewes Manna by one and the same *Measure*, but increased or diminished: 1. According to the wealth of the house dissolved. For where more profit accrued to the King by the suppressions, their larger Penfions were allowed to the Prior or Monk thereof. 2. According to the merits of the man. 3. According to his age and impotency needing relief. Lastly, and chiefly according as the Parties were befriended by the King's Officers in the Augmentation-Court; wherein as in all other Courts, favour ever was, is, and will be in fashion.

11. But of all Penfions, the largest in proportion, and strongest in conveyance (as passed not as the rest by Letters Patents, but by Act of Parliament) were those assigned to the late Lord Prior, and those of the Order of the Knights Hospitallars. These being men of *high birth and honourable breeding*; The King no less *politically* than *civily* thought fit to enlarge their allowance (a main motive which made them so quietly to *surrender their strong and rich Hospitals*) as in the printed \* Statute doth appear.

To

Penfions go by favour.

Large Penfions allotted the Hospitallars.

\* An. 31 Hen. 8. cap. 14.

To Sir William Weston Lord Prior	li. s. d.
To Sir Jo: Rawfon *	1000 00 00
	666 13 04

Confres.	Penfions.	Confres.	Penfions.
	li. s. d.		li. s. d.
<i>Clement West</i>	200 00 00	<i>Edmund Huse</i>	066 13 04
<i>Jo: Sutton</i>	200 00 00	<i>Ambrose Cave.</i>	066 13 04
<i>Richard Poole</i>	133 06 08	<i>Rich: Brooke</i>	056 13 04
<i>Fo: Rawfon</i>	133 06 08	<i>Cuthbert Leighton</i>	060 00 00
<i>Gyles Russell</i>	100 00 00	<i>Thomas Copledike</i>	050 00 00
<i>Geo: Aylmer</i>	100 00 00	<i>Edw: Brown</i>	050 00 00
<i>Edw: Belnigham</i>	100 00 00	<i>William Tirell</i>	050 00 00
<i>Thomas Pemberton</i>	080 00 00		

To *Anthony Rogers, Oswald Masingberd, &c.* ten pounds a piece yearly to be paid, as all the former Penfions, during their naturall lives. In the same Statute it is provided, that *John Maplefen*, Clerk, Sub-Prior of the said Hospital; *William Ermsfeld*, Clerk, Master of the Temple in London; *Walter Limfy*, and *John Winter*, Chaplains there, should every one of them have, receive, and enjoy, (the said Master and two Chaplains of the Temple doing their duties and services there during their lives) all such Mansion-houses, stipends, wages, with all other profits of money in as large and ample manner as they were accustomed to doe.

12. No mention (as in other Patents) of any Gratuities in ready moneys given unto them, which probably cast into their Penfions, made them mount too high. As for the thousand pounds yearly allowed Sir *Will: Weston*, not one penny thereof was paid, he dying the next day (the House of his Hospital \* and of his Earthly Tabernacle being dissolved both together) Soul-finiten with Sorrow, Gold, though a great Cordial, being not able to cure a Broken heart.

13. We will here present a Female-Patent of the Penfion allowed to the *Abbesse of Buckland*, though in all essentials very like unto the Former.

HENRICUS Octavus, Dei gratia, &c. Cum nuper Monasterium de Buckland in Com' nostro Som' jam dissolutum, unde quedam Katherine Bowler tempore dissolutionis illius & dicti antea Priorina inde fuit. Nos volentes rationabilem annualem Penfionem sive promissionem condignam eidem Katherine ad victum exhibitionem & sustentationem suam etiam sustinendum provideri. Sciatis igitur quod nos in consideratione premissorum de Gratia nostra speciali ac certa licentia & merore nostris per aduocatum & consensum Cancellarii & Concilii Curie August' revocationum Cordis nostrae. Deditmus & concessimus per presentes damus & concedimus eidem Katherine quandam annuatim sive annualem Penfionem quinquaginta librarum sterlingorum habendam quondam & annuam percipiendam eadem

HENRY the Eighth, by the Grace of God, &c. Whereas the late Monastery of *Buckland*, in Our County of *Somerset*, is now lately dissolved; whereas one Katherine Bowler was Prioreffe at the time of the dissolution thereof, and long before. We are willing that a reasonable Penfion annual, or suitable promotion should be provided for the said Katherine, the better to sustain her in diet and maintenance: Know therefore, that We in consideration of the premises of Our special Grace and certain Knowledge; and Our own mercurial motion by the advice and consent of the Chancellor and Council of the Court of Augmentations of the Revenues of Our Crown, Have given and granted, and by these presents do give and grant unto the said Katherine a certain annuity or annuall Penfion of fifty pounds sterling, That the said

[X x x]

Katherine

\* H: was Prior of *Kilman* in Ireland.

Stout hearts can bear the little grief.

\* H: was, Fun. Mon. p. 460.

The Patent for a Penfion to the Prioreffe of *Buckland*.

dem quinquaginta libr' prelat' Ka-  
therinæ & assignatis suis à festo  
Annuntiationis beata Mariæ virgi-  
nis ultimo præterito, ad terminum  
vite ipsius Katherine tam per ma-  
nus Theſaurarii noſtri Reventionum  
augmentationum Corona noſtra præ-  
dict' pro tempore exiſtent' de The-  
ſauro noſtro in manibus ſuis de re-  
ventionibus prædict' remanere con-  
tingen' quum per manus Receptor'  
Exiſtunt & reventionum dict' au-  
per Maner' pro tempore exiſtent' de  
eſdem exiſt' & reventionibus ad fe-  
ſtum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli  
& Annuntiationis beata Mariæ vir-  
ginis per aequales portiones ſolven-  
dum. Et ulterius de uberiori Gratia  
noſtra, Damus & pro conſideratione  
prædicta per præſentes concedimus  
præſata Katherine virginis quinque  
libr' ſterlingor' Habend' eidem Ka-  
therinæ ex dono noſtro per manus  
dict' Theſaurarii de Theſauro præ-  
dicto, vel per manus dict' Receptoris  
de exitibus & reventionibus Ma-  
riorum terrarum & tenementorum  
dicti nuper Monaſterii ſolvend'.  
Eo quod expreſſa mentio, &c. In  
conſpectu Rei teſtimonium, &c.

Teſte Richardo Riche Milite  
apud Weſtmonaſterium deci-  
mo die Maii, Anno Regni noſtri  
ſecondiſimo primo.

There are but two conſiderable differences betwixt this and the former Pa-  
tent : 1. Whereas Penſions allotted to Priors and Monks were conditionall,  
as determinable upon their preferment to Eccleſiaſticall promotion of equal va-  
lue; this to the Priozeſſe (as to all Nuns) was abſolute for term of life. Women  
being not capable of any Church-advancement. Secondly, whereas the Gra-  
tuity allotted to Monks generally, amounted to a fourth part of their Penſion;  
this to the Priozeſſe was double as much as a juſt moyety thereof. Whether  
this proceeded from the King's courteſie to the weaker Sex, or becauſe *Mundus  
Muliebris*, there was ſuch a world of Tackling required to Rigge and Lanch them  
forth to ſhift for themſelves in a Secular life.

14. But as for ordinary Nuns, we finde that four pounds Penſion, and forty  
ſhillings Gratuity, was generally their provision, and that onely for thoſe qua-  
liſied with a *Div amica*, that they had been in the Covent a long time before the  
diſſolution thereof, otherwiſe I meet with no Portions to thoſe that lately were  
entred into the Houſes, being outed, and left at large, to practice the Apoſtles  
precept, *I will that the younger women marry, bear children, guide the houſe, &c.*

25. The

Youth and  
Strength ac-  
compted a  
penſion to it  
ſelf.

\* 1 Tim. 5. 14.

15. The vivacity of ſome of theſe Penſioners is little leſſe than a Miracle, they  
ſurvived ſo long. For though none will ſay, they lived out of deſpite to anger  
the King to pay their Penſions, ſurely none ſo highly affected Him as to die in  
duty to exonerate His Exchequer of their Annuity. *Iſabell Sackville*, Lady Pri-  
oreſſe of *Clarkenwell*, is an eminent inſtance of longevity in this kinde. For,

1. In the one and twentieth of King *Henry the ſeventh*, ſhe was a \* Nun in  
*Clarkenwell*-Priory, when a Legacy was bequeathed her as Niece by *Wil-  
liam Sackville* Eſquire, and muſt be then conceived fifteen years of age.
2. She was the laſt Priozeſſe of *Clarkenwell*, at the diſſolution thereof.
3. She died in the twelfth of Queen *Eliſabeth*, (as appears by her Epitaph  
in *Clarkenwell*-Church) and by Computation muſt be allowed Eighty  
years of age.

But farre older was that Monk or Nun (I am \* aſſured of the Story, not the  
Sex) to whom Living in or neer *Hampſhire*, Mr. *John Pymme*, then an Officer in  
the Exchequer, paid the laſt payment of his Penſion about the ſixt year of King  
*James*.

\* To be ſeen in  
the pedigree  
of the Barl of  
*Dorſet*, 11 *Claver  
ſun*, Men.  
p. 42.

\* Aſſured by  
Mr *Pymme's*  
kintſman to  
*Gulſtry* Bp. of  
*Glouceſter*.  
See his printed  
Paper.

(Xxx2)

SECTION



## SECTION VI.

DOMINO

THOMÆ TREVOR Juniori,

Equiti Aurato.

**M**ulti sunt præproperi Hæredes, qui nimia parentum vivacitate cruciantur. Hi languida expectatione macrescunt, postquam Rura Paterna spe vanâ devoraverant.

At Tu è contra, Venerandi Patris tui Canitiem (si fieri posset) immortalem reddere conaris, cum eam perpetuo Obsequio, humilime colas, quo, efficacies Kardiacum, ad Senectutem ejus elongandam nequit confici.

Non in Patriis, sed Vundi senescentis Annos inquiris, cum Historiâ plurimum delecteris, cujus ope, si Præterita cum Præsentibus conferantur, conjectura de Futuris statui potest, quo nomine, hoc opus nostrum tibi non ingratum fore confido.

Deus Te, Lectissimamq; Conjugem beat prole patrizante, non tam privato commodo, quàm Bono Publico, ne Respublica tantarum virtutum Hæredi destituitur.

Of the Erection, Officers, Use, Continuance, and Abolishing of the Court of Augmentation.

Augmentation Court when erected.



During the scuffling for Abbey-land, in the 27 year of King Henry the eighth, the Court of Augmentation was set up by Act of Parliament to be a Court of Record, and to have an authentick Great Seal besides a Privie Seal, and several Officers appointed for management thereof, with large fees allowed unto them. I finde the same exemplified in a fair *Vellum Manuscript*, which lately was Archbishop Parkers; since the Lord Cokes, whence I transcribed as followeth.

Sir Rich: Sackville, Chancellor, three hundred pounds yearly Fee, forty pounds Diet, and

six shillings eight pence for every Seale.

Sir To: Williams, Treasurer, three hundred and twenty pounds Fee.

Sir Will: Cavendish, Treasurer, of the King's Chamber, one hundred pounds Fee, one hundred pound Dyer, and ten pounds Boat-hire.

Sir

Sir Thomas Moyle, General Receivers, to each two hundred pounds Fee, and Sir Walter Mildmay, twenty pounds Diet.

Rich: Goodrich Attorney, one hundred pounds Fee, and twenty marks Diet.

Jo: Gessall Solicitor, eighty pound Fee, Diet twenty marks.

Besides Masters, and Surveyors of the woods, Clerks, Keepers of Records, Ullers, Messengers, Assistants, Carpenter and Mason to the Court, Auditors, Receivers, Surveyors, Woodwards for every County, the totall summe of their Fees yearly amounting unto Seven thousand two hundred forty nine pounds ten shillings and three pence. This Catalogue by the persons mentioned therein, seems taken towards the end of *Edward the first*, when the Court began to decline.

2. It belonged unto this Court to order, survey, and govern, sell, let, set all Manours, lands, tenements, rents, services, tythes, pensions, portions, advowsons, patronages, and all hereditaments formerly belonging to Priories, and since their dissolution to the Crown, as in the printed Statute \* more largely doth appear. All persons holding any Leases, Pensions, Corodies, &c. by former grants from the Covens came into the Court, produced their Deeds, and upon examination of the validity thereof had the same allowed unto them. And although providence for themselves, and affection to their kindred, prompted many Fryers and Covens foreseeing their tottering condition to antedate Leases to their friends just at the dissolution, yet were they so frightened with fear of discovery, that very few frauds in that kinde were committed. The Court was very tender in continuing any Leases upon that least legall consideration.

3. But after some continuance of this Court, the King's urgent occasions could not stay for the slow coming in of money from the yearly Revenues of Abbey-land, in somuch that He was necessitated to sell out-right a great part of those Lands for the present advance of Treasure, and thereby quickly was the Court of Augmentation diminished. The King therefore took into consideration to dissolve it as superfluous, wherein the Officers were many, their Pensions great, Crown profits thereby small, and Causes therein depending few, so that it was not worth the while to keep up a Mill to grinde that grist, where the Toll would not cover the cost. It was therefore resolved to stop up this *by stream*, that all causes therein should run in the ancient channell of the former Courts of *Westminster*.

4. Indeed in the 7 of King *Edw. 6.* a doubt did arise amongst the Learned in the Laws, whether the Court of Augmentation, the Commencement whereof was first had by authority of Parliament, would legally be dissolved, extinguished, and repealed by the King's Letters Patents: And the Officers thereof (wonder not if they stieckled for their own concernsments) did zealously engage on the Negative. Wherefore it was enacted by Parliament, That the King, during His natural life, had present power by His Letters Patents to alter, unite, annex, reduce, or dissolve any of those new erected Courts by His own Letters Patents: And the same Act was confirmed in the first year of Queen *Mary*, when the short-lived Court of Augmentation was dissolved, as which, from the birth thereof 1535, to the extinguishing 1553, survived but eighteen years.

The Lands of Chanteries, free Chappels, and Colledges dissolved.

**K**ing Henry the eighth his expences like sandy ground, suddenly sucked up the large shower of Abbey lands, and little signe or shew was seen thereof: yea, such the parching thirst of his pressing occasions, that still they called aloud for more moysture, for whose satisfaction the Parliament in the 38 year of His Reign pur the Lands of all Colledges, Chanteries, and free Chappels in His Majesties full disposition.

[X x x 3]

2. This

The employment of the Office in this Court. \* An. 17 HE 8. cap. 27.

Motives for the dissolution of this Court.

Finally, dissolved in the first year of Queen Mary.

Prodigality always wanted.

King Henry's  
three meals on  
Abbey-lands.

2. This King made three meals, or (if you will) one meal of three courses on Abbey-lands, besides what Cardinal *Wolsey* (the King's Taster herein) had eat before-hand, when affuming smaller Houses to endow his two Colledges.

1. When Religious Houses under *Anno* two hundred pounds a year--1535 were granted to Him by the Parliament.
2. When all greater Monasteries--1538
3. When Colledges, Chanteries, 1543 and Free Chappels

The first of these were most in Number; the second, richest in Revenue; the third, in this respect better than both the former, because they being spent and consumed, these alone were left to supply His occasions.

The Univer-  
sities fears.

3. The Universities were more feared than hurt at the news of all *Colledges put into the King's disposal*. They knew that Barbarisme it self had mischievous natural Logick to make those Generall words reach farre, especially it covetousnesse of some Officers might be permitted to stretch them: whereupon, they\* made their humble and seasonable addressees to the King for His favour.

\* Lord Herbert  
in H. 8. p. 537.

Happily turned  
into joy and  
thankfulnesse.

4. None ever robbed the Mules who were well acquainted with them. King *Henry* had too much Scholarship to wrong Scholars. Either Univerfity was so farre from being impaired that both were improved by His bounty with Pensions for the places of their Publick Professors; yea, the fairest Colledge in either Univerfity in effect acknowledges Him for its Founder.

What Chantries  
&c. were.

5. Such Colledges as were Hives of Drones (not of Bees, induriously advancing Learning and Religion) were now intended to be suppressed with free Chapels and Chanteries.

1. Chanteries consisted of Salaries allowed to one or more Priests to say daily Masse for the Soules of their deceased Founders and their Friends. These were Adjectives, not able to stand of themselves, and therefore united (for their better support) to some Parochial, Collegiate, or Cathedral Church.
2. Free Chappels, though for the same use and service, were of a more substantiall and firm constitution, as independent of themselves.
3. Colledges were of the same nature with the former, but more considerable in bignesse, building, number of Priests and endowments.

But the ensuing death of King *Henry the eighth*, for a time, preserved the life of these Houses, which were totally demolished by A& of Parliament in the first year of King *Edward the sixth*.

Two Statutes  
on different  
considerations.

6. One may observe, that the two Statutes made for the dissolving of these Houses, were bestowed on different considerations.

Statute 37 Hen. 8. cap. 4.

Chargeth Misdemeanors on the Priests and Governours of the aforesaid Chanteries, that of their own Authority without the assent of their Patrons, Donours, or Founders, they had let Leases for Lives, or term of years of their said Lands, and some had suffered Recoveries, levied Fines, and made Feoffments and other Conveyances: Contrary to the will and purposes of their Founders, to the great contempt of Authority Royall.

Wherefore in consideration of His Majesties great costs and charges in His present Warres with France and Scotland, the Parliament put Him and His Successors for ever, in the real and actual possession of such Chanteries, &c.

Statute 1 Edwardi 6. cap. 14.

Mentioneth the Superstitious uses of these Houses, considering that a great part of Errors of Christian Religion hath been brought into the mindes and estimations of men by reason of the Ignorance of their very true and perfect Salvation through the death of Christ, and by devolving and fancying vaine opinions of Purgatory and Masses satisfactory for the dead.

Wherefore, that the said Lands might be altered for better uses, viz: Erecting Grammar-Schools, augmentation of the Universities, and provision for the Poor: the Parliament bestowed them on the King, by His Councell, to dispose of the same accordingly.

7. To

7. To begin with *Chanteries*, their exact number in all England is unknown. But, if *Hieracles* may, by a Mathematician, be measured from his feet, a probable conjecture may be made of them, from those which we finde founded in the Cathedral Church of *S. Paul's* in London. For, on the nineteenth of April, in the second year of King *Edward the first*, a Certificate was returned by the Dean and Chapter of *Paul's* to His Highnesse Commissioners appointed for that purpose, affirming, That they had forty seven Chanteries within their Church. We will only instance in the odde seven, enough to acquaint us with the nature of all the rest.

Forty seven  
Chanteries in  
S. Paul's Church, Lon-  
don.

Chanterle of	Founded by	For	To pray for	In S. Paul's Church.	Persons Incumbens.	Revenue.
1. John Beuchamp, Knight.	Himself in his life-time.	One Chaplain.	The said Sir Jo. and the soules of the Propagators of the Bacle of Warwick.	Next to the Founders Tomb.	Sir Richard Struge.	Sum. tot. lib. s. d. Deduct. 09 06 08 Remain. 01 18 08
2. Sir John Pauling, Knight, Citizen of London.	His own last Will and Testament, in 23 of Edward the third.	Three Priests.	His own, and all Christian soules.	In a Chapel built by him on the North side of the Church.	1. Sir John Pauling. 2. Sir John Blisse.	Sum. tot. 47 09 04 Deduct. 39 17 08 Remain. 07 12 06
3. John Duke of Lancaster.	Ralph Nevill, E. of Westmerland; (bro. B. of Worcester, Exeutors to the Duke, licensed by King Hen. 4. in the 13 of his Reign.	Two Chaplains.	King Henry the fourth then living, and the soules of the aforesaid Duke of Lancaster.	In a Chapel by them built on the North of the Church.	1. Sir John Smith. 2. Sir Roger Chastam.	Sum. tot. 10 00 00 Deduct. 10 06 08 Remain. 03 13 04
4. Walter Sheringham.	The Executors of his Testament, licensed by King Henry the first, in the 24 of his Reign.	Two Chaplains, Englishmen, and of Walter Sheringham's.	The good estate of King Henry the first, the foundation of the said Sheringham's.	In a Chapel built for some time on the North door of the Church.	Mr. Thomas Bateman. Mr. John Wylmy.	Sum. tot. 10 00 00 Deduct. 16 00 00 Remain. 04 00 00
5. Thomas More, sometime Dean of the Church.	His Executors.	Three Priests.	The soul of the said More, and others.	In the Chapel of S. Anne.	Sir Richard Gase. Sir Robert Garret. Sir Morris Griffith.	Sum. tot. 67 00 06 Deduct. 55 00 11 Remain. 12 05 00
6. Walter Thorpe.	His Executors.	One Chaplain.	The soul of the said Thorpe.	At S. John's Altar.	Sir Richard Nelfon.	Sum. tot. 11 16 00 Deduct. 05 04 08 Remain. 06 11 02
7. Richard Fitz-Gilbert Bishop of London.	Henry Hill, Citizen and Haberdasher in the 13 of Henry 8.	One Chaplain.	Richard Fitz-Gilbert, Bishop of London.	At S. Paul's Altar.	Sir John Hill.	Sum. tot. 14 06 08 Deduct. 14 06 08 Remain. 00 00 00

Know Reader, I am beholding for my exact intelligence herein, to my worthy friend Mr. Thomas Hanson, who not only lent much light to my lamp, out of choice Records (some in his possession, moe in his custody) but also hath given much oyle thereunto, in his bountifull encouraging of my endeavours. It seems the Chapter would not goe to the cost of true Arithmetick, some of the summes being not rightly deducted; whose mistakes I chose rather to follow, than to vary any whit from the Original.

8. Observe in these Chanteries, some were not, some were licensed by the King. For, before the Statute of Mortmain, made by King *Edward the third*, so be able and willing was all the licence, requisite in any to found a Chantery. Since which time a Charter must be obtained from the King, to passe lands of such nature

Chanteries  
when they be-  
gan by Royall  
licence.

and

The Altar in  
S. Paul's scarce  
to be seen for  
Altars.

The Altar of

1. The Trinity.
2. The Virgin Marie.
3. Michael the Arch-angel.
4. The Apostles.
5. S. Andrew.
6. S. John.
7. S. Paul.
8. S. Thomas.
9. Mary Magdalene.
10. Martha, and Mary Magdalene.
11. S. Erkenwald.
12. S. Chad.
13. S. Radigund.
14. S. Silvester.

And it is observable, that almost every one of these *forty and seven Chanteries*, founded in S. Paul's Church, had their Priest officiating either in several Chapels, or at several Altars, probably not to disturb each other in their private *celebrations*. But find not any Chantery-Priests assigned to do service at the *high Altar* indeed; either, because that place was reserved as proper to the *Dignitaries of the Cathedral*, or because the solemnity and merit thereof was equally extensive to all souls in general, unfit to be confined to any particular parties deceased, how great soever.

More Sires, than  
Knights.

10. Such Priests as have the addition of *Sir* before their Christian-name, were men not graduated in the University, being in *Orders*, but not in *Degrees*; whilst others entitled *Masters*, had commenced in the *Arts*. Note, that generally, Founders of Chanteries preferred Priests *not benefited* to those places, as best at leisure constantly to attend the same. Nor did their dead Founders so ingross the devotion of those Priests, but that by general and special *Obits* for other men, Procession-pence, and other perquisites, they much bettered their maintenance. Single Priests commonly had the greatest Salaries (more in proportion than when others were joined with them in the same Society) because tied to daily duty, having none by turns to relieve them, and the *greater works* deserved the *greater wages*.

Deductions  
out of Chan-  
tery revenues.

11. Many Deductions and Resolutions were made by the Dean and Chapter, out of the *lands* wherewith every Chantery was endowed, besides the Salarie paid to the Chaplains, as for quit-rents, and tenths to the King, pensions to Choristers, &c. But one generall expence was for an Anniversary *Potation* (seldome exceeding *ten shillings*) founded, as it seems, on *Job's* words, *Job 4. as Bellarmine* \* citeth the Chapter without Verbe, *Panem tuum, & vinum tuum, super sepulcrum iusti* constitute: *Put thy bread, and thy wine upon the sepulchre of the just man*: But no such words appear in the place alledged, though some such like are found in the fourth of \* *Tobit*: Where, notwithstanding, no mention of *wine*, which the Jesuite adds of his own, that it might not be a *drie* (as some since have added *wax*, that it might not be a *dark*) *feast*. *Bread, wine, and wax*, being the essentials of every *Potation*. The charges of an Anniversary *Obit* was also deducted, whereof *forty shillings* the market-price; though some were to free they gave more, and some so favoured, they had them for less.

Charitable  
swallowed  
with super-  
stitious uses.

12. Some Deductions were made by the will of the Founders, to uses merely charitable, and no whit superstitious, out of the surplussage of the Chanteries-lands (the Priests, or Priests therein first paid) as to the necessary relief of many

poor

poor people, and breeding of Scholars in the Universities. But, as the *Stork* in the fable, found amongst the *Cranes* in destroying the corn of the husband-man, in vain pleaded his own piety to his parents, being kill'd for company-take with those birds amongst whom he was caught: so it is more than suspicious, that these pious uses were utterly extinguished at the suppression of Abbeys, to reach mens charities hereafter, (if it be not a lesson now too late to be learn'd) to beware of too familiar converse with superstition. Nor doe I speak at guess herein, but from the complaints of credible and unpartial Authors, of which this one I will insert.

13. There was a Mai d born in Cornwall, called *Tomsin Bonaventure*, and well did the brook the same, which from a keeper of sheep, came at last to be the Wife of Sir *John Percivall* Lord Major of London. In her widowhood, she laid out her estate, which was very great, in charitable uses, and amongst the rest founded a Chantery, and a Free school, at S. Mary \* *Weike* in Cornwall (the place of her nativity) with fair Lodgings for the School-Masters, Scholars, and Officers, and twenty pound a year (beside their Salaries) to support incident charges. And here the best Gentlemen's Sons in Devon and Cornwall were virtuously trained up, under one *Cholwell*, a religious Teacher, untill the said School was suppress'd, in the Reign of King *Edward the sixth*, only for a smack of Popery, the Chantery being annexed thereunto. And I suspect the like happened in other places; But to return to S. Paul's, all deductions discharged, the clear remainder belonged to the Dean and Chapter of S. Paul's.

14. Note, that the Dean and Chapter aforesaid, assumed this power to themselves, That in case (to use their own terms) *the exility of the Lands or Rents*, bestowed on any Chantery, were insufficient to maintain so many Chaplains, as were appointed in the foundation, then they would reduce them to a smaller number. For instance: The Executors of *Adam Burie*, sometimes Major of London, founded a Chantery wherein seven Priests should pray continually. This I may call a Colledge Chantery (equalling *Katherine Hall* in Cambridge for the number therein) but the means not holding out in full proportion, these seven were shrunk to four, at the time of their suppression.

15. Another help the Dean and Chapter had. When the maintenance of any Chantery fell short, by uniting two, or more mean Chanteries together. Thus *Margaret Bigod* gave a *Marish*, called *Richenesse* in Essex, with a stock of eleven-score sheep thereon, to found a Chanterie with two Chaplains; which, not sufficient for the same, was annexed to a small Chantery of *Richard Greene's*, and one Priest (Sir *Christopher Bricket* by name) effectually (no doubt) discharged both.

16. And yet, notwithstanding all these shifts, the Dean and Chapter of Paul's in giving up their accounts to the King's Commissioners, pretended themselves yearly losers by some of these Chanteries. For, generally they were founded on candle-rents (houses are London's land) which were subject to casualty, reparations, and vacations. In such intervals, though the house (wherewith the Chanterie was endowed) wanted a Tenant, yet the Chanterie must not want a Chaplain to officiate for the dead. Yea, so charitable was the Dean and Chapter in such cases, as sometimes to allow lands in augmentation of maintenance, and assigne houses of their own, for the habitation of such Chaplains as wanted a mansion. The King therefore may be said in some sort, to have done a courtesie to the Chapter of Paul's, when suppressing such poor Chanteries, formerly not beneficial, but burdensome unto them.

17. By other Chanteries they were only *saunders*, no gainers, having only their labour for their pain, in seeing things performed according to the Will of the Testator (as in Bishop *Fitz-James*, and many others) so that the Priest paid, and other allowances deducted, *remains nil*, as they brought in the reckoning of their receipts and disbursements. However, we may take notice, that herein the Dean and Chapter of Paul's, were both their own Accountants and Auditors, and none could

[Y y]

The righteous  
destroyed with  
the wicked.

\* See his  
Survey of  
Cornwall,  
fol. 119.

Gainfull con-  
sidering the  
number of the  
Priests.

Gainfull an-  
nexing of  
Chanteries.

There is a ge-  
neration rich,  
and make  
themselves  
poor.

Nothing [pre-  
tended] gotten.

could disprove their reckonings therein. But grant, that among forty seven *Chanteries*, two or three of them were *unprofitable servants*, returning no emolument unto them: yea, suppose as many *prodigal children*, wasting the stock of their Parent (understand the Church wherein they were founded) yet, from the collective body of them altogether, they gained a grand revenue. And it is considerable, that in this their Audit, they only brought in their bare annual rent of houses, their fines not being charged on their accompt, but swallowed in silence, to the great commodity of the *Chapter*.

18. Vast was the wealth accreting to the Crown by the dissolution of *Chanteries*. Many a little (saith the Proverb) make a mickle. These foundations, though small in revenue, yet being many in number, mounted up a great bank. There was not a Cathedral, or Collegiate-Church in England, but some Chanteries were founded therein, as in many Parochial-Churches. Thus at *Oldwinicle in Northamptonshire* (the Village of my nativity) a Chantery in the Parish-Church of *All-Saints*, was endowed with house and lands for a Priest, at the cost of Sir John Oldwinicle Knight, about the Reign of King Henry the sixth. Yea, let the model of Country-Churches be well observed, wherein such *excursions of building* as present themselves beyond the old fabrick (from which oft-times they differ as neater, and newer) were since erected, and added, as intended, and used for *Chanteries*.

19. *Free-Chappels* succeed, not so called from the *freemess*, and bounty of their Founders, but because subsisting of themselves, as *children of full age*, whose parents are still alive. For, though *Chappell* speaks a relation to a *Mother Church*, yet free avoweth them *suivra*, especially so farre forth that *rights of burials* belonged unto them. These were greater than *Chanteries*, having more room for Priests, and more Priests for that room, to pray for the souls of their Founders, Colledges come the last (as the heaviest, and best laden with land) into consideration. These, though fewest in number, were richer than both the former: inasmuch that the Colledge of *Fotheringhay in Northamptonshire*, was yearly valued at Four hundred nineteen pounds eleven shillings ten pence halpenny. And no wonder, since this \* Colledge had the rare happinesse to be endowed by the Kings both of *Torke*, and *Lancaster*, at deadly mutual enmity, yet joyntly agreeing in their bounty to this place.

20. How much the yearly revenue of all these *Chanteries*, *Free-Chappels*, and *Colledges*, amounted to, *God knows*, for the King knew as little as some in our Age. Indeed, some of His Officers *did*, but would not know, as wilfully concealing their knowledge herein. Yea, some of these *Chanteries* may be said in a double sense to be *suppressed*, as not only *put down*, but also *concealed*, never coming into the Exchequer, being silently pocketed up by private (but potent) persons. True it is, the Courtiers were more rapacious to catch, and voracious to swallow these *Chanteries*, than *Abbey-lands*. For, at the first many were scrupulous in minde, or modest in manners, doubting the acceptance of *Abbey-land*, though offered unto them, till profit and custome (two very able *Confessours*) had, by degrees, satisfied their consciences, and absolved them from any fault therein. Now, all scruples removed, *Chantery-land* went down without any regret. Yea, such who mannerly expected till the King *carved* for them out of *Abbey-lands*, scrambled for themselves out of *Chantery-revenues*, as knowing this was the *last dish* of the *last course*, and after *Chanteries*, as after *cheese*, nothing to be expected. As for those, who fairly purchased them of the King, they had such good bargains therein, that thereby all enriched, and some ennobled both themselves, and posterity. But, for satisfaction herein, I referre the Reader to his \* pen, who never spared any that came under it, and seldom such as came near it; who speaks more *bitternesse*, than *faulshood*, in this particular.

21. The *Chanterie-Priests*, by this suppression outed at once of all their liveli-hood, were not left to the wide world to shift for themselves, but had *dunant*, *viva*, pensions settled on them by King Edward His Letters Patents. I have seen in the

The great, though uncertain number of Chanteries.

Free Chappels and Colledges.

\* See Speeds Catalogue in Northamptonshire.

A memo fof wealth accruing to the Crown.

\* Sir John Heyward in Edm. pag. 155.

Pensions assigned to Chanterie Priests.

the Auditor's Office for the North-part of the Dutchie of *Lancaster*; the \* Account of William Mallet Esq. particular Receiver of the rents, Colledges, Chanteries, &c. in the Countie of *Torke*, viz: of so many of them as were in that Shire annexed to the Dutchie of *Lancaster*, which parcell alone amounted yearly to seven hundred ninety six pounds four shillings two pence halpenny: Out of which summe was deducted, One hundred twenty six pounds two shillings four pence, for annual pensions to Chantery Priests, and others (five pounds apiece the generall proportion) assigned them for term of life, by King Edward the sixth.

22. The Parliament at the same time put *Hospitals* also into the King's possession. Yet surely more tendernes was used to Hospitals, and I finde very few of them finally suppressed. Indeed, that of the *Savoy* at this time was much \* abused by *Lecherers*, *Vagabonds*, and *Strumpets*, which lay all day in the fields, and at night were harboured there. In which consideration King Edward dissolved the Hospital, but gave the land thereof (worth six hundred pound per annum) to the City of \* London, to endow *Bridewell* therewith. Thus, He did not extinguish charity, but only regulate, and remove it from the *Strand* to *Fleet street*: or rather, took away with one hand what was abused, and restored it with the other, to such as would better employ the same.

~~~~~

### Queen Mary on her own cost restoreth some Convents.

Queen Mary, a Princeesse more zealous (according to her devotion) than political, resolved by way of *Essay* and *Trial*, to restore certain dissolved Convents, and endow them with competent maintenance: in order hereunto, She called four of Her principall Counsellours most interested in money-matters, viz: William Marquesse of Winchester, Lord Treasurer; Sir Robert Rochester, Controller of Her House; Sir William Peter, Secretary; and Sir Francis Inglesfield, Master of the Wards: and by a long speech acquainted them with Her intentions therein. Now though the Lord Pawlet as Treasurer (much being the want of money at this present) might dislike the motion, yet as Courtier he complied with the Queens desires, the rather, because it was in vain to withstand them, so really strong were Her resolutions: but it is worth our attention to hear Her Oration.

YOU<sup>a</sup> are here of Our Councell, and We have willed you to be called to Us, to the intent ye might bear of Me my Conscience, and the resolution of My minde, concerning the Lands and Possessions, as well of Monasteries, as other Churches whatsoever, being now presently in My possession: First, I doe consider, that the said Lands were taken away from the Churches afore said, in time of Schisme; and that by unlawfull means, such as are contrary both to the law of God, and of the Church. For the which cause My Conscience doth not suffer Me to detain them; and therefore I here expressly refuse either to claim, or to retain the said

[Y y z]

Land

\* Made in the 3 & 4 of Phil. and Mary.

Some tendernes to Hospitals.  
\* See Survey of London, pag. 344.

\* See also p. 491.

Q. Mary imports Her intentions four Counsellours.

a Hobbins in Q. Mary, Anno Dom. 1555. pag. 1129.

'Lands for Mine; but with all My heart freely and willingly without all passion or condition, here and before God, I doe surrender and relinquish the said Lands and Possessions, or Inheritances whatsoever, and doe renounce the same with this minde and purpose, that order and disposition thereof may be taken as shall seem best liking to our most holy Lord the Pope, or else his Legate the Lord Cardinall, to the honour of God, and wealth of this Our Realm.

'And albeit you may object to Me again, that considering the state of My Kingdome, the Dignity thereof, and My Crown Imperiall cannot be Honourably maintained and furnished without the Possessions aforesaid; yet notwithstanding, I set more by the salvation of My soul than by ten Kingdomes, and therefore the said Possessions I utterly refuse here to hold after that sort and title, and give most hearty thanks to Almighty God, which hath given Me an Husband likewise minded, with no lesse good affection in this behalf than I am my self. Wherefore I charge and command that My Chancellour, (with whom I have conferred My minde in this matter before) and you four, to morrow, doe resort together to the most reverend Lord Legate, and doe signifie to him the premises in My name, and give your attendance upon him for the more full declaration of the state of My Kingdome, and of the aforesaid Possessions accordingly, as you your selves doe understand the matter, and can inform him in the same.

2. In this matter the words of Sanders ought to be observed, presuming him best knowing in these Acts of restitution then performed by Her Majesty, and that he would lose nothing for the measuring, which might tend to the Queens credit.

*Collegia nova amplissima dotifundantur. Cœnobîa Benedictinorum, Cathusianorum, Brigitten-sium, Dominicanorum, Observantium, ac aliorum Ordinum à devotis personis re-edicantur. Catholicis Regibus in hoc genere pietatis subditis omnibus prela-centibus.*

New Colleges are founded with a most ample endowment. Convents of Benedictines, Carthusians, Brigittians, Dominicans, Observants, and other Orders are re-edified by devout persons. The Catholic Princes out-shining all their Subjects in this kinde of piety.

Now

Several Orders  
re-erected by  
Her  
Majestie.  
b. De Just. Ang.  
lib. 1. p. 309.

Now seeing this passage is the best sort which we meet with to direct us in this dark subject, we will severally weigh his words, and impartially comment upon them.

1. *Benedictines* : ] When *Westminster Church* was turned into an Abbey, and *John Feckenham* made Abbot thereof (installed therein on the 21 November, 1557.) But this was done without any cost to the Crown, onely by altering the property of the place, from a late made Cathedral, to an Abbey, and turning the *Prebendaries* into sixteen black Monks, which were all at the present could be found having that Order, and willing to wear that Habit upon them.

2. *Carthusians* : ] These were fixed at *Shene* nigh *Richmond* in *Surrey*, over against *Sion*.

3. *Brigittians* : ] At *Sion* in *Middlesex*. This indeed with the former, cut two good collaps out of the Crown land, though farre short th's second endowment, of what formerly they possessed. It was some difficulty to stock it with such who had been weyled before, (it being now thirty years since their dissolution) in which time most of the elder Nuns were in their graves, and the younger in the arms of their husbands, as afterwards embracing a married life. However with much adoe (joyning some new ones with the old) they made up a competent number.

4. *Dominicans* : ] These were seated in *Smith field* in *London*. The best was, they being Mendicants (little flock would serve to set up Beggars) their restoring could not be very expensive to the Queen, besides the site of an house for their dwelling, and some other necessary accommodations.

5. *Observants* : ] These were Fryers like the former, being *Franciscans* reformed, and therefore not over-costly their restitution. Their house was at *Greenwich*, (founded by King *Henry the seventh*) plucked down by King *Henry the eighth* (as largely before) one of the first of all other Convents; because the Fryers therein were so obstinate against the King, and such sticklers for the legality of Queen *Katherine's* marriage. In gratitude whereunto, and honour of Her own extraction, Queen *Mary* re-seated them in their habitations.

6. *And other Orders* : ] Sanders (for the more credit of the matter) politically winds up all these indefinite words, though in the remaining Orders were not so many as to make up a number : Of which the most eminent were the *Hospitallers* of *St. John's* of *Ferusalem* in *Clerkenwell*, a place in a pitifull plight when now they were first restored; for the *Bell-Tower* of the Church was undermined and blowne up with Gun-powder, that the stones thereof might build *Somerst-house* in the Strand. Now where the Steeple was shattered, the Church must needs be shaken; as here the body and side-les thereof were by that fatal blow finally confounded; onely part of the Quire remaining (with some side Chappels) which Cardinall *Poole* caused to be closed up on the West-end, and repaired. And this served the *Hospitallers* for their devotions the short time they continued therein. The Queen made Sir *Tho: Tresham* Lord Prior of this Order (who the thirtieth of November, 1557, received the Order of the *Crosse* at *Westminster*) and was solemnly inducted into his place. He was of an ancient family, and large estate, and had done the Queen *Knights service*, proclaiming Her in the highest contest with Queen *Jane*. If the dimension of his Body may be guessed by his finger, and his finger by his Ring (which have been in the possession of his Kinsman *William Tresham* Esq. of *Newton* in *Northampton-shire*) he was a little Gyant, and farre greater than his poortraiture on his Monument, almost demolisht in *Rushon* Church, in the same County. But *Alexander's* souldiers were not in proportion to big as their shields left in *India*; and possible that Ring of State (serving for a

[Y y y 3]

Scale]

c. Stowes Survey  
of London,  
p. 2. 4. 3.



*Scale* was rather borne about him, than worn on his finger.

7. *Re-edified by devout persons* : It is out of doubt that *Papists* contributed many pretious *Utenfils* unto these Orders, as also that they were bountifull in repairing their decayed Houses to fit them for their habitation; but by *Sanders* his leave. No visible *refunding* of land doth appear. Which if he had known of, no doubt he would have told posterity, as tending (according to his principles) so much to the credit of those persons. I say again (though *Queens Examples* carry a kinde of *Mandamus* in them) yet herein Her best Subjects and Servants were so unmannerly as to suffer Her Grace to go alone by Her self in this Act without any attendants, as to the restitution of any entire Religious house to its former Order. No not *Anthony Browne* Viscount *Montacute* (though formerly solemnly employed in an *Ambassy* to the Pope to reconcile the Church of England to Rome) would part with his rich *Abbey of Bataile in Suffex*, or poor *Priory of Barnewell*, nigh *Cambridge*, &c. but kept all his pluralities in that nature, though otherwise we believe him most bountifull to those of his own Religion.

8. *The Catholick Princes* : Meaning *Philip* and *Mary*, and surely though we cannot insift on the particulars, that *Kings* inclinations are sufficiently known : zealous for the promoting of His own Religion.

However, it is almost incredible what a *qualme* on this occasion came over the hearts of the stoutest *Abbey-land Mengers* in England, fearing in proceffe of time a reverting of them to their former use; the rather because *Cardinall Poole* in that Act in this *Queens Reign* to secure *Abbey-lands* to their Owners (without the passing whereof to pacifie so many persons concerned, *Papistry* could not have been restored in that *Parliament*) did not, as some think, abolve their consciences from restitution, but only made a *palliate cure*, the Church but suspending that power, which in due time the might put in execution.

3. This made many suspect that such edifices of *Abbeys*, which still were extant, entire, looked lovingly on their antient Owners in hope to be restored unto them. In prevention whereof such as posselt them for the present, plucked out their eyes, by levelling them to the ground, and shaving from them (as much as they could) all *Abbey Characters*, disguising them (as much as might be) in a *Lay-habit*, masching and mingling them with lands in another Tenure, because on this very motion *Abbey lands* sunk two years purchase in the common valuation.

4. Nor must I forget one passage in *Derby-shire*, (a certain information whereof I have received from that skilful *Antiquary* and my respected Kinsman *Samuel Roper* of *Lincolnes-Inne*, how one *Thacker* being possessed of *Repingdon-Abbey* in *Derby-shire*, alarumed with this news that *Q. Mary* had set up these *Abbeys* again (and fearing how large a reach such a precedent might have) upon a Sunday (belike, the better day, she better dead) called together the *Carpenters* and *Masons* of that County, and plucked down in one day (Church-work is a cripple in going up, but rides post in coming down) a most beautifull Church belonging therunto, adding, He would destroy the Nest, for fear the Birds should build therein again.

5. And now when a *Papist* have done commending *Q. Mary*, a *Protestant* may begin, I say, Her setting up the *Hospital* of the *Savoy* was a better work than any instanced in by *Sanders* for the relief of poor people: First, because poor, and the poor may be said to be *Fare Divino* : \* The rich and poor meet together, and the Lord maketh them both. Not only as *Creator* of their persons, but *Assigner* of their conditions. Besides, the Poor is a continuall Order in the Church by the words of our Saviour, \* The poor ye have alwaies with you : but more properly hereof in the Reign of *Queen Mary*.

Queen

### Queen Elizabeth demolisheth the new-erected Convents.

Queen Elizabeth coming to the Crown, was not over-busie at the first, but for some moneths permitted all things to remain in statu quo prius. In-somuch, that in the first *Parliament* of Her summoning, She sent Her *Writts* to the aforesaid Lord Prior *Tresham*, and Abbot *Feckenham* to make their appearance with the rest of Her Barons in Her Great Councell. Whither they repaired, and wherein they took their places accordingly.

2. Sir *Thomas* (as Lord Prior) above, but the Abbot beneath all the Temporal Lords, being the lag of the House, and placed under Oliver Lord S. *John of Blethesho*, lately made the second Baron of Queen Elizabeth's creation. But they had hardly set down on their seats, before they were raised up, and dissolved, with all the rest of the late-restored Orders.

3. I have not met (to my best remembrance) with any Statute, enacted in the Reign of Queen Mary, whereby She was legally empowered for the re-erection of these Convents, done it seems by Her Prerogative, by connivance, not concurrence of the Parliament. Nor can I finde, in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, any particular Statute wherein (as in the Reign of King Henry the eighth) these Orders are nominatim suppressed, this probably being supposed needless, as I conceive, (with submission to the Learned in that Profession) their Houses having no Legal settlement : Or else, when the general Statutes against Superstition, were layed like the Axe to the root of the Tree, these Orders are under-branches, fell of themselves by virtue of the Queens Commission for the same.

4. I intended by way of a farewell-Corollary to present the Reader with a List of the Lord Priors of S. *John's*, from *Jordanus Briset*, their first Founder. But their Records being all burnt in that fire, which was kindled by *Straw* in his commotion, it is impossible to compleat the Catalogue. At and since which disaster, such as we can recover, are not contiguous in times, and distanced with many years betwixt them, though perhaps not unusefull to be inferred.

1. Sir Robert Hales, Lord Treasurer of England, slain in the sumults of Tyler, Anno 1380, in the fourth of K. Richard the second. At which time,

2. Next him, Sir John Long-strother, I say next, proximus at longo qui proximus intervallo, siding with the House of Lancaster, he was taken prisoner in Tewsbury Battail, Anno 1471, and by King Edward the fourth put to death in cold blood, contrary to the promise of a Prince, who had assured his life unto him.

3. Sir Thomas Dochwray, is the next (not of all) but in our discovery. A person of much desert, expending himself wholly for the credit and profits of his Priory, as who re-edified the Church out of its ruine, finishing it Anno 1504, as appeareth by the Inscription over the Gate-house yet remaining.

4. Sir William Weston succeeds (of whom before) dissolved this List on the very day of the dissolution of this Priory.

5. Sir Thomas Tresham, was the first and last of Q. Mary's re-erection. There goeth a tradition, that Q. Elizabeth in consideration of his good service done to Her self in Her Sister Q. Mary, whom he proclaimed, and Their Titles being shut out of doors together, both were let in again at once, though to take place successively, allowed him to be called Lord Prior during his life, which was not long, and the matter not much, deriving no power or profit unto him.

Here I purposely omit Sir Richard Shelley, (which family I finde of remark for worship and antiquity at Michel-Groove in Suffex.) He bare a great enmity to Queen

Violent alterations dangerous.

A See a List of them lying in Sir Tho. Weston's Library.

A Quere to be cleared in Law.

A An imperfect List better than none.

A generally jealousie of Abbey-holders.

Nimium cautela non nocet.

The best work of Q. Mary.

\* Prov. 22. 2.

\* John 12. 8.

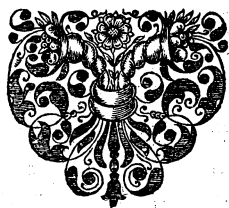
b Cambd. Eliz.  
Anno 1563.  
c Item in Anno  
1560. p. 46.

Cowlish present  
owner of this  
Priory.

Q. Elizabeth, especially after She had flatly denied Philip King of Spain, whither Shelley was fled) to consent to his abiding there, and so his quiet receiving his rents out of England. However, the Spanish King imployed him in an Honorable Ambassy unto Maximilian King of the Romans, wearing the high title of Prior of the Order of St. John's in England. A Prior without a Posterior having none under him to obey his power, nor after him to succeed in his place. We behold him only as the very stroke given in by us out of courtesie, when the game was up before.

5. The Site of the Priory of S. John's was lately the possession of William Earl of Exeter, whose Countess Elizabeth Drury was very forward to repair the ruin'd Quire thereof. Doct. Ios. Hall preached at the solemn Reconciling thereof, on S. Stephen's day 1623, taking for his Text, Hag. 2. 9. The glory of the latter house, shall be greater than of the former saith the Lord of Hosts. At this day, though consecrated, having the side-Iles excluded, (yet so that their upper part is admitted, affording conveniencies for attention) it is one of the best private Chappels in England, discreetly embracing the mean of decency betwixt the extremes of slovenly profaneness and gaudy superstition, and belongeth at this present to the truly noble Thomas Earle of Elgin.

## SECTION



## SECTION VII.

TO THOMAS DOCKWRAY  
of Bedford-shire, Esquire.

I Finde Sir THOMAS DOCKWRAY one of the last Lord Priors of our English Hospitallers. To say you are descended from him would fix a stain on your Extraction, seeing none might marry, who were of his Order.

But this I will say and justifie, that you Both are descended from the same Ancestour, as by authentick Records doth most plainly appear.

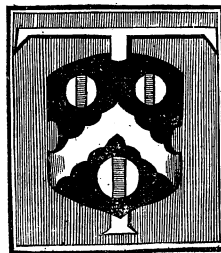
Besides, some conformity may be seen in your commendable inclinations. He was all for \* building of a fair Church according to the devotion of those dayes. Your bountifull hand hath been a great sharer in advancing of this Church-History.

Now, although his stately Structure of the strongest stone had the hard hap to be blown up almost as \* soon as it was ended, this of yours (a frailer Fabrick, as but of Paper-walls) may by Gods blessing have the happinesse of a longer continuance.

\* Stow Survey  
of London,  
pag. 483.

\* Stow Survey of  
Lond. at print.

## Of English Nunneries beyond the Seas.



no very good condition, and died

Thus were all Monks, Fryers, and Nunnies, totally routed by the coming in of Q<sup>ue</sup>n Elizabeth. I finde not that any Penfions were allowed to those Potaries, who at this time were oured their Covents, though large Annuities were assigned to such who were ejected their Monasteries, Colledges, or free Chanteries, in the Reigns of King Henry the eighth, and Edward the sixth: whereof this may seem the reason, because now, caveat ingressor, He or She might beware who entred an Abbey, be it at their own perill, seeing they formerly had so fair a warning, though indeed some of them who had no friends to help them, were left in

Why no Penfions paid to ourd Potaries by Q<sup>ue</sup>n Elizabeth.

[F. 2. 2.]

2. But

De-ained pen-  
sions paid to  
old Fryers and  
Nunnes.

Chequer pay,  
th: beft of pay-  
ments.

The onely  
flump of an  
old tree.

The progreffe  
of Nunnes  
from Sion to  
Lubone.

The revenue  
and wealth of  
the Lubone  
Nunnes.  
\* Every Mil-  
lrey is twelve  
shillings six  
pence Reeling.

A price of  
blood: their  
first portion.  
\* The Kellingon,  
p: 9.

Their Confe-  
four and beile.

2. But now in the beginning of this *Queens Reign*, a complaint did arise, That *Pensions were deained from many ejected out of Abbeyes in her Father and Brother his Reigne, who being poor, old, and impotent, and repairing to the Queens Officers for their Pensions, were instead of money paid with ill language and affronts.* Her Majesty possessed with the truth hereof, took *stritt order* both that their *Arrears* for the time past should be satisfied, and their *Annuities* for the time to come effectually discharged, which much advanced her honour in pecuniary matters.

3. Hence grew the *Proverb* (crossed in the daies of her *successours*) *As sure as Exchequer pay.* For all, who in this *Queens Reign* had summes due unto them from the *Treasurie*, had no other trouble than to tell them there, and take them thence. Thus, it came to passe, that by Her maintaining of the *Exchequer*, the *Exchequer* maintained Her, having money at most, credit at all times on the reputation of so good a *Pay-Mistresse*: infomuch that She was not onely able to *Lay down Her stake*, but also to *vye ready silver* with the King of *Spaine*, when He, notwithstanding both His *Indies*, was fain to *go on Bare board*.

4. As for *Papish* (*Religious*) persons flying out of *England* at the coming in of this *Queen*, our pen shall follow them as fast as it can with convenient speed. We begin with the *Nunnes*, partly because the *courtesie* of *England* alloweth the first place to the feeblest Sex; but chiefly, because they seem still to continue an *entire body*, and successively, an *immortal corporation*; being, with the *Carthusians*, the onely *flump* that remaineth of the huge tree which once overspread and shadowed our whole *Nation*.

5. May the *Reader* be pleased to remember, that King *Henry the fifth* founded one *Abbey* of *Nunnes* at *Sion* in *Middlesex*, peopling it with *Brigitine Nunnes* and *Fryers*, and another at *Sheine* in *Surrey* overagainst it, so ordering it that all the day long alternately when the *Devotions* of the one ended, the other should begin, that nothing should interrupt their *Prayers*, though the *Thames* did divide their *Persons*: Both those *Covenants* dissolved by King *Henry the eighth* were, as aforesaid, restored by *Q. Mary*, and re-dissolved by *Q. Elizabeth*. The *Sion Nunnes* (though *Clementia Thresham* a principall amongst them, could not go with them for sickness (dying soon after, and buried at *Rushon* in *Northampton shire*) conveyed their persons and most portable *Treasure* beyond the Seas to *Zurich* in *Zealand*, thence to *Macklin* in *Brabant*, thence to *Roan* in *Normandy*, but found no certain place of abode till they came to *Lubone* in *Portugall*.

6. For here they had a daily *Pension* of five *Crowns* from the King of *Spaine*, and *wheat* more than sufficient whilst *Lubone* was His (and I doubt not but the present King of *Portugall* performeth the same) they have *Vine-yards*, *Olive-fields*, *Corn-grounds*, and *Houses*, to the value of four hundred \* *Mil-reis* a year, which was the *Portion* of a *Portugese* (sole Heire to her wealthy Father) who becoming a *Religious Sister* in this *Covent*, conveyed her inheritance unto it. So that by their *boxes* in *Indian* and *Brasilean ships*, sale of *Masses*, and other *perquisites*, they are paid yearly to lay up six hundred pounds.

7. Indeed, they began with a good bank, and hereon hangs a story worth reporting. When Doctor *Lopez* a *Jew-Portugall* undertook to poison Queen *Elizabeth*, he would not (to shew himself a *Jew* indeed) doe his *work* till in some sort secured of his *wages*. The summe \* promised him was deposited with these *Nunnes*, whilst as yet they lived at *Roan* in *Normandie*. But *Lopez* his designe failing, the same halter which bereaved him of life, endowed these *Nunnes* with a livelihood: For the King of *Spaine* either out of scrupulosity not to resume the same into his *Treasurie* as the price of blood, or out of liberality conferred those moneys on the *Nunnes*, which since they have well house-wived and increased.

8. We need not repeat what we have formerly said of the *Brigitine Nunnes* (first founded by *Briget* Queen of *Swedeland*) having *Fryers* permitted to live under the same roof (though disjoyned with walls) for their better consolation. Some thirty years since Father *Ioseph Foster* was their *Confessor*, having two other *Priests* and a *Lay Brother* to assist him, whose names I am leffe carefull to

insert,

insert, because they change them as often as *snakes their skins*, both what they took at the *font*, and fetcht from their *Fathers*, truly called by what they are not known, and commonly known by what they are not truly called. *Elizabeth Preston* about that time was *Abbesse*, who being outed as in disgrace with Father *Foster*, *Barbara Wiseman* succeeded in her place.

9. Such as desire further satisfaction herein, may consult the *Anatomic of the English Nunnerie* at *Lubone*, made by *Thomas Robinson*, published by authority, and lately reprinted. I confesse, it may seem cruelty to cut up the living, and the best of mortals would winch to purpose if dissected alive. But very much of truth is believed in his *Discovery*, telling us of a grate betwixt those *Fryers* and *Nunnes*, sometimes so *churlish* as to divide them, sometimes so *charitable* as consenting to be drawn up, and so to admit them to a *mutuall society*: so that if the *Fryer* calleth, the *Nunne* cometh incontinently at his command. I have heard since that their *Covens* of late hath casually been burned down, which, if so, I doubt not but they are able to rebuild it, as gaining more by water (the *gratuities* of *Merchants*) than they have lost by fire.

### Bruxells Nunnerie.

They are of the Order of *S. Benediſt*, and yet solely under the inspection of the *Iesuits*, which seems improper, seeing it would found like truer construction that *Benedictine Nunnes* should be subject to *Benedictine Monks*. The truth is, that at the first founding hereof the *Iesuiticall activity* got the start of the *Benedictine dulnesse*, and these men of lasting mettall (as good as length as at hand) keep the advantage which once they have gotten. Indeed, no *Nunnes* come hither but such as are transported by the *Iesuits* special recommendation, and therefore it is but equall they should dresse and prune the *Vines* of their own planting. I assure you, the place is too costly for my *Daughter* to be entred there, seeing they receive \* none into their *Abbey* and *habits* unless she have a thousand pound or two for her *Portion*.

2. The *Abbey* is very rich, having purchased whole *Manours*, and *Lordships* in *Brabant*, with many thousand of pounds at use in the *Lombards* and elsewhere, all which the *English Iesuits* doe dispose of. Father *Gardiner*, and Father \* *Walgrave* alias *Flower* were *Anno* 1630, their *Overſers*, being some sixty *English Damowells* under their *Abbesse*, then the *Sister* of the (Aunt to the present) *Earl of Northumberland*.

### Cambray Nunnerie.

Don *Carlos de Columna* Governour of the City and Countrey of *Cambray* for the King of *Spaine*, and sometimes *Ambasador* for *England*, was so allured with the beauty, or affected with the piety of our *English Women*, that (as it is generally reported) he gave them a *Chayster* within this City, where now they live and have an *English Congregation* erected according to the Order of *S. Benediſt*. Lately they had no lands purchased, though possibly since they may be endowed.

### Gravelin Nunnerie.

The Family of the *Gages* at *Farle* in *Suffex* were their principall *Benefactors* (whereof *John Gage* Privie Counsellour, as I take it, to *Q. Mary*, defected the land and his own large estate at the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*) as appears by certain *Tablets* to be seen in their Church. Yet are they

[Z z z z]

The Anatomie  
of the Nunnes  
of Lubone.

Bruxells Nu-  
nerie.

\* Lewis Owen  
his running  
Register, p. 102.

\* English-  
Spanish pil-  
grim, pag. 74.

Cambray Nun-  
nerie.

Gravelin Nun-  
nerie.

Nunnes of Lo-  
vaine why  
omitted.

the poorest of all *Ferraigh Convents*, being the *discalceate Nunnes* of the Order of *S. Clare*. *Siſe cinque*, are sent to *Brussels*, persons Nobly born, or richly dowered, *Quatur tray* to *Lubone* or *Cambray*, receiving those of a middle rank, whilst *Duce ace*, yea *Ames ace*, are sent to *Gravelin* the *Almes-basket* of other *Convents*; *Cum nemini obtradi potest, itur ad &c.* Such who come over with empty hands must be *Nunnes* at *Gravelin* with naked feet.

2. Here I purposely omit the *Nunnes* of *Louvaine* in *Brabant*, because not speaking pure *English*, and scarcely *mediatatem lingua*, being a *Hodge-podge* of *Dutch* and *English*, and the former at this day most numerous. Yea, oftentimes the two *Nations* here strive for Superiority, and though nature inclineth me in this contention to favour my *Country women*: yet I conceive it better to leave them alone to agree with themselves, and proceed to the *Jesuitesses*.

### Jesuitesses.

Jesuitessi.

These began at *Luke* or *Liege* about thirty years since. *Mistris Mary Ward*, and *Mistris Twitty* being the first beginners of them. They are not confined, as other *Nunns* to a *Cloyster*, but have liberty to go abroad where they please to convert people to the *Catholic Faith*. They wear a *Huke* like other women, and differ but little in their habit from common persons. The aforesaid two *Virgins*, or rather *Viragins* travelled to *Rome* with \* three the most beautiful of their *Society*, endeavouring to procure from his Holiness an establishment of their Order, but no *Confirmation*, only a *Toleration* would be granted thereof. Since I have \* read, that *Anno* 1629, *Mistris Mary Ward* went to *Pienna*, where she prevailed so farre with the *Emperesse*, that she procured a *Monastery* to be erected for those of her Order, as formerly they had two Houses at *Liege*. Since I have heard nothing of them, which rendreth it suspicious that their Order is suppressed, because otherwise such *turbulent spirits* would be known by their own violence, it being all one with a *storm* not to be and not to bluster: For, although this may seem the speediest way to make their Order to propagate when *Jesusa* shall become *hic & hac* of the common gender, yet conscientious *Catholics* conceived these *Lady Errants* so much to deviate from feminine (not to say *Virgin*) modesty, (what is but going in *Men* being accounted gadding in *Maid*s) that they zealously decryd their practice, probably to the present blasting thereof.

### The forraign Convents of English Monks and Fryers.

Jesuits gapeing  
for the Benedi-  
dictines lands  
in England.

We will not so farre distrust the *Readers* memory as to repeat our premised distinction betwixt *Monks* and *Fryers*: Onely know that the *Papists* themselves report, that towards the end of *Queen Elizabeth* there was but one *English Monk* (*Mauvo* by name) living in the whole world. A thing not incredible to such who consider *Monks* generally grown men before admitted into their Order, and that more than sixty years were passed from the dissolution of *Abbeys* to the end of *Queen Elizabeth*. Hereupon, several *Catholics* of the *Anti-Jesuitick* faction (as *Doctor Gifford*, *Bagshaw*, *Stevens*, *Smith*) fearing the *Jesuits* on Farther *Mauvo's* death, would (for want of lawfull successours to the old *English Benedictine Monks*) enter upon all the *Abbey lands* they had here, solicited many *English Students* then living in their *Colledges* and *Seminaries* to become *Monks* of the Order of *S. Benner*, persuading them that hereby they should intitle themselves to a large *Patrimony* of Land now likely to fall unto them.

Defected by  
Farther Roberts  
and others.

2. Here am I put to a double wonder. First, whereon this *Papistick confidence* was grounded of the speedy restitution of *Abbey land* at *Queen Elizabeth* her death, finding no visible probability for the same. Secondly, I admire how *Jesuits*

*Jesuits* could pretend (in default of *Benedictine issue*) themselves *Heires* to these lapsed or vacant lands, seeing other Orders, farre more ancient, might lay a better claim thereto. Except they conceive such *English Abbey lands* held in *Burrengh English*, wherein the youngest, according to the custome of some *Manours*, is to inherit; and so by the same advantage this last and newest of all Orders possessed themselves thereof.

3. However, to prevent them, at the instance of the aforesaid *secular Priests* many *English Students* got into *forraign Convents* of *Benedictines*, and took on them the habit of *S. Benner*. *John Roberts* first a *Lawyers Clerk* in *London*, then a *Student* in the *English Colledge* at *Valladolid* first led the dance, running away to a neighbouring *Convent* of *Spanish Benedictines*. More of the flock followed this *Bell-weather* thick and threefold, leaving the *Colledge* of the *Jesuits* in despite of all the care and caution of their *Father Prefects*. *Father Augustine* (if that his true and not assumed name) was the second *Manke* of note at this time, a name very active, I am sure, in propagating *superstition* in *England*, and *Roberts* and *Augustine*, the two *revivers* of the new *Benedictines*. These obtained leave of *Pope Pius quintus*, and the King of *Spain*, to build them a *Convent* at *Doway*. And though *Roberts* coming over into *England* to procure the *Catholics* contribution thereunto, had the hard hap to meet with *Tyburne* in his way; yet the designe proceeded, and was perfected.

### Doway Convent in Artois.

For the *Lord Abbot* of *S. Vedastus* (anglicè *S. Forsters*) in *Arras*, a wealthy man, and great favourer of the *English* (yea, generally good to all poor people) built them a *Cloyster*, and fine *Church* adjoining, on his own proper cost. To whom, and his successours, the *English Monks* are bound to pay yearly on the first of *February* a wax-Candle weighing *threescore pound* by way of *homage* and *acknowledgement* of their *Founder*.

Doway Convent.

### S. Malloves Convent in Bretaine.

*Doctor Gifford* Dean of the *Collegiate Church* of *S. Peter's* in *Risfell* (alias *Insula* in *Flanders*) erected a small *Congregation* of *English Monks* at *S. Malloves* in *France*, whereof he himself became *Prior*. Here he remained some years, till at last resigning it to another *Monke*, he removed unto *Paris* Convent.

S. Malloves  
Convent.

### Paris Convent.

Which the aforesaid *Doctor* (but now advanced and augmented with the honour and profit of the *Archbishoprick* of *Rheims*) built and endowed on his own expences, conferring thereon whatsoever he can get from his *Archbishoprick*; on the profits whereof the *Duke of Guise* was suspected too heavily to quarter.

2. Pass we now from our *English Monks* to the *Fryers*, and begin with the *Carthusians*. These being outed of *Shaine* in *Surry* at the coming in of *Queen Elizabeth*, wasted themselves over the Seas with so much wealth as bought them a *Cloyster* with lands to maintain it at *Maclin*. These take themselves to be the most visible *Church* of *English Fryers* as continuing an uninterrupted succession, and possessed up with hopes of regaining their old lands, that when *Prince Charles* went to *Spain* they sent two of their *Fryers* into *England* to take possession both of *Charter-House* and *Sheine*. Say not one of those places had been fair at first,

Paris Convent.

The Carthusi-  
ans Convent at  
Maclin.

seeing to save double pains and charges, they did well to claim them both together, as likely to possess them both together, as no doubt they had done long ago, had not the *rightfull Owners* then, and ever since, detained the same.

### Doway.

Some report this erected by Count *Gundsmar*: others, more probably, by the charity of *English Catholics* for recollect *Fryers* of the Order of *S. Francis*. They have a strong fancy, that *Christ-Church* in *London*, shall one day be theirs, at the next return of times. The best is, being to *goe bare-foot* by the rules of their Order, they are well provided to wait for dead-mens shoes. Here I omit the little Cloyster of *Benedictine Monks* in the Dukedome of *Lorraine* near *Ponto-Moufon*, as also some other Nunneries and *Fryeries* since erected at *Paris*, and elsewhere: for surely, these Orders have spawned much since our late *Civil Warres*, Protestant confusions multiplying Popish foundations.

2. Yet I cannot believe what one reports of two Covents in *London*, set up about the year 1640. One, at the Lord *Gages* near *Queens-street*: the other, at *Westminster*. For, finding no person who is properly teamed the Lord *Gage*, I suspect all the rest. And though I confesse *Catholics* then arrived at such boldness, as rather to dare, than dread any discovery; yet it seemeth improbable any should abide there save onely to wait convenience of transportation. And so much for *English Covents* beyond the Seas, which discourse let none censure as alien, and not pertaining to the *History of England*. For, I would willingly be condemned for a needlesse excursion on the condition that they belonged not at all unto us who daily fetch over too much money hence, and doe mutually bring back too much mischief hither.

### To whom the Sites of Mitred Abbeyes were granted, and by whom they are possessed at this day.

It were a work almost impossible for our pen to pursue the Lands of each Religious house from the time that they parted from the Crown to the present Owners thereof. Yea, such a task when ended, were endlesse, of no other use, than the satisfaction of curiosity. As therefore the best Anatomists cannot hunt out the deviations of every petty vein (embracing severall courses in sundry bodies) but abundantly acquit their skill and industry if truly discovering the trunk-veins (observing the same channels in all people) *Kephalick, Basilick, &c.* So we conceive our duty discharged to any rational expectation, if instanting onely (out of the Originall Records) in the Sites of the Mitred Abbeyes marking their fluctuation since passed from the Crown, into the possession of severall Subjects.

2. Here I intended to present the Reader with the particulars of all those Owners through whose hands these Mitred Abbeyes have passed, from those to whom King *Henry* granted them, to those who at this day are possessed thereof. A thing with very much difficulty (such the frequencies of the exchange) collectible out of the severall fines payd at their alienation: but having tyred out mine own modesty, (though not my good friend *Mr. John Witt's* officious industry) in being beholden to him above my possibility of requitall for perusing so many Records, I desisted from so difficult a design.

Abbey

| Abbey                                     | Granted by                                                          | Unto                                                                      | In confide-<br>ration                                                                                | Tenure and<br>rent                                                                                                                         | After a-<br>lien'd to                               | Present<br>owner,                                                              |
|-------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Tave-<br>stock in<br>Devon.               | K. a Henry<br>the 8, in the<br>31 of his<br>Reign,<br>July 4.       | John Lord<br>Russel, Anne<br>his Wife,<br>and their<br>Heires, &c.        | of his faith-<br>full service<br>and coun-<br>sell.                                                  | in Capite,<br>by Knights<br>service, of<br>cum alia<br>one Knights<br>fee, paying<br>36 li.                                                | none,<br>but still<br>possest<br>by their<br>Heirs. | William<br>Russell<br>Earle of<br>Bedford.                                     |
| Middle-<br>ton in<br>Dorset-<br>shire.    | K. b Henry<br>the 8, in the<br>31 of his<br>Reign, 23<br>of Febr.   | John Tre-<br>gonwell Knt.<br>Doctor of<br>Law.                            | of a Pensio<br>of 40 l. per<br>ann. surren-<br>dred, 1000 l.<br>paid down,<br>& his good<br>service. | in Capite,<br>by Knights<br>service, of<br>the tenth<br>part of a<br>Knights fee,<br>paying<br>12 l. 4 s.                                  | none,<br>but still<br>possest<br>by his<br>Heirs.   | John Tre-<br>gonwell<br>Esquire.                                               |
| Malmes-<br>bury in<br>Wilt.sh.            | K. c Henry<br>the 8, in the<br>31 of his<br>Reign.                  | William<br>Stampe<br>Gentle-<br>man.                                      | of the pay-<br>ment of<br>1516 l. 15 s.<br>2 d. ob.                                                  | in Capite,<br>by the tenth<br>part of a<br>Knights fee,<br>paying<br>8 l. 8 s. ob.                                                         |                                                     | Thomas Ioy<br>Esquire.                                                         |
| Ramsfey<br>in Hun-<br>tington-<br>shire.  | K. d Henry<br>the 8, in the<br>31 of his<br>Reign, 4<br>of March.   | Richard<br>Williams,<br>alias Crom-<br>well, Esq.                         | of his good<br>service, and<br>the pay-<br>ment of<br>4663 l. 4 s.<br>2 d.                           | in Capite,<br>by the tenth<br>part of a<br>Knights fee,<br>paying<br>29 l. 16 s.                                                           | none,<br>possest<br>by his<br>Heir.                 | Sir Oliver<br>Cromwell,<br>the most<br>aged Gent.<br>and Knight<br>in England. |
| Selby in<br>York-<br>shire.               | K. e Henry<br>the 8, in the<br>32 of his<br>Reign, 28<br>of August. | Ralph Sad-<br>leir of<br>Hackney,<br>Knight.                              | of 736 l.<br>paid.                                                                                   | in Capite,<br>by the tenth<br>part of a<br>Knights fee,<br>paying<br>3 l. 10 s. 8 d.                                                       |                                                     | Charles<br>Walmesley<br>Esquire.                                               |
| Tenxbu-<br>rie in<br>Gloucester<br>shire. | K. f Henry<br>the 8, in the<br>36 of his<br>Reign.                  | Tho: Stroud,<br>Wal: Earle,<br>and<br>Iam: Paget.                         | of 2283 li.<br>19 s. 3 d.                                                                            | in capite,<br>by the 20 <sup>th</sup><br>part of a<br>Knights fee,<br>paying<br>1 l. 18 s. 0 d.                                            |                                                     |                                                                                |
| Hyde<br>juxta<br>Winton.                  | K. g Henry<br>the 8, in the<br>37 of his<br>Reign, 11<br>of Janu.   | Rich: Bebel<br>Gent. after<br>the Lord<br>Wriathesly<br>was expi-<br>red. | of 110 li.<br>17 s. 1 d.                                                                             | in free Soc-<br>cage of the<br>King's Ma-<br>nour of<br>Rumsey,<br>paying<br>6 l. 13 s. 4 d.<br>to the<br>Vic. of St.<br>Barthol:<br>Wint: |                                                     |                                                                                |

a 1 part retails  
29, (formerly  
Odo-m) Re-  
membrances  
Office.

b 1 part. ret. 95.

c 7 part. ret. 147.

d 2 part. ret. 193.

e 1 part. ret. 140.

f 2 part. ret. 26.

g 1 part. ret. 44.

Doway.

Two Covents  
reported in  
London.  
\* Mr. Trin.

A possible de-  
luge prefer-  
red, impossible  
deceded.

|                                                      | Abbey                                       | Granted by                                                                                           | Unto                                                                                            | In confide-<br>ration                                                                                           | Tenure and After a-<br>lien'd to                                                                                    | Present<br>owner,                             |
|------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| b 4 part. rot. 13.                                   | S. Johns<br>juxta<br>Colebe-<br>rer.        | K. <sup>h</sup> Edward<br>the fixt, in<br>the first of<br>his Reign,<br>June 22.                     | John Dudley<br>Earle of<br>Warwick.                                                             | of his ser-<br>vice in Scot-<br>land and<br>France, by<br>whereby he<br>had much<br>impair'd his<br>own estate. | in Capite,<br>[cum aliis]<br>by service,<br>of one<br>Knights<br>fee, paying<br>16s. 11. d.<br>ob.                  | Sir John<br>Lucas<br>L <sup>d</sup> Lucas.    |
| i 2 part. rot.                                       | Cirence-<br>ster in<br>Gloucester<br>shire. | K. <sup>i</sup> Edward<br>the fixt, in<br>the first of<br>his Reign,<br>19 of Aug-<br>ust.           | Thomas<br>Lord<br>Seymer,<br>high Ad-<br>miral.                                                 | of his ser-<br>vice, and<br>kindred,<br>being the<br>Kings<br>Uncle.                                            | in Capite,<br>with land<br>in 15 Shires,<br>by the ser-<br>vice, of one<br>Knights fee,<br>paying<br>1 l. 1 s. 8 d. | Sir William<br>Masters.                       |
| k 3 part. rot. 95.                                   | Bardney<br>in<br>Lincoln-<br>shire.         | K. <sup>h</sup> Edw. 6.<br>in the se-<br>cond of his<br>Reign.                                       | Thomas<br>Heneage,<br>Katherine<br>his Wife,<br>and their<br>Heirs.                             | of an ex-<br>change for<br>the Manour<br>of Overton.                                                            | in Knights<br>service.                                                                                              | Francis<br>Lord Wil-<br>loughby of<br>Parham. |
| l 3 part. rot. 17.<br>and againe<br>4 part. rot. 77. | Glafton<br>in<br>Somer-<br>set.             | K. <sup>i</sup> Edward<br>the fixt, in<br>the 4 <sup>th</sup> year<br>of his<br>Reign, 4 of<br>June. | Ed. Seymer<br>Duke of<br>Somerfet.                                                              | of his Pe-<br>tition, and<br>the advife<br>of the Coun-<br>fel, to<br>support his<br>dignity.                   | in Capite,<br>by the 40 <sup>th</sup><br>part of a<br>Knights fee,<br>fine reditu.                                  |                                               |
| m 1 biden.                                           | Reading<br>in Berk-<br>shire.               | K. <sup>m</sup> Edw.<br>the fixt, in<br>the 4 <sup>th</sup> year<br>of his<br>Reign, 4 of<br>June.   | Ed. Seymer<br>Duke of<br>Somerfet.                                                              | of his Pe-<br>tition, and<br>the advife<br>of the Coun-<br>fel, to<br>support his<br>dignity.                   | in Capite,<br>by the 40 <sup>th</sup><br>part of a<br>Knights fee,<br>fine reditu.                                  | Francis<br>Knolles<br>Esquire.                |
|                                                      | Crow-<br>land in<br>Lincoln-<br>shire.      | K. Edward<br>the fixt, in<br>the 1 <sup>st</sup> year<br>of his<br>Reign,<br>Decemb. 1.              | Edw. Fines<br>Knight,<br>L <sup>d</sup> Clinton<br>and Say,<br>high Ad-<br>miral of<br>England. | of the ex-<br>change of<br>other lands<br>with the<br>Crown.                                                    | to be held<br>in Socage<br>as of the<br>Kings Ma-<br>nour of<br>Louth by<br>fealty only.                            | till lately<br>in the<br>Crown.               |
|                                                      | Winch-<br>comb in<br>Gloce-<br>stershire.   | K. Edward<br>the fixt, in<br>the first year<br>of his<br>Reign,<br>June 22.                          | William<br>Par, Mar-<br>quess of<br>North-<br>hampton.                                          | of his faith-<br>fulness and<br>valour a-<br>gainst the<br>Rebels in<br>Norfolk.                                | in free Soc-<br>to be held<br>as of the<br>Manour<br>of East<br>Greenwich,<br>fine reditu.                          | George<br>Bridges<br>Lord<br>Shandon.         |

| Abbey                                          | Granted by                                                                           | Unto                                                      | In confide-<br>ration                                                                          | Tenure and<br>rent                                                                                          | After alie-<br>ned to | Present<br>owner |
|------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| St. Ed-<br>munds-<br>bury in<br>Suffolke.      | Q. <sup>o</sup> Eli-<br>zabeth in the<br>second year<br>of her<br>Reign,<br>Feb. 14. | John Eyer<br>Esquire.                                     | of the pay-<br>ment of<br>four hun-<br>dred<br>pound.                                          | in free Soc-<br>cage to be<br>held as of<br>the Queens<br>Manour of<br>East Green-<br>wich, fine<br>reditu. |                       |                  |
| St. Al-<br>bans in<br>Hert-<br>ford-<br>shire. | Q. <sup>o</sup> Eli-<br>zabeth in the<br>first of her<br>Reign,<br>May 6.            | Christopher<br>Smith Esq.<br>Thomas<br>Brangbion<br>Gent. | of the pay-<br>ment (for<br>it and other<br>lands in the<br>Grant) of<br>1703 li. 1 s.<br>4 d. | in free and<br>common<br>Socage,<br>fine reditu.                                                            |                       |                  |

Hitherto we have proceeded on the most authentick authority out of Records. And although we are confident of the truth of such as follow; yet, wanting the like assurance in the Dates, Tenures, and Considerations, we thought fit to rank them by themselves.

2. *Battel Abbey in Suffex* was bestowed by King Henry the eighth on Sir Anthony Browne, Knight of the Garter, and Master of His Majesties Horse, enjoyed by his heir-male in a direct line at this day.

3. *Thorney Abbey in Cambridgshire*, was conferred by King Henry the eighth; on John Lord Russell, and is possessed by his Abnepos, William Earle of Bedford, in a lineall descent.

4. *S. John's Priory in Coventry*, was given by King Henry the eighth to Hales Esquire, Clerk of the Hanaper, at this day in possession of one of his name, and lineage.

5. *Eversham Abbey in Worcester-shire*, I finde not to whom first granted, but by a long Lease it was in the possession of one Mr. Andrewes, father and son, whose Grandchilde living now at Berkhamsted in Hertfordshire, hath better thrived by God's blessing on his own industry than his Father and Grandfather did with *Eversham Abbey*. The sale of the stones whereof, he imputeth a cause of their ill successe. Lately it was Sir William Cartwright, and I know not to whom his Sonne sold it.

6. The Abbey of S. Bennet's in the Holme in Norfolk was never sold, but only changed in the two and thirtieth of King Henry the eighth with the Bishop of Norwich, as appeareth by the printed Statute, which affirmeth, That the lands feild by the King on the Bishoprick were of a greater yearly value than the Lordships and Manours given to his Grace. Which might be so, seeing all profit consists not in annual revenue, but much in casualties of Fines. Indeed, generally Coronets did gain, but Miters lose in their exchanges with the Crown.

7. *S. Maryes in Torke* (with Selby, the onely Mixed Abbey beyond Trent) was kept in the Crown to be the Kings Palace, when repairing into those parts. Since called the Manour, where the Lord President of the Council in the North held his residence. At this day it is in the hands of the States, as excepted by name in the Act for the sale of Kings lands, and one was allowed a Fee for the carefull keeping thereof.

8. My enquire cannot attain, to whom *S. Maryes in Shrewsburie* was passed. As for

o 2 part. rot. 13.

p 4 part. rot. 53.

Bennet in the  
Holme changed  
with the Bishop  
of Norwich.

S. Maryes in  
Torke how  
disposed.

[a a a]

for

\* Will. Somner  
in his Antiquity of  
Canterbury,  
pag. 60.

Country Ab-  
beys large Rin  
profit.

Present gaine  
future losse.

A solemn Til-  
ting proclaimed.

The noble at-  
chievements of  
Rich. Cromwell,  
a Story in the  
reign of Hen. 8.  
pag. 180.

Censure on  
Abbey Lands.

Sir Hen. Spel-  
man's Obser-  
vations on Ab-  
bey lands.

for *Augustine's* in *Canterbury*, I conceive it never aliened from the *Crown*, reading in my worthy \* friend, that the remaining ruines thereof are made subject to publick uses. And thus we have a perfect account of all the *Mitred English Abbeyes*. The Reader well remembering, what we have formerly written at large, of *S. Iohn's of Ierusalem*, and *Walsbam*; as also of *Glocester*, *Peterborough*, and *Westminster*, advanced into *Cathedrals*, save that the last was afterwards altered into a *Collegiate Church*.

9. We may observe that the greatest *Abbeyes* (founded in *Cities*) were of the least profit, because so freight-laded with *streets* and *houses* round about them that they could not grow to any extraordinary bulk for ground continued thereunto: so that the *Sites* were but *Sites*, as in *S. Albans*, *S. Edmunds-Bury*, *Hyde*, &c. Whereas *Monasteries* in *Country-Towns* let loose at more liberty to dilate themselves, had generally a large *Manour* and ample *Demefnes* annexed unto them.

10. Wife men have informed me, that had succeeding *Princes* followed *King Henry's* pattern, generally granting *Abbeyes* only in *Capite*, that such lands (though passed gratis from the *Crown* under small rents) would notwithstanding in some part have returned thither again, as affording *Respite of Homage*, *Reliefs*, *Wardships*, *Fines* for alienation for a constant revenue. Whereas being afterwards granted in free *Socage* whilst the tenure onely advanced the present sale; the *Crown* was deprived of much *Emolument*, and more obligation.

11. *Richard Williams* (alias *Cromwell*) Esquire, (to whom *Ramsey Abbey* was partly given, partly sold) was one of the five, who in the thirty second year of *Henry the eighth*, made the bold challenge at *Justs* to all comers that would, in *France*, *Flanders*, *Scotland*, and *Spain*. Here it was expected that some of our *Knights Hospitallers*, whose House by Act of Parliament was dissolved but a month before) should appear valiantly in their vindication, if conceiving any injustice offered unto them. But they kept themselves close, probably not so much for fear of all the *Challengers* as of one of the *Spectators*, viz: *King Henry* Himself, as sure, if *Conquerours* of the *King's* anger, and others envy, it worsted, of their own disgrace. Besides, by the laws of their Order, they were not to tilt against *Christians*, but onely to spend their spears against *Pagans* and *Infidels*. Lastly, the challenge seemed only confined to *forrainers*.

12. This *Richard Williams* (alias *Cromwell*) came into the place an Esquire, but departed a *Knight*, dubbed by the *King* for his valour. clearly carrying away the credit: overthrowing *Mr. Palmer* \* in the field at *Justs* one day, and the next serving *Mr. Culpepper* at *Barriers* in the same manner. Hereupon, there goeth a Tradition in the Familie, that *King Henry* highly pleased with his prowess, Formerly, (said He) thou wast *My Dick*, but hereafter shalt be *My Diamond*, and theretofore let fall His *Diamond-Ring* unto him. In avowance whereof, these *Cromwells* have ever since given for their Crest a *Lion holding a Diamond-Ring in his Fore-paw*.

13. Some conceive these *Abbey-Lands* more unsuccessful than any other, and infectious to the third Generation: Yea, *Papists* would persuade us, that as *Bucephalus* cast all his Riders till backed by *Alexander* his Lord and Master, so these *skittish-Lands* will dismount all that beside them, untill forsooth they be (as they hope) restored to their proper Owners. And this they impute to the curse of their Founders denounced to such who should alienate them from their first institution. Others maintain, that no certainty can be concluded from such casualties, but that all things come to passe alike to all. As dye *Abbey-lands*, so dye other lands when in the hands of a riotous person. Thus lands as well as goods and chattels are moveables, though not from their Center, yet from their Owner. Yea, our draught lately presented, doth prove, that many *Mitred Abbeyes* have survived the dangerous *Climactericall* of the third Generation.

14. For mine own part, my tongue is so farre from bespeaking such lands with any ill success, that I wish to all lawfully possessed of them (either by the bounty of their Prince, their own, or Ancestors fair purchase) that peaceably and prosperously they may enjoy them: Et nati natorum, ut qui nascuntur ab ipsis. However, it will not

not be amiss: to insert the observation of a most worthy Antiquary in the County wherein he was born and best experienced: Who reports, that in *Norfolk* there were an hundred houses of Gentlemen before the Dissolution of *Abbeyes*, possessed of fair estates, of whom so many as gained accession by *Abbey-Lands*, are at this time extinct, or much impaired; bemoaning his own familie under the latter notion, as diminished by such an addition.

15. Hear also what his son saith to the same purpose, \* *King Henry* exchanged *Abbey-lands*, and by this means (like the dust flung up by *Moses*) they presently disperse all the Kingdom over, and at once become curses both upon the Families and Estates of the Owners; they often wisely spending on their private occasions, what was piously intended for publick devotion; inasmuch, that within twenty years next after the Dissolution, none of our Nobility, and their children, have been attained, and died under the sword of Justice, than did from the Conquest, to the Dissolution, being almost five hundred years; so as if thou examine the List of the Barons in the Parliament of the 27 of *Henry the eighth*, thou shalt finde very few of them, whose Sons doe at this day inherit their Fathers titles and estates, and of these few, many to whom the King's favour hath restored, what the rigorous Law of Attainder took, both Dignity, Lands, and Posterity. And doubtless the Commons have drunk deep in this cup of deadly wine; but they, being more numerous and lesse eminent, are not so obvious to observation.

16. As for the report of *Reyners* \*, the Reader may believe the lesse thereof for his known engagement to *Rome*, thus expressing himself, At the Dissolution, *Henry the eighth* divided part of the Church's spoils among two hundred and sixty Gentlemen, of families in one part of *England*; and at the same time *Thomas Duke of Norfolk* rewards the service of twenty of his Gentlemen, with the grant of forty pounds a year out of His own inheritance; and while not sixty of the *King's* Doneses had sons owning their fathers estates, every one of the *Dukes* hath a son of his own loine, flourishing in his fathers inheritance, and I could have set down their several names, had convenience required it.

17. But it is high time for me to put a period to this subject; lest, as the *Abbeyes* were complained of to grow so great, that they engrossed the third part of the Land: so my discourse of them (infected with the same fault) will be condemned by the Reader, for the tedious prolixity thereof. The rather, because this old and stire subject is now grown out of fashion, men in our Age having got a new object to fix their eyes, and observation thereon, taking notice how such Church-lands doe thrive, which since hath been derived into the hands of new possessors.

His Son's on the same.  
\* Clements Speelman in his Preface to his Father's Book, De non temeraria Eulogia.

A Papist his noble vocation.  
\* Appollonius Bonald, in Ang. fol. 227, & 228.

The Conclusion.

### The end of the Sixth Book.



THE  
Church-History  
OF  
B R I T A I N.

---

THE SEVENTH BOOK.

---

CONTAINING  
T H E R E I G N E  
OF  
KING EDWARD  
T H E S I X T.

---







To the Right Honourable,  
**LEICESTER DEVEREUX,**  
 VISCOUNT HEREFORD,  
 Lord FERRARS of Chartley, &c.

My Lord,



Great was the difference betwixt the *breeding* of *Adonijah* and *Solomon*, though *sons* to the same *father*. The former tasted not of *Reproof*, much lesse of *Correction*; it being never said unto him, *Why<sup>a</sup> hast thou done so?*

*Solomon* had his education on *severer Principles*. He was his Parents *Darling*, not their *Fondling*. It was after founded in his ears, *What<sup>c</sup> my Son, and what the Son of my womb<sup>b</sup>?*

Our *English Gentry* too often embrace the *first course* in *breeding* their *Children*, whereby they become *old-Men*, before they are *wise-Men*, because their *Fathers* made them *Gentlemen*, before they were *Men*, making them too soon to know the *great Means* they are *born to*, and too long to be ignorant of any *good quality*, whereby to acquire a main-

<sup>a</sup> 1 Kings  
1.6.

<sup>b</sup> Prov. 4. 3.

<sup>c</sup> Prov. 31. 2.

f 1 Sam. 17.  
39.

a maintenance, in case, their *Estates*, (as all things are *uncertain*) should *faile*, or *forsake* them. Hence it is, they are as unable to *endure* any *hardship* as *David* to march in *Sauls armour*, (for he<sup>f</sup> had never proved it) utterly unacquainted therewith.

But your *discreet Parents*, though *kinde*, were not *cockering* unto you, whom they sent (*very young*) into the *Low-Countreys*, where in some sort you *earned* what you *eat* in no lesse *honourable* than *dangerous employment*. This hath settled the *sinewes* of your *Soule*, and compacted the *joynts* thereof, which in too many hang *loose*, as rather *tack't* than *knit* together.

Since being returned into *England*, partly by your *Patrimony*, partly by your *Matrimony*, an *antient* and *fair Estate* hath accrewed unto you. Yet it hath not grown, (as *S. Basil* fancieth *roses* in *Paradise* before *Adams fall*) without *thorns* and *prickles*. Many *molestations* attended it, through which you have *waded* in a *good measure*, having had *TRIALS* indeed, wherein on *what side* soever the *Verdict* went, you gained *Patience* and *Experience*.

Indeed, there is an *experience* the *MISTRESSE* of *FOOLS*, which they *learn* by their *losses*, and those caused by their own *carelesnes*, or *wilfulness*, in managing their *affairs*. But also there is one, the *MASTER-PIECE* of *VVISE-MEN*

to

to attain, wherein they *observe* the *events* of all *things*, after their utmost *endeavours* have submitted the *success* to *Divine Providence*. Yours is of the *last* and *best kind*, whereby you are become a *skilfull Master of Defence*, knowing all the advantageous *postures* and *guards* in our *Lawes*, not thereby to *vex* others, but save your self from *vexation*.

Thus having born *the Yoke* in *your youth*, you may the better afford *ease* and *repose* to your *reduced age*; and having studied, many *Men in Armes*, more in *Gowns*, you now may *solace your self*, and *entertain the time*, with perusing of *Books*, amongst which, I humbly request, *this* may have the *favour* of your *Honours eye*, to *whom* on a *double motive* it is *Dedicated*; First, because containing the *Life* of that *PRINCE*, who for *His Piety* may be *exemplary* to all *persons of quality*. Secondly, because it was *He*, who conferred the highest (*still remaining*) *Honour*, on *your Family*, advancing it (formerly very *antient* amongst the *Barons*) to the *degree* and *dignity* of *Viscounts*: wherein that it may *long flourish* in *plenty* and *happinesse*, is the daily prayer of

Your Honours most obliged Servant,

THOMAS FULLER.

[ b b b ]

Ann.  
Reg.  
Ed. 6.  
1.Ann.  
Dom.

# THE Church-History OF BRITAIN.

1546.  
7  
Jul.  
11.

**K**ING HENRY the eighth, though dying excommunicate in the Church of Rome, had notwithstanding His Obsequies solemnly performed at Paris in France, by the command of Francis the French King, presuming so much on His own power, and the Pope's patience, otherwise such courtesy to His friend might have cost Him a curse to Himself. Then began King Edward His Son, to reign, scarce ten years old, full of as much worth, as the model of His age could hold. No pen passeth by Him without praising Him, though none praising Him to His full deserts. Yea, Sanders himself, having the stinch of his railing tongue, over-scented with the fragrant ointment of this Prince's memory, though jeering Him for His want of age, which was God's pleasure, and not King Edward's fault; and mocking Him for His Religion, the others highest honour, alloweth Him in other respects large commendations.

2. No sooner was He come to the Crown, but a peaceable dew refreshed Gods inheritance in England, formerly parched with persecution: and this good Angel struck off the fetters from many Peters in prison, preserving those who were appointed to die. Onely Thomas Dobbie, Fellow of S. Johns in Cambridge, committed to the Counter in Bread street, and condemned for speaking against the Masse, died of a naturall death, in respect of any publick punishment by Law inflicted on him: but, whether or no, any private impression of violence hastened his end, God alone knoweth. His speedy death prevented the pardon, which the Lord Protector intended to send him; Divine Providence so ordering it, that he should touch, not enter; see, not taste; behold, not reap benefit on earth of this Reformation. Other Confessours which had fled beyond sea, as John Hooper, Miles Coverdale, &c. returned with joy into their Country: and all Protestants, which formerly for fear had dissembled their religion, now publicly professed the same. Of these Archbishops, Cranmer was the chieftest; who, though willingly he had done no ill, and privately many good offices for the Protestants, yet his cowardly compliance hitherto with Poperie, against his conscience, cannot

The hopefull  
beginning of  
King Edward.a Calvinist in  
Edward's time,  
pag. 118.Peace and pro-  
sperity to the  
Protestants in  
England.b Fox, Acts &  
Mon. Vol. 2.  
pag. 655.c Sauters de  
schif. Angli.  
lib. 2. pag. 230.

[ b b 2 ]

Commissioners sent into several Counties with Instructions to reforme

not be excused; serving the times present in his practice, and waiting on a future alteration in his hopes, and desires.

3. *Edward Semanre*, the King's Uncle, lately made *Lord Protector*, and Duke of *Somerset*, ordered all in Church, and State. He, by the King's power, or, if you please, the King, in his protection, took speedy order for Reformation of Religion. And being loth that the people of the Land should live so long in error, and ignorance, till a Parliament should be solemnly summoned (which for some Reasons of State could not so quickly be call'd) in the meantime, by His own Regall power and authority, and the advice of His wife, and honourable Counsell, chose Commissioners, and sent them with Instructions into severall parts of the Kingdom, for the rooting out of superstition: the substance whereof (thirty six in number) we have here presented:

### The King's Injunctions.

1. That all Ecclesiasticall persons observe the Lawes for the abolishing the pretended and usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, and confirmation of the Kings authority and supremacie.
2. That once a Quarter at least they sincerely declare the Word of God, dissuading their people from superstitious fancies of Pilgrimages, praying to Images, &c. exhorting them to the works of faith, mercy, and charitie.
3. That Images abused with Pilgrimages, and offerings thereunto, be forthwith taken down and destroyed, and that no more wax-Candles or Tapers be burnt before any Image; but onely two lights upon the high Altar before the Sacrament shall remain still, to signifie that Christ is the very light of the world.
4. That every Holy day, when they have no Sermon, the *Pater noster*, *Credo*, and Ten Commandements shall be plainly recited in the Pulpit to the Parishioners.
5. That Parents and Masters bestow their Children and Servants either to learning, or some honest occupation.
6. That such who in Cases express in the Statute are absent from their Benefices, leave learned and expert Curates.
7. That within three Months after this Visitation, the Bible of the larger volume in English, and within twelve Months *Erasmus his Paraphrase* on the Gospel be provided, and conveniently placed in the Church for people to read therein.
8. That no Ecclesiasticall persons haunt Ale-houses, or Taverns, or any place of unlawfull gaminge.
9. That they examine such who come to confession to them in Lent, whether they can recite their Creed, *Pater noster*, and ten Commandements in English before they receive the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, or else they ought not to presume to come to Gods board.
10. That none be admitted to preach, except sufficiently licensed.
11. That if they have heretofore extolled Pilgrimages, Reliques, worshipping of Images, &c. they now openly recant and reprove the same as a common error grounded in Scripture.
12. That they detect and present such who are Letters of the Word of God in English, and Favourers of the Bishop of Rome his pretended power.
13. That a Register-Book be carefully kept in every Parish for Weddings, Christnings, and Burialls.
14. That all Ecclesiasticall persons not resident upon their Benefices, and able to dispend yearly twenty pounds, and above, shall in the presence of the Church Wardens, or some other honest men, distribute the fourth part of their revenues amongst the poor of the Parish.
15. That every Ecclesiasticall person shall give competent exhibition to so many

Ann.  
Dom.  
1547.  
Ann.  
Reg.  
Ed. 6.  
1.  
Jan.  
28.

Ann.  
Dom.  
1548.  
Ann.  
Reg.  
Ed. 6.  
1.  
Jan.  
28.

many Schoollers in one of the Universities, as he hath hundred pounds a year in Church promotions.

16. That the first part of their Benefices be bestowed on their Mansion-houses, or Chancells, till they be fully repaired.
17. That be readeth these Injunctions once a Quarter.
18. That none bound to pay Tithes detain them by colour of Duty omitted by their Curates, and so redouble one wrong with another.
19. That no person henceforth shall alter any Fasting-day that is commanded, or manner of Common Prayer or Divine Service (otherwise then specified in these Injunctions) until otherwise ordered by the Kings authority.
20. That every Ecclesiasticall person under the degree of Batchelour of Divinity, shall, within three Months after this Visitation, provide of his own the New Testament in Latine and English, with *Erasmus his Paraphrase* thereon. And that Bishops by themselves, and their Officers shall examine them how much they have profited in the study of holy Scripture.
21. That in the time of High Masse be that sayeth or singeth a Psalm, shall read the Epistle and Gospel in English, and one Chapter in the New Testament, at Mattens, and another at Evensong, and that when nine Lessons are to be read in the Church, three of them shall be omitted with Responds. And at Evensong the Responds, with all the Memories.
22. That to prevent in Sick persons the damnable vice of Despair, They shall learn, and have alwaies in readinesse such comfortable places and sentences of Scripture, as doe set forth the mercy, benefits, and goodnesse of God Almighty, towards all penitent and believing persons.
23. To avoid all contention and strife which heretofore have risen amongst the Kings subjects, by challenging of Places in Procession, no Procession hereafter shall be used about the Church, or Church-yard, but immediately before high Masse the Letany shall be distinctly said or sung in English, none departing the Church without just cause, and all ringing of Bells (save one) utterly forborne.
24. That the Holy-day at the first beginning, Godly instituted and ordained, be wholly given to God, in hearing the Word of God, read and taught in private and publick prayers, in acknowledging their offences to God, and amendment, in reconciling themselves to their Neighbours, receiving the Communion, visiting the sick, &c. Onely it shall be lawfull for them in time of harvest to labour upon Holy and Festival daies, and (save that thing which God hath sent, and that scrupulosity to abstain from working upon those daies, doth grievously offend God.
25. That no Curate admit to the Communion such who are in ranchor and malice with their neighbours, till such controversies be reconciled.
26. That every Dean, Arch Deacon, &c. being a Priest, preach by himself personally twice a year at least.
27. That they instruct their people, not obstinately to violate the Ceremonies of the Church by the King commanded to be observed, and not as yet abrogated. And on the other side, that whosoever doth superstitiously abuse them, doth the same to the great perill of his souls health.
28. That they take away and destroy all Shrines, covering of Shrines, Tables, Candlesticks, Trindills, or rolls of Wax, Pictures, Paintings, and other Monuments of fained Miracles, yet that no memory of them remain in Walls or Windows, exhorting their Parishioners to doe the like in their severall houses. And that a comely Pulpit be provided in a convenient place.
29. That a strong Chest be provided with a hole in the upper part thereof, (with three Keyes therunto belonging) be provided to receive the charity of people to the poor, and the same at convenient times distributed unto them in the presence of the Parish.
30. That Priests be not bound to go to visit Women lying in Child-bed, except

[b b b]

except in times of dangerous sicknesse, and not to fetch any Coarse except it be brought to the Church yard.

31. That to avoid the detestable sin of Simonie, the Seller shall lose his rights of Patronage for that time, and the Buyer to be deprived, and made unable to receive Spirituall promotion.

32. That because of the lack of Preachers, Curats shall read Homilies, which are or shall be set forth, by the Kings Authority.

33. Whereas many indiscreet persons doe uncharitably contemn and abuse Priests, (having small learning;) his Majesty chargeth his Subjects that henceforth they be reverently used, for their Office and Ministration sake.

34. That all persons, not understanding Latine, shall pray on no other Primer: but what lately was set forth in English by K. Henry the eighth, and that such who have knowledge in Latine use none other also, and that all Crases before and after meat be said in English, and no Grammar taught in Schools but what is set forth by Authority.

35. That Chantry Priests teach youth to read and write.

36. That when any Sermon or Homily shall be had, the Prime and Hourns shall be omitted.

### The form of bidding the Common Prayers.

**Y**ou shall pray for the whole Congregation of Christs Church, and specially, for this Church of England and Ireland: wherein, first, I commend to your devout prayers, the Kings most excellent Majesty, Supreme Head immediately under God, of the spirituality and temporality of the same Church: And for Queen Katharine Dowager, and also for my Lady Mary, and my Lady Elizabeth, the Kings sisters.

Secondly, You shall pray for my Lord Protector's grace, with all the rest of the Kings Majesties Council: for all the Lords of this Realm, and for the Clergie, and the Commons of the same: beseeching Almighty God, to give every of them in his degree, grace to use themselves in such wise, as may be to Gods glory, the Kings honour, and the weal of this Realm.

Thirdly, You shall pray for all them that be departed out of this world in the faith of Christ: that they with us, and we with them at the Day of Judgment may rest both body and soul, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven.

### Observations on the Kings Injunctions.

Let us here admire Gods wisdom in our first Reformers, who proceeded so moderately in a matter of so great consequence: To reform all at once, had been the ready way to reform nothing at all. New wine must be gently poured into old bottles, lest the strength of the liquor, advantaged with the violence of the infusion, break the vessel. Jacob could not keep pace with Esau (presumed steer on foot as used to hunting) whilest he had in his company, the tender children and flocks with young, which if over driven one day, would die. And though no doubt he himself was foot-man enough to go along with his Brother, yet he did lead on softly according as the cattle and children were able to endure. Thus our wise Reformers reflected discreetly on the infirmities of people, long nouzled in ignorance and superstition, and incapable of a sudden and perfect alteration.

On this account, (in the third Injunction) they reduced Candles formerly sans number in Churches to two, upon the high Altar, before the Sacrament; these being termed lights, shews they were not *luminous*, but burning. Know also that at

Ann.  
Dom.  
1546.  
7

Ann.  
Reg.  
Edw.  
1.

Ann.  
Reg.  
Edw.  
1.

Ann.  
Dom.  
1546.  
7

at this time there was an universal dilapidation of Chancells, and men had seen to many Abbey-Churches plucked down, that they even left Parish Churches to fall down on themselves; now to repair them all at once, would have stopp'd the holes in the Chancells, and made one in the States of the Ministers. It was therefore in the sixteenth Injunction ordered, That a fifth part of their means should be employed therein, whereby the work was effectually done without any great damage to the Repairers.

By Memorials appointed to be omitted, [Injunction 21.] we understand, the Obsequia for the dead, which, some say, succeeded in the place of the [Heavenly] Roman Parentalia.

The abolishing Processions is politically put on a civil account, [Injunction 23.] to avoid contention about places. Indeed, peoples pride herein, consisted in pretended humility, which the Injunction at large, termeth a fond Courtisie. For in a mock-practise of the Apostles' precept, in honour preferring one another, they strained courtisie to goe last. Where, by the way, I conceive that accounted the highest place, which was next the Crosse bearer, or next the Priest carrying the Host.

Where, whether in the 24 Injunction, labouring in time of Harvest on Holydaies, and Festivals, relateth not only to thole of Ecclesiasticall constitution, (as dedicated to Saints) or be inclusive of the Lords day also.

Mr. Calvin in his Letter to the Lord Protector, disliketh the praying for the dead: and this is one of those things, which he termed, tolerabiles ineptias, Englished by some, tolerable fooleries; more mildly by others, tolerable unfitneses. In regular whereof, Bishop Williams was wont to say, That Master Calvin had his tolerabiles morositates.

And thus moderately did our first Reformers begin, as the subjects they wrote on would give them leave; for as careful Mothers and Nurses on condition they can get their Children to part with knives, are contented to let them play with rattles: So they permitted ignorant people still to retain some of their fond and foolish Customes, that they might remove from them the most dangerous and destructive Superstitions.

Come we now to give in a List of such principall Books which in the Reign of this King and His Father, as Preparatory to, and Introductive of Reformation; And to bring them high enough, we will begin with

#### Hen: 7th.

Prayers printed by the Commandements of the most hye and vertuous Princess our hyge Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England and of France, and also of the right hye and most noble Princess Margaret mother to our Sovereign Lord the King, &c. without the year when printed.

#### Hen: 8th.

The Institution of a Christian man containing the Exposition of the Common Credo, of the seven Sacraments, of the ten Commandements, and of the Pater noster, and the Ave Maria, Justification and Purgatory.

London, by Tho: Barthelet, 1537.

A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christen man, set furthe by the Kynges Majestie of England, &c.

London, by Tho: Barthelet, 1543.

Henry

What meant by Memorials.

Good policie.

\* Rom. 12. 12.

Mr. Calvin dissent.  
\* pag. 187, & 188.

Moderation  
goodly farre.

The Protestant  
Library.

The wisdom  
of our Reform-  
ers.

\* Gen. 33. 13.

Only two  
lights left.

## HEN: 8th.

Henry the eighth his Epistle to the Emperour, Christen Princes, and all true Christen men, desiring peace and concord amongeth them. Against the power of the Pope, and concerning a Generall Councell.  
London, by Tho: Barthelet, 1538.

A Protestation made for the most mighty and most redoubted King of England, &c. and his hole Counsell and Clergie, wherein is declared, that neither his Highnesse, nor his Prelates, neyther any other Prince or Prelate is bound to come or send to the pretended Councell, that Paul Bishop of Rome, first by a Bull indited at Mantua a Citie in Italy, and now alate by an other Bull, hath preroged to a place no man can telle where.

London, by Tho: Barthelet, 1537.

Articles devised by the Kinges Highnes Majestie to stablish Christen quietnes and unitie amongeth us, and to avoyde contentious opinions, which Articles be also approved by the consent and determination of the hole Clergie of this Realme.

Lond: Tho: Barthelet, 1536.

Injunctions to the Clergie.  
1536. M. Sc.

Articles devised by the holle consent of the Kinges most honourable Counsaile, His Graces licence openyed thereto, not only to exhort, but also to enforse His loving Subjects of the trouth.

London, Tho: Barthelet, 1533.

Orarium seu libellus Precationum per Regiam Majestatem & Clerum Latinè editus.

Ex officina Richard Graftoni, 1545.

Pia & Catholica Christiani hominis institutio.  
Londini apud Thomam Barthelet, 1544.

Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarū ex autoritate primum Regis Hen: 8. inchoata, deinde per Regem Edw: 6. provecta &c.

Londini, ex officina Jo: Day, 1571.

## EDW: 6th.

Injunctions given by the most excellent Prince, Edward the sixth, by the grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland: Defender of the Fayth, and in year the under Christ, of the Church of England and of Ireland the Supreeme Hedde, to all and singular His loving Subjects, aswell of the Clergie as of the Laitie.

By R. Grafton, 1547.

Articles to be enquired of in the Kinges Majesties visitation.  
By Rich: Grafton, Cum privilegio.

Communion book translated into French for Jersey and Garnesley.  
1553.

The

## EDW: 6th.

The Booke of Common-Prayer and Administration of Sacraments, &c.  
London, 1549. & 1552.

The forme and manner of making and consecrating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.

1552, & 1549.

The Copie of a Letter sent to all those Preachers which the Kinges Majestie hath licensed to preach, from the Lord Protector's Grace, and others of the Kinges Majesties most Honourable Councell.

The 23 of May, 1548.

Catechismus brevis, Christianæ disciplinae summam continens, omnibus ludimagistris autoritate Regia commendatus.

Londini, 1553.

Articuli de quibus in Synodo Londinensi, 1552. ad tollendam opinionum dissensionem & consensum veræ religionis firmandum, inter Episcopos & alios eruditos atque pios viros convenerat: Regia similiter autoritate promulgati.

Londini.

The Primer or Booke of Prayers, (translated out of Hen: the 8th Orarium.)  
London by Rich: Grafton, 1547.

Certain Sermons, (viz: the first part of the Church Homilies) appointed by the Kinges Majestie to be read everie Sunday and Holy day, &c.

1549, & 1547.

A Primer or Booke of private Prayer, &c. in the 7 year of Ed: 6.  
Ex officina Wilhelmi Seres, 1552.

The order of the Communion, with the Proclamation.  
London, by Rich: Grafton, 1548.

## Q. M. A. R. I. E.

The Primer in Latin and English, after the use of Sarum.  
London, 1555.

Edm: Bonners Catechisme, 1555. mish Homelies composed by H. Pendleton, and Jo: Harpesfield.

London, 1555.

These are the principall State-books which that Age produced, (not mentioning such, (as numberlesse) which private persons (set forth) onely I cannot as yet recover the Lord Cromwell's Catechisme, except it be concealed under another name, amongst the Books aforementioned.

4. Come we now to the Liturgie, which in the Reign of K. Henry the eighth, was said or sung all in Latine, save only the Creed, Pater noster, and ten Commandments, put into English by the Kinges command, Anno 1536. Nine years after, viz: 1545, the Latine was permitted in English, and this was the farthest pace which

[c c c]

which the Reformation step in the Reign of King Henry the eighth. But under his son King Edward the sixth, a new form of Divine worship was set forth in the *Golden Tongue*, which passed a threefold purgation.

*The first Edition of the Liturgie or Common-Prayer.*

In the first year of King Edward the sixth, it was recommended to the care of the most grave Bishops, and others, (assembled by the King at His Castle at Windsor) and when by them completed, set forth in Print, 1548, with a Proclamation in the Kings name to give authority thereunto; being also recommended unto every Bishop by special Letters from the Lords of the Council to see the same put in execution. And in the next year a penalty was imposed by Act of Parliament on such which should deprave or neglect the use thereof.

*Persons employed therein.*

1. Tho: Cramer Archbishop of Canterbury.
2. George Day Bishop of Chichester.
3. Tho: Goodrich Bishop of Ely.
4. John Skip Bishop of Hereford.
5. Hen: Holbeach Bishop of Lincoln.
6. Nicholas Ridley Bishop of Rochester.
7. Tho: Thileby Bishop of Westminster.
8. Doctor May Dean of S. Pauls.
9. John Tailer then Dean afterwards Bishop of Lincoln.
10. Doctor Haines Dean of Exeter.
11. Doctor Robertson afterwards Dean of Durham.
12. Doctor John Redman Master of Trinity Colledge in Cambridge.
13. Doctor Richard Cox then Almoner to the King, afterwards Bishop of Ely.

As for the fourth and last Edition of the Liturgie, in the first of King James, 1603, with some small alterations in the Rubrick, after the Conference at Hampton Court, thereof (God willing) in due time hereafter.

5. The

*The 2<sup>d</sup> Edit. of the Liturgie or Common-Prayer.*

Some exceptions being taken by Mr. Calvin abroad, and some Zealots at home, at the former Liturgie, the Booke was brought under a review, and by a Statute in Parliament it was appointed, That it should be faithfully and godly perused, explained, and made fully perfect.

*Persons employed therein.*

Wee meet not with their particular names, but may probably conceive they were the same with the former, for the main, though some might be superadded by Royal appointment.

*The 3<sup>d</sup> Edit. of the Liturgie or Common-Prayer.*

In the first of Qu. Elizabeth, 1559, it was committed by the Queen to the care of some learned men by whom it was altered in some few passages, and so presented to the Parliament, and by them received and established.

*Persons employed therein.*

1. Master Whitehead once Chaplain to Queen Anna Bullen.
2. Matthew Parker afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.
3. Edmund Grindall afterwards Bishop of London.
4. Richard Cox afterwards Bishop of Ely.
5. James Pilkinton afterwards Bishop of Durham.
6. Doctor May Deane of St. Pauls, and Master of Trinity Coll: in Cambridge.
7. Sir Tho: Smith principall Secretary of Estate.

5. The Book of Books still remains, I mean, the Bible it selfe. Know then that some exceptions being taken at Tindalls Translation, the Bishops (then generally Popish) complied so farre in a Conference with the desires of King Henry the eighth, that on condition the people would give in Tindalls [pretended false] Translation, they would set forth another, better agreeing with the Originall. And although this took up some time to effect, the work being great in it self, and few workmen, as yet, Masters of the Art of PRINTING; yet at last, it was accomplished, but more purely and perfectly done in after Ages, as by the ensuing parallels will appear.

*The first Traslation of the Bible.*

Set forth in the Reigne of K. Henry the eighth, An. 1541. countenanced with a grave & pious Preface of Archbishop Cramer, and authorized by the Kings Proclamation, dated May the 6. Seconded also with Instructions from the King, to prepare people to receive benefit the better from so heavenly a treasure, it was called, The BIBLE of the greater Volume, rather commended than commanded to people. Few Countrey-Parishes could go to the cost of them, though Bishop Bonner caused six of them to be chained in the Church of S. Pauls, in convenient places.

As for the last and best Translation of the Bible in the Reign of King James, by a select company of Divines employed therein, in due time, (by Gods assistance) largely thereof.

6. And now we shall come to small game, rather than shut out, not caring how low we descend, so be it we may satisfie the Reader, and inform posterity, presenting a Catalogue of such Proclamations which the King set forth in the four first years, having any tendency or relation to Ecclesiasticall matters.

1. A Proclamation concerning the effectfull payment of Pensions, due out of the Court of Augmentations, to any late Abbot, Prior, &c. which it seemeth lately were detained. Anno 1<sup>o</sup> Edwardi sexti, Septem. 18.

2. A Proclamation concerning the irreverent Talkers of the Sacrament: For, after the Transubstantiation, and the superstition of the Corporall presence was removed, many persons (no lesse ignorant than violent) fell from adoring to contemning of the holy Elements, till retrenched by this Proclamation, set forth, 1<sup>o</sup> Edwardi sexti, Decemb. 27.

[c c c 2]

3. A

b s & c of Edward the first, cap. 1.

c See a form of them in Fox's Acts & Mon. fol. 1491.

\* set down in large in the Register of Archbishop Warham.

c Exstant in Sir Thomas Cottons Library.

3. *A Proclamation for abstaining from selfe in Lent-time*, Anno 1<sup>o</sup> Edwardi sexti, Januarii 16.

Ann.  
Dom.  
1547.  
And  
Reg.  
Edw.  
6.  
1.

4. *A Proclamation against such as innovate a Ceremony, or Preach without licence*, Anno 2<sup>o</sup> Edwardi sexti, Febr. 6.

1548. 2.

5. *A Proclamation inhibiting Preachers*, Anno 2<sup>o</sup> Edwardi sexti, April. 24. Whereof this was the occasion: certain *Papish Preachers* disaffected to the *Kings Government*, endeavoured in their *Sermons* to possesse people of scandalous reports against the *King*, as if He intended to lay strange exactions on the people, and to demand *Half a Crown* a piece of every one who should be *Married, Christned, or Buried*. To prevent further mischief, the *King* ordered by *Proclamation*, That none should Preach except licenced under the *Seals* of the *Lord Protector*, or *Archbishop of Canterbury*.

6. *A Proclamation for the Inhibition of all Preachers: the second of Edward the second*. Sept. 23.

Because this *Proclamation* is short, hard to be come by, and (if I mistake not) conducing much to acquaint us with the *character* of those times, it may be acceptable here to exemplifie the same.

**W**Hereas of late, by reason of certaine contentious and seditious Preachers, the *Kinges Majestie*, moved of tender zeale, and love, which He hath to be quiet of His Subjects, by the advise of the *Lord Protector*, and other His Highnesse Councell, hath by *Proclamation*, inhibited and commanded, That no manner of person, except such as was licenced by His Highnesse the *Lord Protector*, or by the *Archbishop of Canterbury*, should take upon him to preach in any open audience, upon pain in the said *Proclamation* contained; and that upon hope and assurance, that those being chosen and elect men, should preach and set forth onely to the people such things as should be to Gods honour, and the benefit of the *Kinges Majesties* subjects. Yet nevertheless, His Highnesse is advertised, that certain of the said preachers, so licenced, not regarding such good admo-

Ann.  
Dom.  
1548.  
And  
Reg.  
Edw.  
6.  
2.

admonitions as hath been by the said *Lord Protector* and the rest of the *Councell* on His Majesties behalf by Letters, or otherwise given unto them; hath abused the said authority of preaching; and behaved themselves irreverently, and without good order in the said preachings, contrary to such good instructions and advertisements, as was given unto them, whereby much contention and disorder might rise and insue, in this his Majesties Realm: wherefore his Highnesse, minding to see very shortly, one uniforme order, throughout this his Realm, and to put an end to all controversies in Religion, so farre as God shall give grace (for which cause at this time, certain Bishops, and notable learned men, by his highnesse commandement are congregated) hath by th advise aforesaid thought good, although certain and many of the said preachers so before licenced, have behaved themselves very discretely and wisely, and to the honor of God and his highnesse contentation, yet at this present, and untill such time, that the said Order shall be set forth generally, throughout this His Majesties Realme, to inhibit, and by these presents doth inhibit generally as well the said Preachers so before licenced, as all manner of persons whosoever they be, to preach in open audience in the pulpit or otherwise, by any sought colour or fraud, to the disobeying of this commandement, to the intent that the whole Clergie in this mean space, might apply themselves to prayer to Almighty God, for the better atchieving of the same most Godly intent and purpose, not doubting but that also His loving Subjects in the mean time will occupie themselves to Gods honour, with due prayer in the Church, and patient hearing of the Godly Homelies, heretofore set forth by His Highnesse Injunctions unto them, and so endeavour themselves, that they may be the more ready with thankfull obedience to

[ c c c 3 ]

receive



receive a most quiet, godly, and uniform order, to be had throughout all His said Realms and Dominions. And therefore, hath willed all His loving Officers, and Ministers, as well Justices of peace, as Majors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Constables, or any other His Officers, of what estate, degree, or condition soever they be, to be attendant upon this Proclamation and commandement, and to see the infringers or breakers thereof to be imprisoned; and His Highnesse, or the Lord Protectors grace, or His Majesties Councell, to be certified thereof immediately, as they tender His Majesties pleasure, and will answer to the contrary at their perill.

Ann.  
Reg.  
Ed. 6.  
1548.

A Pinnick's  
Gillence of Pul-  
pits.

16. Some Preachers perusing the aforefaid Proclamation, will complain of persecution, that all the Pulpits in England should be univerſally ſilenced at once, and will conclude it *ſumum jus*, That the Righteous ſhould be condemned with the Wicked: the mouthes of good Miniſters ſtopt with Railers. Well might the ſouls of weak Chriſtians be faint and feeble, having no warm meat, but the cold Homilies allowed them. But Statesmen eaſily excuſe the matter, finding the juncture of time falling out when many Popiſh Pulpits ſounded the Alarm to Keſ his Rebellion, and the Devonſhire Commotion, whereof hereafter. Beſides, this prohibition of preaching laſted but for few weeks, and we read of a ſilence for about \* the ſpace of half an hour even in heaven it ſelf.

\* Revel. 8. 1.

7. A Proclamation for the payment of the late Incumbents of Colledges, and Chanteries, lately diſſolved, Anno 30 Edwardi ſexti, Octob. 31.

3. 1549.

A Proclamation  
againſt  
Stage-plays.

17. The Pulpit thus ſhut and ſilent by Proclamation, the Stage was the more open and vocall for the ſame, the Popiſh Priests ( which though unſeen ) ſtood behinde the banging, or lurked in the tying-houſe, removed their *inveſtives* from Sermons to Playes, and a more proper place indeed for the venting thereof. Here it made old ſport, to ſee the New Religion ( as they term it ) made ridiculous, with the prime Patrons thereof, which cauſed the iſſuing Proclamation for the prohibition.

8. A

Ann.  
Dom.  
1549.

Ann.  
Reg.  
Ed. 6.  
3.

8. A Proclamation for the inhibition of Playes, Anno 3 Edwardi 6. Aug. 6. And ſome perchance will not grudge the time to read the form thereof.

Forasmuch, as a great number of thoſe that be common Players of Enterludes and Plaies, as well within the City of London, or elſewhere, within the Realm, doe for the moſt part play ſuch Interludes, as contain matter, tending to ſedition, and contemning of ſundry good orders and laws; whereupon are grown, and daily are like to grow and enſue much diſquiet, diviſion, tumults, and uprores in this Realm: the Kings Maſteſtie, by the adviſe and conſent of his deareſt Uncle, EDWARD Duke of Somerſet, Governour of His Perſon, and Protector of His Realms, Dominions, and Subjects, and the reſt of His Highneſſe privie Councell, ſtraitly chargeth and commandeth all, and every His Maſteſties ſubjects, of whatſoever ſtate, order, or degree they be, that from the ninth day of this preſent Month of Auguſt, untill the Feaſt of All-Saints next comming, they, nor any of them, openly, or ſecretly, play in the Engliſh Tongue, any kinde of Interlude, Play, Dialogue, or other matter, ſet forth in form of play, in any place, publick or private, within this Realm, upon pain that whoſoever ſhall play in Engliſh any ſuch Play, Interlude, Dialogue, or other matter, ſhall ſuffer imprifonment, and further puniſhment, at the pleaſure of His Maſteſtie.

For the better execution whereof, His Maſteſty, by the ſaid adviſe and conſent, ſtraitly chargeth and commandeth all and ſingular Majors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Conſtables, Headboroughs, Tything-men, Juſtices of Peace, and all other His Maſteſties head Officers, in all the parts throughout the Realm, to give order, and ſpeciall beed, that this Proclamation be in all behalfs, well and truly kept and obſerved, as they and every of them tender His Highneſſe pleaſure, and will avoid His indignation.

18. The

18. The Proclamation being but temporary, did not take down, but only clear the stage for a time, reformed *Enterludes* (as they term them) being afterward permitted; yea, in the first of Queen Elizabeth, *Scripture-plays* were acted even in the Church itself, which in my opinion, the more pious, the more profane, stooping faith to fancy, and abating the majesty of Gods Word. Such Pageants might inform, not edify, though indulged the ignorance of that Age: For, though children may be played into Learning, all must be wrought into Religion, by Ordinances of Divine institutions, and the means ought to be as serious, as the end is secret.

**R**ex omnibus ad quos presentes &c. salutem. Sciatis quod nos de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia & mero motu nostri dedimus & concessimus ac per presentes damus & concedimus dilecto servienti nostro Thomæ Barthelet Impressori nostro quandam annuitatem sive quandam annualem redditum quatuor librarum sterlingorum, Habendum & annuatim percipiendum prædictam annuitatem sive annualem redditum quatuor librarum eidem Thomæ Barthelet a Festo Paschæ, Anno Regni nostri vicesimo primo, durante vita sua de Thesauris nostris ad receptum Scaccarii nostri per manus Thesaurarum & Camerarii nostrorum ibidem pro tempore existendo ad Festa Sancti Michaelis Archangeli & Paschæ per equales portiones &c. quod expressa mentio &c.

In cujus &c. testimonium rei apud Westmisteriensem vicesimo secundo die Februarii, Anno Regni HENRICI OCTAVI vicesimo primo.

Per Breve de privato Sigillo.

19. An ample Commission was granted to John Dudley Earl of Warwick, and eight more, any seven, six, five, four, three, two, or one of them, to visit in capite, & membris, the whole Diocese, but especially the University of Oxford. The effects of this Visitation doe not appear, save onely that they so clearly purged the University from all Monuments of superstition, that they left not one Book of many goodly Manuscripts, wherewith it was furnished by the munificence of severall Benefactors. Thus covetousness and ambition are such active vices, they are seldom off the Theatre, though not appearing with their own faces, but the borrowed masks of publick good of Church or State. Such Robbers deserve not the benefits of the Clergie to be saved by their book, who feloniously, (not to say sacrilegiously) purloined a publick Library from an University.

20. The blame is commonly cast on Doctor Cox, who, as one saith (but it is but one who saith it) being then Chancelour of the University, so cancelled the Books thereof, they could never since recover them. Indeed, I finde another Author charging him therewith, but with this Parenthesis (i.e. said) and my charity would fain believe Fame a false reports therein, finding him otherwise a deserving person, very well qualified; and it is strange to me, that he who at this present, was the Kings Almoner to dispense his charity in giving to others, should be so cruel and covetous, and to deprive an University of so precious a treasure so long and justly belonging unto them.

21. The

Ann. Reg. Ed. 6. 3.  
Ann. Dom. 1549.

Oxford Library reformed of all its ancient Manuscripts.

Loath to believe.  
\* Sir Jo. Her- ring, in the Bi- thors of Ely.  
& in his Pre- face to the Life of Sir Jo. Chek, printed at Ox- ford, An. 1641.

Ann. Reg. Ed. 3.  
Ann. Dom. 1549.

21. The King's affairs both Ecclesiastical and Civil stood now in a probable posture of success, gliding on with a faire and full current, when both on a sodain were unexpectedly obstructed with domesticall diffinitions of his own Subjects. Diff-temper not considerable, if singly considered in themselves, but very dangerous in their concurrence, as if all in severall Counties, at one instant were acted with the same Spirit of Rebellion. My Author impureth it to Midsummer Noone, and the Sun now in Cancer, though surely it proceeded from a deeper cause, as will appear to the perusers of these two contemporary Treasons:

An Epidemical distemper of disloyalty.

### Devon Commotion.

1. It began on White-monday at Sampford-Courtney, where the People tumultuously compelled the Priest (whose secret compliance is suspected by some covertly to court their compulsion) to say Masse, and officiate in Late, as best pleased with what they least understood.

2. Henry Arundell Esquire, Governor of the Mount in Cornwall (one whose abilities might have been better employed) Winnlade a man of worship, and one Coffin a Gentleman, were their principal Conductors. Otherwise (though assuming to themselves the high style of the Commons of Devonshire and Cornwall) they were but an heap of mean Mechanicks, though many in number, and daily increasing, so that at last they were reputed to exceed ten thousand, all stout and able persons.

3. Sir Pierce Courtney Sheriffe of Devonshire appear'd very loyal and active for their seasonable suppressing. But others of the County Gentry, (whose names I had rather the Reader should learn from my Authors pen, than mine own) by their privie connivance, and in effect concurrence, much advantaged their proceedings. Many were taken Prisoners by them, because they would be taken, and found favour thereupon. And now the seditious march in a full body to Exeter, and on the Citizens refusal to admit them in, resolve suddenly to besiege it, boasting they would shortly measure the Silks and Satins therein by the length of their Bowes.

4. Exeter is a round City on a rising Hill, most capable of fortification both for the site and forme thereof. Her walls (though of the old Edition) were competently strong and well repaired. John Blackall Major of Exeter, though a meere

### Norfolk Rebellion.

1. It began about the 20th of June at Attleborough about the laying open of Commons, pretended lately inclosed to the prejudice of the Poor. Much increased on the 6. of July at Windham Play, where there was a great confluence of idle people repairing from all parts of the County.

2. Robert Ket, Tanner of Windham, one of more wealth than common folk of his craft, yet of more wit than wealth, confidence than either, was chosen their Captain. He with two Assistants, chosen out of every hundred, kept his Kings Bench, Chancery, and all other Courts, under a Tree, termed the Oake of Reformation, where he did justice, (be it wrong or right) to all such as were summoned before him. In short time they increased to be more than twenty thousand.

3. Sir Edmond Windham Sheriffe of Northfolke, commanded them in the King's name peaceably to depart. But had not his Horsemanship been better than his Rhetorick, himself had not departed the place. Yea now the Rebels began to play their pranks, threatening to burn the House, and defacing the Dovecoat, (formerly a Chappel before it was turned of an House of Prayer into a Den of Thieves) of Master Corbett of Sprowston, and committing many outrages, layed all Pastures rather waste than open, where they came. Yea, now they march towards Norwich the chief place in the County.

4. Norwich is like a great volume with a bad cover, having at best but parchment walls about it. Nor can it with much cost and time be effectually fortified, because under the frowning brow of Monksford Hill, hanging over

The beginning of two Rebellions.

Their Ring-leaders, and number.

The Sheriffs of Exeter succed not.

\* Hooker (all his Power) in Holingfield, p. 1015, & 1017.  
Idem p. 1019.

The description of Exeter and Norwich.

it

meer Merchant, little skilled in *Politick*, lesse in *Military* affairs, had wisdom to know, who were wiser than himself, and willingly to be directed by them. And now the *Seditious* having taken *ordnance* at *Topham*, set down before *Exeter*, presuming quickly to conquer the same.

5. But first they are consulting about *Articles* to be sent to the *King*. Some would have no *Justices* (can you blame *offenders* if desiring to destroy their enemies?) others no *Gentlemen*, all no *English service*: *Massé* must be restored, the *six Articles* (lately repealed) they would have put in execution, and Popery re-established. Concluding all with this close, (the *gilded paper* to wrap up *poisonous treasons* at the beginning thereof) *We pray God save King E D W A R D*, for we be His, both body and goods. Whose unreasonable demands were justly rejected by the *King*, yet pardon proclaimed to such as would accept thereof: which the *Seditious* (mistaking the *Kings favour*, to be His *feare*, utterly refused.

6. Mean time *Exeter* was not so much frightened with her *foes* without, as with *famine* and *faction* within the walls thereof. Great was the want of victuals and bread especially. Now

*Plebs nescit jejuna timere*. Where there is the *barking of the belly*, there no other commands will be heard, much lesse obeyed. But this was in some sort qualified by proportioning all provisions in the *City* to all alike, and mean folke will be the better pleased with course and short diet, when eating out of the same dish with their betters. When in *successfull sallies* they recovered any cattle from the *Rebels*, the poor had the *principall share* thereof.

7. *Faction* in the *City* was of most dangerous consequence, the *generality* thereof favouring *Popery*, and *cordial* *Protestants* but few in comparison of the other party. However, this was a good help to the *Protestants*, that such who severed from them in the *Church*, joined with them in the *Town house*. Rich *Papists* feared their goods would be condemned as *heretical* even by the *Rebels* of their own religion, which made them persist in their loyalty to their Sovereign.

8. John

it. The River *Tere* to wanton, that it knoweth not its own minde which way to goe, such the involved *flexures* thereof within a mile of this *City*, runneth partly by, partly through it, but contributeth very little to the *strengthening* thereof.

5. The *Rebels* encamped, or rather encamped themselves on *Mounthold Hill*, (whereon *Mount-Surry* a fair House of the *Dukes of Northfolke*) whence they had free egress and regress into *Norwich* as oft as they pleased. One *Caigniers*, a *Vicar* in the *City*, they had for their Chaplain, and were so religiously rebellious, that *prayers Morning and Evening* were read amongst them. Mean time, so intolerable was their insolence that now they sent up such *Demands* to the *King*, to which He neither would in honour, nor could in justice condescend. Yet the *King* constantly chequered His *comminations* with *Proclamations* of pardon, which the *Rebels* scorn'd to accept.

6. As for *Thomas Cod* Major of *Norwich*, and others of the *Gentry*, detained prisoners in *Ket's camp*, they were admitted to the counsels of the *Rebels* for the better credit thereof. If *Ket* were present, they were no better than *herbe John* in the *potage*, and had no influence on their consultations. But if he happily chanced to be absent, then they were like *S. Johns wort*, (so sovereign for sores, and against the plague it felt) and did much mitigate the fury of their mischievous Decrees. Mean time great plenty was in *Ket's camp*, (where a fat sheep was sold for a groat) but penury and misery in all other places.

7. Doctor *Matthew Parker* (afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*) getting up into the *Oake of Reformation*, preached to their *Rebels* of their duty and allegiance. But the *Oake* as soon as the *Auditory* would embrace his Doctrine, yea his life was likely to be ended before his *Sermon* (Arrows being shot at him) had not *Caigniers*, *Ket's Chaplain*, seasonably, yet abruptly, set the *Te Deum*, during the singing whereof the *Dr.* withdrew to sing his part at home, and thank God for his great deliverance.

8. William

Ann.  
Reg.  
Ed. 6.  
3.  
Ann.  
Dom.  
1549.  
3.

8. *John Russell*, Lord privie Seal, was sent down with small Forces to suppress the Commotion. A person very proper for that service, as of a stout spirit, and richly landed in this County. He stayed some time at *Honyton* in vain expecting promised supplies, either because this Lord was lookt on as of the *Protestors party*, whose Court interest did much decline, or because *Norfolke* Rebellion, as nearer *London*, engrossed all warlike provisions. Thus was this Lord in deep distresse, having nothing (save his Commission) strong about him, and his few forces, for fear, and want of pay, began daily to forsake him.

9. And now following the advice of the *Dorsetshire Gentry*, he was ready to return, when three *Princely Merchants* (for so may I term them, both for great interest, and loyal intentions) viz: *Thomas Prestwood*, *Thomas Bodly*, and *John Periam*, so improved their credits with *Briffole*, *Lime*, and *Taunton*, that they furnished the Lord *Russell* with necessities to march forward. Animated herewith, they advance, and gave the *Rebels* such a blow at *Fenington-bridge*, that they left three hundred of their bodies dead on the place.

10. Soon after the Lord *Gray of Wilton*, (whose slownesse may be excused, as busied by the way in suppressing Tumults in *Buckingham* and *Oxfordshire*) came with a company of *Horlmen*, and 300 *Italian Shot*, under *Baptist Spinola* their Leader, to recruit the Lord *Russell*. Here one would wonder to behold the native *English* fighting in the maintenance of the *Massé*, opposed by *Italians*, until he considereth, that these foreigners, being *Souldiers of Fortune*, consulted the *Coin*, not the *Cause* of such as entertained them. And now the *Kings Army* advanceth towards *Exeter*, a word or two of which Cities had condition.

11. The *Rebels* had often attempted to fire the *Gates* of the *City*, till at last the *Citizens* found the Paradox true, that the only way to keep their *City* shut was to set their *Gates* open, making rampires more defensible behinde them. As for the *Enemies* intent to undermine and blow up the Walls, it was first discovered, then defeated by *John Newcombe*.

8. *William Par* Marquess of *Northampton*, but more acquainted with the witty, than the warlike part of *Pallas*, (as compleat in *Musick*, *Poetry*, and *Courtslip*) with many persons of honour, as the Lords *Sheffield*, and *Wintworth*, Sir *Anthony Denby*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Thomas Paston*, &c. is sent to quell this Rebellion. They were assisted with a band of *Italians*, under *Malatesta* their Captain, whereof the *Rebels* made this advantage to fill the Countrey with complaints, that these were but an handful of an armfull to follow driving on the designe, to subject *England* to the insolence of *Foraigners*.

9. Now, though neither wisdom nor valour was wanting in the *Kings Souldiers*, yet success failed them, being too few to defend *Norwich*, and oppose the *Rebels*. Insomuch that the Lord *Sheffield* was barbarously butcher'd, *St. Thomas* taken prisoner, and the *City* fired by the *Rebels*: which probably had been burnt to ashes, had not the clouds commiserating the *Cities* calamity, and melting into tears, quenched the flames: and thus the Marquess fain to quit the service, returned to *London*.

10. Then was *John Dudley* Earle of *Warwick*, with such Forces as were intended for *Scotland*, sent to undertake the Task. The Marquess of *Northampton* attended him to trie whether he could be more fortunate in following than he had been in leading. Coming to *Norwich* he easily entred the *City*, and entertained the *Rebels* with many sallies with various success, here too long to relate, but generally the Earle of *Warwick* came off with the better.

11. Now the *Rebels* impregnable in some sort, if still keeping *Mounthold Hill*, (whereon the Earles Horse could doe small service) deserted it of their own accord, and came down into *Dusimdale*. Here their superstition fancied themselves sufficiently fenced by the virtue of an old prophesie.

[d d d 2]

Hob,

The Rebel's  
kind p. could see  
minds to the  
King.Exeter re-  
bels. Norwich  
yielded to the  
Rebels.Aide sent to  
suppress the  
Rebels.The Lord Ref.  
all conquest.  
Lord Marquis  
conquered.The Lord Gray  
and Earle of  
Warwick come  
with new sup-  
plies.

Philip Com-  
mons.

combe a Tinner of Teingmouth. For taking advantage of the declivity of the City on that side, he countermin'd the Rebels work, and then deriv'd into it all the kennels and water-courses falling down with a great precipice) and so drowned the walls intended with powder to blow up the Walls. Besides, at the same instant set an impetuous showre which added to the Deluge. Thus in vain doth Hell seek to kindle that Fire, when Heaven intendeth to poure water for the quenching thereof.

12. Famine raged most extremely, inasmuch as they were fain to bake bran and meal moulded up in cloathes, for otherwise it would not stick together. Nor must the worthy resolution of a loyal Citizen be forgotten, publicly professing, *That rather than he would surrender the City to the Rebels, he would fight with one arm, and feed on the other.* And now were they reduced to utmost extremity when the seasonable approach of *Lord privie Seale* put a period to their Miseries. For at the *winde-mill* of *S. Mary Clift* after a bloody Battle, (wherein *Sir William Francis* was slain on the King's side) the Rebels were routed and forced to flee, leaving a thousand of their corps dead on the place. *Miles Coverdail* gave publick thanks to God for the victory in the view of *Exeter*, and soon after was made the Bishop thereof.

13. Then the Lord caused *S. Mary Clift* to be burnt to the ground, though it was his own Town, as knowing full well, Traytours to their King, would never make good Tenants to their Landlord. And on *Clift* heath a second fight was begun, where the Rebels were finally overcome. The Lord privie Seal marched into *Exeter*, and was there (as he well deserved) welcomed with all possible expressions of joy. *Sir William Herbert* with 1000 *Welsh* came too late to fight, but soon enough to be an honourable Witnesse of the victory.

14. This *sixt of August*, the day of their deliverance, is an high festival in the Almanack of *Exeter*. Good cheer, and

*Hob, Dick, and Hick, with clubs and clewted shoon, Shall fill up Duffin dale with blood of slaughtered bodies soon.*

It hath ever been charged on the *English*, as if they alwaies carried an old Prophecie about with them in their pockets, which they can produce at pleasure to promote their designs, though oft mistaken in the application of such equivocating Predictions, as here these silly folke were deluded. For, it being believed, that *Duffin dale* must make a large and soft pillow for Death to rest thereon, these Rebels apprehended themselves the Upholders to make, who proved only the stuffing to fill the lame.

12. The Earle glad that the enemy had quitted the Hill, fell with all his forces upon them, and here happened a most bloody Battle. The Rebels disputed the ground, with their *naturall Logick* (as I may term it) down-right blows, without much military Discipline. Here one might have seen young Boyes (as I may term it) plucking the arrows wherewith they were wounded out of their own flesh, and giving them to those of their owne party to shoot them back againe. Here some thrust through with spears, wilfully engaged their Bodies the deeper thereon, onely striving to reach out their revenge on those who wounded them. But at last rage was conquered by courage, number by valour, Rebellion by Loyalty, and in the fight and pursuit two thousand at the least were slain.

13. Remarkable was Divine Providence in preserving the captive Gentlemen of the Countrey, whom the Rebels coupled together and set them in the front of the Fight. Now, although it be true what *David* saith, *"The sword de voucheth one as well as another"*: yet so discreetly did *Captaine Drury* charge the Van of the Rebels, that most of these innocent Prisoners made their escape. The last litter of *Kers kennell* fifty standing out and fortifying themselves, accepted of pardon on the Earls promise it should be assured unto them.

14. On the nine and twentieth of August a solemn Thanks-giving was made in *Normich* for their deliverance, and is annually

Ann.  
Dom.  
1549.Ann.  
Reg.  
Ed. 6.  
3.July  
27.Aug.  
6.Ann.  
Reg.  
Ed. 6.  
3.Ann.  
Dom.  
1549.

and (thereby I justly guesse, their great gratitude being annually observed, with a publick Sermon to perpetuate the memory of Gods mercy unto them. Yet such Solemnities doe daily decay, every new Generation being removed one degree farther from the deliverance. The King conferred the Manour of *Exetland*, (formerly belonging to the City, but wrested from it by the Earls of *Devonshire*) on their Corporation, in reward of their loyalty and valour.

15. *Humphrey Arundell, Winslade, Bery, and Coffe* were executed, and as this Commotion began, it ended at *Sampford Courtney*, where their last remnant was defeated. Six Popish Priests were hanged, with *Welsh* the Vicar of *St. Thomas*, though all this was but mercy to the cruelty of *Sir Anthony Kingston* Provost-Marshall in trusting up many mean offenders.

Thus by Gods blessing on Mans endeavours both these Rebellions were seasonably suppressed. That of *Devonshire* did openly avouch the advancing of Popery; the other was suspected secretly fomented by some Papists, who stood behinde the curtain, but ready to step on the stage, had Successe of the Designe but given them the Cue of Entrance. As for the Rebellion at the same time in *Yorkshire*, which from a small pusle might have proved a painfull bile, yea, a fistulated ulcer if neglected, it was quickly quelled on the execution of *Omler* and *Dale*, the chief promoters thereof.

1550.

22. By the favour of *Sir Thomas Cotton*, having obtained to make use of his Library (our English Vatican, for Manuscripts) I shall transcribe King *Edwards Diurnall*, written with His own hand, of the transactions in His Reigne. True it is His Observations, for his two first years, are short, and not exactly expressing the notation of time, but His Notes as the Notes, got perfection with His age. They most belong to *Secular affairs*, out of which we have selected such as respect Ecclesiasticall matters. May the Reader be pleased to take notice, that though my Observations, as printed, goe a-breast in parallel Columns with those of His Highness, it is my intention they should observe their distance, in their humble attendance thereupon.

## Text Royall.

The Lord Protector by his agreement, and submission, lost his Protectorship, Treasurership, Marshalship, all his Moveables, and neer 2000 li. Land by Act of Parliament.

The

## Observations thereon.

a Thus the Pilot to save the Ship from sinking, casts out the rich lading into the Sea.

b This lay void ever after, whilst the Treasurership was presently conferred on *Will. Powlet* Marquess of *Winchester*, and the Marshalship on *John Dudley* Earle of *Warwick*.

[ddd g] Namely,

The legal execution of the Rebels.

Abstracts of Church-masters out of K. Edwards own Diary.

\* 3 Sam. 11. 25.

Two solemn yearly festivals

The Bp. of *Chichester* before a vehement affirmer of Transubstantiation, did Preach against it at *Westminster* in the Preaching-place.

My Lord *Somerſet* taken into the Counſel.

Order taken, that whoſoever had <sup>d</sup> Benefices given them, ſhould preach before the King, in or out of *Leint*, and every Sunday there ſhould be a Sermon.

Maſſe for the Lady *Mary* denied to the Emperours <sup>e</sup> Ambaſſadour.

It is granted that my Lord of *Somerſet* ſhould have all his moveable Goods, and Leaſes, except thoſe that be already <sup>f</sup> given.

*Joane* & *Bocher*, otherwiſe called *Joane of Kent*, was burnt for holding, that *Chriſt* was not incarnate of the Virgin *Mary*, being condemned the year before, but kept in hope of converſion. The Biſhops of *London* and *Ely* were to perſwade her, but ſhe withſtood them, and reviled the Preacher that preached at her death.

The Lord *Cobham* and Sir *William Peter* came home from their journey, delivering both the Oath, and the Teſtimonial of the Oath, witneſſed by divers Noblemen of *France*, and alſo the <sup>b</sup> Treaty ſealed with the great Seal of *France*,

and

<sup>e</sup> Namely, *George Day*, who (notwithſtanding this Sermon) remained a zealous Papiſt, and on that ſcore, was deprived of his Biſhoprick.

<sup>a</sup> Underſtand it, not by *Private Patron*es, but either preſented by the King, or Lord Chancellour.

<sup>e</sup> Theſe engaged Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, and Biſhop *Ridley*, to preſſe the King with politick Reaſons for the permiſſion thereof. He unable to answer their Arguments fell a weeping.

<sup>f</sup> Courtiers keep what they catch, and catch what ever they can come by.

<sup>g</sup> An obſtinate Heretick, maintaining, That *Chriſt* aſſumed nothing of the Virgin *Mary*, but paſſed through Her, as a *Conduit-pipe*. She with one or two *Arians* were all, who (and that juſtly) died in this Kings Reign for their Opinions.

<sup>b</sup> Advantageous enough for the *French*, and diſhonourable too much to the *Engliſh*, whoſe covetouſneſſe was above their ſenſe of Honor, ſelling *Bologne*, bought with blood, for a ſumme of money.

The

Ann. Dom. 1550.  
Ann. Reg. Ed. 6.  
3.  
April 4.

10.

13.

19.

27.

May 2.

14.

20.

and in both was confeſſed that I was ſupreme Head of the Church of *England* and *Ireland*.

The Duke of *Somerſet*, Marqueſſe of *North-hampton*, Lord Treafurer *Bedford*, and the Secretary *Peter*, went to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to know to what he would ſtick. He made Answer, that he would obey, and let forth all things ſet forth by Me, and My Parliament; and if he were troubled in conſcience, he would reveal it to the Councell, and not reaſon openly againſt it.

The Books of My Proceedings were ſent to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to ſee whether hee would ſet his hand to it, or promiſe to ſet it forth to the people.

The Duke of *Somerſet*, with five others of the Councell, went to the Bp. of *Wincheſter*; to whom he made this Answer: I having deliberately ſeen the *Book of Common-Prayer*, although I would not have made it ſo my ſelf, yet I finde ſuch things in it as ſatiſfieth my conſcience, & therefore both I will execute it my ſelf, and alſo ſee other my <sup>i</sup> Pariſhioners to doe it. This was ſubſcribed by the aforeſaid Counſellours, that they heard him ſay theſe words.

The Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord Treafurer, Sir *William Herbert*, and

<sup>i</sup> The Controverſie about this Title lying not betwixt the *Crowns of England* and *France*, but betwixt *England* and *Rome*, no wonder if the *French* yielded to any *Styl*e in a Treaty to gainfull to themſelves.

<sup>k</sup> For as yet this ſubtile-Statift ſcarce knew his own mind, often receding from his *Reſolves*, whoſe incontinency in this kinde, incenſed the King and Councell againſt him.

<sup>l</sup> Pariſh in the *Dialect* of a Biſhop is notoriously known to be his *Diocēſe*. Yet I deny not but that the numerous Pariſhioners of *Saint Mary Overies*, (wherein *Wincheſter Houſe*) are herein particularly intended.

If

Ann. Dom. 1550.  
Ann. Reg. Ed. 6.  
3.

June 9.

10.

14.

July 3.

and Secretary *Peter*, went to the Bishop of *Winchester* with certain Articles, signed by Me and the Council, containing the Confessing of his Fault, the Supremacy, the establishing of Holy-daies, the abolishing of the six Articles, &c. whereunto he put his hand, saving to the Confession.

Sir *William Herbert*, and the Secretary *Peter*, were sent to him to tell him, *That I marvelled that he would not put his hand to the Confession: To whom he made Answer, That he would not doe it, because he was innocent.*

The Bishop of *London*, Secretary *Peter*, Mr. *Cecil*, and *Goederich*, were commanded to make certain Articles according to the Laws, and to put them in the Submission.

It was appointed that under the shadow of preparing for Sea-matters, there should be sent 5000 lib. to the Protestants to get their good wills.

The Bishop of *Winchester* denied the Articles, which the Bishop of *London* and others had made.

The Bishop of *Winchester* was sequestred from his fruits for three months.

The Lady *Mary*, after long Communication was content to

come

" If conscious of no crime, he is not to be condemned for justifying his own integrity.

" Such Umbrages of Simulation presumed lawful by all Politicians. *Quere*, whether the Protestants in the Netherlands, or France, (those of High Germany being beyond the line of probability) were here intended.

" They were drawn up in so punctual expressions, the other had neither compass for evasion, nor covers for equivocation.

" A Rod formerly in fashion, but never so soundly layd on, as of late.

She

Ann. Dom. 1550. Ann. Reg. Ed. 6. 3.

July 10.

11.

12.

14.

19.

28.

come to *Lees*, to the Lord Chancellours, and then to *Hunsdon*, but She utterly denied to come to the Court, or *Oking*, at that time.

The Lord Chancellor fell fore-sick, with 40 more of his house; that the Lady *Mary* came not thither at this time.

There were Letters sent to every Bishop to pull downe the Altars.

There were Letters sent for the taking of certain Chaplains of the Lady *Mary*, for laying Masse, which She denied.

*Whaley* was examined for persuading divers Nobles of the Realm to make the Duke of *Somerset* Protector at the next Parliament, stood to the Denial, the Earle of *Ruiland* affirmed it manifestly.

The Bishop of *Winchester* after a long triall was deposed his Bishoprick.

It seems some legall formalities were pretended wanting in *Gardiner* his deprivation. For in my memory a Suit was commenced, to overthrow a long Lease made by Bishop *Poinet* (*Gardiner*'s successeur in *Winchester*) on this point, that *Gardiner* still remained lawful Bishop, but nothing therein was effected.

23. Come we now to the saddest difference that ever happened in the Church of England, if we consider either the time how long it continued, the eminent persons therein engaged, or the dolefull effects thereby produced. It was about matters of conformity. Alas! that men should have lesse wisdom than locusts; which, when sent on God's errand, Did not trust one another: whereas here such shoving, and shouldring; and hoisting, and heavings, and justling, and thronging, betwixt Clergie-men of the highest parts, and places. For now non-conformity in the daies of King *Edward* was conceived, which afterward in the Reign of Queen *Mary* (but beyond Sea at *Frankford*) was born; which in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* was nursed, and weaned; which under King *James* grew up a young youth, or tall stripling; but towards the end of King *Charles* His Reign, shot up to the full strength, and stature of a man, able, not only to coop with, but conquer the Hierarchy its adversary.

[c c c]

24. Two

" She loved to deale with the King her Brother *eminus* by Letters, but in no wise *communis* by discourse. Besides, the hated coming to the Court, suspecting some harsh usage to her Person, and jealous of being put into Restraints.

" *Lees* in *Essex*, a County [generally] not very healthfull, where *Agnes* sit as close (and sometimes last as long) as a new suit.

" Of these *Francis Mallet* (last Master of *Michael House* in *Cambridge*) was the chief. He having leave from the Council to officiate Masse, only in the presence of the Lady *Mary*, presumed on the same liberty in her absence. Whereupon, he was notwithstanding his Ladies refusal to surrender him, seise from her by force and committed to prison.

" Now where the seeds sown, and the foundation laid, of the Protestours overthrow, which ensued not long after.

\* See also Cam. MS.

The conception of non-conformity.

\* Joel 2. 1.

and Secretary *Peter*, went to the Bishop of *Winchester* with certain Articles, signed by Me and the Councel, containing the Confessing of his Fault, the Supremacy, the establishing of Holy-daies, the abolishing of the six Articles, &c. whereunto he put his hand, saving to the Confession.

Sir *William Herbert*, and the Secretary *Peter*, were sent to him to tell him, *That I marvelled that he would not put his hand to the Confession: To whom he made Answer, That he would not do it, because he was<sup>m</sup> innocent.*

The Bishop of *London*, Secretary *Peter*, Mr. *Cecil*, and *Goode-rich*, were commanded to make certain Articles according to the Laws, and to put them in the Submission.

It was appointed that under the a shadow of preparing for Sea-matters, there should be sent 5000 lib. to the Protestants to get their good wills.

The Bishop of *Winchester* denied the<sup>o</sup> Articles, which the Bishop of *London* and others had made.

The Bishop of *Winchester* was sequestred from his fruits for three months.

The Lady *Mary*, after long Communication was content to come

<sup>m</sup> If conscious of no crime, he is not to be condemned for justifying his own integrity.

<sup>a</sup> Such Umbrages of Simulation presumed lawful by all Politicians. *Quare*, whether the Protestants in the Netherlands, or France, (those of High Germany being beyond the line of probability) were here intended.

<sup>o</sup> They were drawn up in fo punctual expressions, the other had neither compass for evasion, nor covers for equivocation.

<sup>p</sup> A Rod formerly in fashion, but never so soundly layd on, as of late.

She

Ann.  
Dom.  
1550. Reg.  
Ed. 6.  
3.July  
10.

11.

12.

14.

19.

28.

come to *Lees*, to the Lord Chancellor, and then to *Hunsdon*, but She utterly denied to come to the Court, or *Oking*, at that time.

The Lord Chancellor fell for sick, with 40 more of his<sup>r</sup> house, that the Lady *Mary* came not thither at this time.

There were Letters sent to every Bishop to pull downe the Altars.

There were Letters sent for the taking of certain Chaplains of the Lady *Mary*, for saying Masse, which She denied.

*Whaley* was examined for persuading divers Nobles of the Realm to make the Duke of *Somerset*<sup>t</sup> Protector at the next Parliament, stood to the Denial, the Earle of *Rutland* affirmed it manifestly.

The Bishop of *Winchester* after a long triall was deposed his Bishoprick.

It seems some legall formalities were pretended wanting in *Gardiner* his deprivation. For in my memory a Suit was commenced, to overthrow a long Lease made by Bishop *Poinet* (*Gardiner*'s succellour in *Winchester*) on this point, that *Gardiner* still remained Lawfull Bishop, but nothing therein was effected.

23. Come we now to the saddest difference that ever happened in the Church of England, if we consider either the time how long it continued, the eminent persons therein engaged, or the dolefull effects thereby produced. It was about matters of conformity. Alas! that men should have lesse wisdom than locusts; which, when sent on God's errand, Did not<sup>\*</sup> thrust one another: whereas here such shoving, and shouldring; and hoisting, and heavings, and jostling, and thronging, betwixt Clergie-men of the highest parts, and places. For now non-conformity in the daies of King *Edward* was conceived, which afterward in the Reign of Queen *Mary* (but beyond Sea at *Frankford*) was born; which in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* was nursed, and weaned; which under King *James* grew up a young youth, or tall stripling; but towards the end of King *Charles* His Reign, shot up to the full strength, and stature of a man, able, not onely to coop with, but conquer the Hierarchy its adversary.

[c c c]

<sup>t</sup> She loved to deale with the King her Brother minus by Letters, but in no wise comminus by discourse. Besides, the hated coming to the Court, suspecting some harsh usage to her Person, and jealous of being put into Restraints.

<sup>r</sup> *Lees* in Essex, a County [generally] not very healthfull, where *Agnes* sit as close (and sometimes last as long) as a new suit.

<sup>\*</sup> Of these *Francis Mallet* (last Master of *Michael House* in Cambridge) was the chief. He having leave from the Conncell to officiate Masse, only in the presence of the Lady *Mary*, presumed on the same liberty in her absence. Whereupon, he was (notwithstanding his Ladies refusal to surrender him) seitch from her by force and committed to prison.

<sup>\*</sup> Now where the seeds sown, and the foundation laid, of the Protestours overthrow, which ensued not long after.

\* See last Cent. MS.

The conception of non-conformity.

\* Joel 1. 4.

The favourers  
and opposers  
thereof.

24. Two opposite parties now plainly discovered themselves, driving on different interests, under their respective Patronages;

Ann.  
Dom.  
1550.  
Ann.  
Reg.  
Ed. 6.  
4.

### Founders of Conformity. Founders of Non-conformity.

1. Such as remained here all the Reign of King *Henry the eighth*, and weathered out the tempest of His tyrannie at open Sea, partly by a politick compliance, and partly by a cautious concealment of themselves.
2. These, in the daies of King *Edward the first*, were possessed of the best preferments in the land.
3. And retained many ceremonies practiced in the *Romish Church*, conceiving them to be ancient, and decent in themselves.
4. The authority of *Cranmer*, and activity of *Ridley* headed this party; the former being the highest, the latter the hottest in defence of conformity.
1. Such as fled hence beyond the Seas, chiefly into *Germany*, where, living in States, and Cities of popular Reformation, they suck'd in both the aire, and discipline of the place they lived in.
2. These, returning late into *England*, were at a losse for meanes, and maintenance, onely supported with the reputation of being *Confessors*, rendering their *patience* to the *praise*, and their *persons* to the *prize* of all conscientious people.
3. And renounced all ceremonies practiced by the *Papists*, conceiving, that such ought not onely to be clipt with the sheers, but to be shaved with a razor; yea, all the stumps thereof to be plucked out.
4. *John Rogers*, Lecturer in *S. Pauls*, and Vicar of *S. Sepulchres*, with *John Hooper*, afterwards Bishop of *Gloucester*, were Ring-leaders of this party.

This *John Hooper* was bred in *Oxford*, well skill'd in Latine, Greek, and Hebrew, (a little of the last would go farre in this Age) and afterwards travelled over into *Switzerland*. Yea, he seemed to come to have brought *Switzerland* back with him, in his harsh, rough, and unpleasant behaviour, being grave into rigour, and severe into furliness. Yet to speak truth, all *Hoopers* ill nature consisted in other mens little acquaintance with him. Such as visited him once, condemned him of over-austerity; who repaired to him twice, onely suspected him of the same; who conversed with him constantly, not onely acquitted him of all morality, but commended him for *sweetness of manners*: which, saith my Author, (*Codwin* in the Bishops of *Gloucester*) endeared him to the acquaintance of *Bullinger*. This *Hooper* was preferred to be Bishop of *Gloucester*, by the special favour of his Patron, *John Earl of Warwick*, afterward Duke of *Northumberland*.

Hooper refused to wear the Episcopal habit.

25. The worst was, when *Hooper* came to be consecrated Bishop of *Gloucester*, he scrupled the wearing of certain Episcopall ornaments (Rochet, Chimere, Square-cap, &c.) producing a Letter from the Earl of *Warwick* (omnipotent then at Court, in the declining of his Corival, the Duke of *Somerset*) that he might be favourably dispensed with therein, according to the tenour ensuing, to Archbishop *Cranmer*.

After

Ann.  
Reg.  
Ed. 6.  
4.

After my most hearty commendations to your Grace, these may be to desire the same, that in such reasonable things, wherein this bearer, my Lord Elect of *Gloucester* craveth to be born withall at your hands, you would vouch safe to shew him your Graces favour; the rather at this my instance. Which thing partly I have taken in hand by the Kings Majesties own motion. The matter is weighed by His Highness, none other, but that your Grace may facilely condescend thereunto. The principall cause is, that you would not charge this said Bearer with an Oath burdalous to his conscience. And so for lack of time I commit your Grace to the tuition of Almighty God.

Your Graces most assured loving friend.

John Warwick.

What this Oath was, (because not expressed) is variously conjectured. Parsons, to render *Hooper* more odious, will have it the Oath of Supremacy; which, in my opinion, is improbable, it being utterly unlikely, that the King would dispense with any from taking that Oath, wherein His owne Dignity was so neerly concern'd. I conceive it the Oath of Canonical obedience to the Archbishop, which consequentially commanded such ceremonies, which *Hooper* was willing to decline. For, in the Kings next Letter, wrote thirteen daies after to the same purpose, there is mention onely of offensive Rites, and Ceremonies, and of no Oath at all, as coincident with the former, and obligatory to such Canonical observances. But see the Letter.

Right Reverend Father, and right trusty, and well-beloved, We greet you well. Whereas We, by the advice of Our Council, have called & chosen Our right well-beloved, and well-worthy Mr. John Hooper, Professor of Divinity, to be Our Bishop of Gloucester, as well for his great learning, deep judgment, and long study, both in the Scriptures, and other profound learning; as also for his good discretion, ready utterance, and honest life for that kinde of vocation, &c. From consecrating of whom, We understand you doe stay, because he would have you omit, and let passe certain Rites and Ceremonies offensive to his conscience, wherebye you thinke, you should fall in Præmunire of Laws: We have thought good by advice aforesaid, to dispense, and discharge you of all manner of dangers, penalties, and forfeitures you should run into, and be in any manner of way, by omitting any of the same. And these Our Letters shall be your sufficient warrant, and discharge therefore.

¶ Given under Our Signet, at our Castle of Windsor, the fourth year of Our Reign.

[e e e 2]

All



All would not doe. Resolute *Ridley* stood stifiy to his tackling, and here was old bandying of the businesse betwixt them, and Arguments urged on both sides.

Ann.  
Dom.  
1550.  
Ann.  
Reg.  
Ed. 6.  
46

## Pro.

1. The Ornaments were indifferent of themselves, and of antient use in the Church.
2. Being enjoyed by lawfull authority, they became necessary, not to saluation, but to Church-unity; and it was scandalous to decline them.
3. It would bring the Papist over to our Church, beholding all things by them used, not totally abolished by a spirit of contradiction, but some decent correspondencies still moderately continued.
4. It would cast a slur on the credit of such Bishops, who formerly had used those Ornaments, as more remissive in Religion, than such as refused them.
5. Those that have *stubborn wills*, pretend too often to *tender consciences*; nor ought a private person to be indulged, with the disturbance of the publick uniformity of the Church.

## Con.

1. The best thing that could be said of them was, that they were useless, being otherwise ridiculous, and superstitious.
2. *Cursed be he that removes the bounds.* Grant them indifferent in themselves, and left so by Divine Willdome, it was presumption in man to stamp necessity upon them.
3. Too much of the Serpent, nothing of the Dove herein, to offend those within, to invite those without to the Church, driving Protestants thence, to draw Papists thither.
4. The credits of some good men were not to be preserved, by destroying the consciences of others.
5. *Hooper* put himself upon the trial of the *Searcher of hearts*, that no obstinacie, but meer conscience made him refuse those Ornaments.

In a word, all those Arguments, which later Ages have more amply enlarged, more clearly explained, more cunningly improved, more violently enforced, were then and there first solidly propounded, and solemnly set down on both sides. Posterity in this matter having discovered no new *Mine*, but only refined, what formerly was found out in this Controversie.

26. At last the great Earl of *Warwick* deserted his Chaplain in open field, to shift for himself. Indeed, he had higher things in his head, than to attend such trifles: not so much to procure a Mitre for his Chaplain, as a Crown for himself, even then secretly laying a design to derive the Scepter into his own family. Yea, *Hooper* was sent to prison, and kept some daies in *durance*, till at last he condescended to conform himselfe in his habit, to the rest of his brethren, and so was consecrated Bishop of *Gloucester*.

27. But that, which most opens the mouths of Papists, and other adversaries against *Hooper*, is, because he, who scrupled the poor Bishoprick of *Gloucester*, afterward held the wealthy Bishoprick of *Worcester* in *Commendam* with it. We read of a *wedge of gold*, and little wedges (say they) widen mens consciences for the receiving of greater: yea, thus the hairs of marriage, first become guilty of bigamie. But let such know, First, that the Dioceses of *Gloucester*, and *Worcester*, lie both contiguous together. Secondly, many single Bishopricks in *England*, are larger than both for extent in Land, and number of Parishes. Thirdly, no worse a man than *S. Dunstan* himself, had the Bishoprick of *Worcester*, and *London* with it, at the same time, being farre more distant, and remote. Fourthly, it is not the having of two Bishopricks together, but the neglecting of one is the sin; whereas

*Hooper*

But is forced at last.

\* He's impudently not mentioned in M. Fox, but in the 1. tables of *Frankford*, pag. 35.

Defended for keeping *gloucester* in *Commendam*, b July 21.

Ann.  
Reg.  
Ed. 6.  
46

Ann.  
Dom.  
1550.

*Hooper* in preaching, and visiting, afforded double diligence in his double Dioceses. 28. The mention of *Hooper* his holding of the Bishoprick of *Worcester* in *Commendam*, minde me of a difficulty, which (though I cannot answer) I must not omit. It is this, Seeing that *Latimer* was outed of that Bishoprick in the daies of King *Henry the eighth*, on the account of the *Six Articles*, why was he not restored to the same under King *Edward the sixth*? especially, seeing *Nicholas Heath*, his successeur, was legally deprived, and the place actually void. Whereas on the contrary *Hugh Latimer* continued *Hugh Latimer*, without any addition of preferment. Here first we must largely trade in *negatives*. It was not for any want of favour from the King, seeing he stood *rectus in Curia*, in relation to His Majesty. Nor was it because his down-right Sermons disoblged the Courtiers, who generally delight in soft preaching, as in *soft cloathing*. Nor was it out of ill-nellence, because he would not be bedded again with that wife, which (though unwillingly) had in his absence embraced another. Nor have we any cause to suspect *Latimer* of *Hooper*'s opinion, as distastful Ceremonies, and so obstructing his advancement. But we impute it, either to his conscience (oft-times sharpest in the bluntest men) because he would not be built on the ruines of another; especially knowing *Heath*, one of a meek, and moderate nature: Or to his age, who, *Barzillai* like, was superannuated for earthly honour: *Alas*! what needed a *square cap* over the many *night-caps*, which age had multiplied on his Reverend head? Or, because he found himself not so fit for government, better for preaching, than ordering Ecclesiastical affairs. Or lastly, because he prophetically foresaw, that the ingratitude of the English Nation would shorten their happinesse, and King *Edward's* life; and he was loth to come into a place, onely to goe out thereof. Sure I am, it was a loud lie, which \* *Pasfons* tells, that *Latimer* was kept bare, who kept himself bare, living, not in the want, but neglect, yea contempt of all worldly wealth. He was *Confessor-General* to all Protestants troubled in minde; yea, he was the *Corban*, or treasure, into which restored *ill-gotten goods* were cast, to be bestowed on the poor, according to his discretion. And *Latimer* by the *apostolicke* of *England* (once a Bishop, and ever a Bishop) was in civility saluted Lord, and honoured by all good people that knew him. This I conceive the true cause, why *Hooper* would not be translated to *Worcester*, but held it in *Commendam* with *Gloucester*, because *Latimer*, and *Heath*, were both surviving, each accounted a lawfull Bishop by those of their own Religion.

29. But, when *Hooper* unwillingly willing wore those Episcopal Ornaments, he put on with them a great grudge against *Ridley*, who enforced him therunto. Yea, when those his clothes may be presumed half worn out, his anger was new, and fresh, as at the beginning: not were they fully reconciled till their death, in the daies of Queen *Mary*. High time then to period their passion, before the *Sun* [of their life] went down in their wrath. Strange that their heart-burnings could not be quenched, till the fire was kindled, which was to burn both their bodies. But it matters not: what is the cause, if amendment be the effect. The \* *Jesuite* challengeth the credit of this reconciliation to the Catholics, bragging, that they made them friends. But we know, their cruell intention was not to make friends, but ashes of them. Let the thanks be paid to that Divine Power, and Providence, which sanctified their sufferings into an agreement, besides, beyond, above, against the designe, and desire of those, which inflicted them. Thus, when froward children fall out, and fight, a good parent, and a good rod, doe quickly make them friends. See the Letters at large in Master *Fox*, which passed betwixt them in prison; wherein, as *Hooper* had the honour first to offer agreement, let *Ridley* receive his praise, that he did fast embrace it. For, as the second blow makes the fray: so, it is not the tender, but acceptance of peace, makes the reconciliation. As for their observation, that of all the Marian-Martyrs, *Hooper*, and *Ridley* suffered with most torture, and impute this to a Divine punishment, justly inflicted on them, for their this diffention: there is somewhat of curiosity in the observation, and nothing of charity in the application.

[ccc 3]

30. We

Why *Latimer* was not restored to the Bishoprick of *Worcester*.

c Mar. 11. 8.

d s. 13. m. 19. 35.

\* In the Examen of *Fox's* Martyrs, Month of Feb. pag. 306.

*Hooper*, and *Ridley* reconciled by afflictions.

\* *Pasfons* at supra, pag. 314.

Three sorts of Non-conformists.

30. We must not forget, that this earnest contest, was not about the calling, but *clothes*; not the *vocation*, but only about the *vestments* of Bishops. Whereupon the judicious Reader will distinguish *three Ranks*, (or if the word be better liked) *three Classes* of Non-conformists, according to their severall *dates*, and *degrees*:

1. *Ancient Non-conformists*, here in King *Edward's* daies, who desired onely to shake down the *leaves* of *Episcopacy*, milking onely some *garments* about them.
2. *Middle Non-conformists*, in the end of *Queen Elizabeth*, and beginning of King *James*, who struck at the *branches* thereof; *Chancellours*, and *officials*, and other appendant *limbs*, which they endeavoured to remove.
3. *Modern Non-conformists*, who did lay the axe to the root of the tree, to cut down the *function* it self, as unlawfull, and Antichristian.

Thus after-Ages still made new additions, as if it would be accounted idleness in them, if the strong, and active legs of the sons, and nephews, should not goe faster, and farther, than the old, and feeble feet, of their fathers, and grand-fathers.

The Psalms translated into meter.  
e Balcinus Gen.  
9. pag. 728.

[Jam. 5. 13.]

The meannesse of the Translation endeavoured to be excused.

31. About this time, *David's Psalms* were translated into *English meter*, and (if not publicly commanded) generally permitted to be sung in all Churches. The work was performed by *Thomas Sternhold*, (an *Hampshire-man*, Esquire, and of the Privie Chamber to King *Edward the sixth*, who for his part translated *thirty seven* selected *Psalms*) *John Hopkins*, *Robert Wisdome*, &c. men, whose poetry was better than their poetry; and they had drank more of *Jordan*, than of *Hellion*. These *Psalms* were therefore translated, to make them more portable in peoples memories (Verses being twice as light, as the self-same bulk in Prose) as also to raise mens affections, the better to enable them to practice the Apostles precept, *Is any merry? let him sing Psalms*. Yet this work met afterwards with some frowns in the faces of great Clergy-men, who were rather contented, than well pleased, with the singing of them in Churches. I will not say, because they disliked (so much liberty should be allowed the Laitie (*Rome* only can be guilty of so great envy) as to sing in Churches: rather, because they conceived they singing-Psalms erected in corivality, and opposition, to the reading-Psalms, which were formerly sung in Cathedral Churches: or else, the childe was disliked for the mothers sake; because, such Translatours, though branched hither, had their root in *Geneva*.

32. Since, later men have vented their just exceptions against the baldnesse of the translation, so that sometimes they make the Maker of the Tongue to speak little better than barbarisme, and have in many Verses such poor rhyme, that two hammers on a Smith's anvil would make better musick. Whilst others (rather to excuse it, than defend it) doe plead, that English poetry was then in the non-age, not to say, infancy thereof: and that, match these Verses for their age, they shall goe a-breast with the best Poems of those times. Some, in favour of the Translatours, alledge, that to be curious therein, and over-defancung with wit, had not become the plain song, and simplicity of an holy style. But these must know, there is great difference between painting a face, and not washing it. Many since have faire refined these Translations, but yet their labours therein never generally received in the Church: principally, because un-book-learn'd people have comm'd by heart, many *Psalms* of the old Translation, which would be wholly disinherited of their patrimony, if a new Edition were set forth. However, it is desired, and expected by moderate men, that, though the fabrick stand unmoved for the main, yet some bad contrivance therein may be mended, and the bald thimes in some places get a new nap, which would not much discompoze the memory of the people.

33. On

Ann. Reg. Ed. 4.  
Ann. Dom. 1550.

33. On the twenty fourth of *July*, King *Edward*, by His Letters patent, at the request of *John de Lasco*, free Baron of *Lasco* in *Poland*, did, by the consent of His Council, give, and grant the whole Church of *S. Augustine's*, near *Broad-street* in *London* (the Quire excepted, formerly possessed by *Marquess Pawley*) unto the Superintendent, and Ministers of the Dutch-Church, and other strangers in *London*, to have, and to hold for them, their heirs, and successours in *Frank Almonage*, to be a meeting-place for them, therein to attend God's Word, and Sacraments. He ordered also, that hereafter it should be called by the new name of the Church of the Lord *I E S U S*; and incorporated the said Superintendent, Ministers, and Congregation, to be a body polittick, for all purposes, and intents; empowering them from time to time, in the vacancy of a Superintendent, to chuse, name, and substitute, any able, and fit person in that place: provided, that the person so chosen be first presented to the King, His Heirs, and Successours, to be approved, and confirmed by them in the Office of the Ministerie, enjoying all Archbishops, Bishops, and other Officers, *Quod permittant prefatus Superintendenti, & Ministris, & Successoribus suis, libere, & quiete frui, gaudere, uti, & exercere ritus, & ceremonias suas proprias, & disciplinam Ecclesiasticam propriam, & peculiarem, non obstant, quod non conveniant cum ritibus, & ceremoniis in Regno nostro usitatis: That they permit the foresaid Superintendent, and Ministers, and their Successours, freely, and quietly to hold, enjoy, use, and exercise their own proper rites, and ceremonies, and their proper, and peculiar Church discipline, notwithstanding that they agree not with the rites, and ceremonies used in Our Kingdoms.*

34. Now followed the fatal tragedy of the Duke of *Somerset*, and we must recolle a little, to fetch forward the cause thereof. *Thomas Seymour* Baron of *Sydney*, and Lord Admirall, the Protector's younger Brother, had married the Lady *Katherine Parre*, the Relict of King *Henry the eighth*. A contest arose betwixt their Wives about place, the Protectresse (as I may call her) refusing to give it to the Kings Dowager. Yet was their precedence no measuring cast, but clear in the view of any impartiall eye. Nor needed other Herald to decide the controversy than the Kings own Injunctions, \* wherein after prayer for His own Royall person, Ministers were commanded to pray for the Queen Dowager even before the Kings Sisters, *Mary*, and *Elizabeth*, the Protectour (under whom his Lady must claim place) being placed last in the List of their Devotions.

35. The Womens discords derived themselves into their Husbands hearts. Whereupon, not long after followed the death of the Lord *Thomas Seymour*, arraigned for designing to traslate the Crown to himself, though having neither Title to pretend unto it, nor effectual Interest to achieve the same. Let *Adonijah*, and this Lord's example deterre Subjects from meddling with the Widows of their Sovereigns, left in the same match they espouse their own danger and destruction. This Lord thus cut off, the Protectour stood alone on his own bottom at which his enemies daily endeavoured to undermine.

36. Soon after the Lords of the Council resolved to accuse him of many high offences. Of these Lords, some were Lawyers, as the Lord *Wriothesley*, lately, the Lord *Rich*, then Lord Chancellour; Sir *Edward Montague* Chief Justice, &c. some Martialists, as *Sir Ralph Sadler* Treasurer to the Army, and some meer State-men, as *William Pawlet* Lord Treasurer, and their accusations participated of the severall conditions of the Accusers. The Lawyers charge him for bringing *Westminster-hall* into *Somerset-house*, keeping there a Court of Request, and therein determining Titles of Land to the apparent injury of the Subject. Military men taxed him for his Sumptuous buildings, having their Morter tempered with the tears of Souldiers Wives and Children, whose wages he detained; and for betraying *Bolloigne*, and other places in *France* to the Enemy. States-men chiefly insisted on his engrossing all power to himself, that whereas by the constitution of the Protectourship he was to act nothing without the advice of King *Henry's* Executours, he solely transacted matters of the highest consequence without their privy.

37. Here

The first legal edition of the Dutch Congregation in London.

\* The Letters are kept in the Dutch Church, and exemplified in *Isabellus Strudivius* in his narration of the Dutch Congregation, pag. 13. &c.

Womens braveries, Mens thralles.

a Vide supra, in the first of this King.

Lord Thomas Seymour executed for Treason.  
b 1 King. 2.

A tripartite accusation.

Battle of Marston  
 with the Pro-  
 tectors gran-  
 enemy.

The Prosecutor  
accused, and  
imprisoned, yet  
restored.  
c Fox, Acts &  
Mon. pag.

Accused the  
second time.

Lord Rich his  
Servants dan-  
gerous mistake.

c This story attested to me by his great grand child the Earl of Warwick.

The Lord Rib  
relinqueth his  
Chancellors  
place.

The Duke of  
Somerſet im-  
peached of  
Treaſon.

*i Stoves An-  
nals, p. 606..*

37:- Here I must let John Dudley Earl of Warwick (as a Transcendent) in a form by himself, being a competent Lawyer, (Son to a Judge) known Soldier, and able States-man, and acting against the Protector, to all these his capacities. Indeed, he was the very soul of the Accusation, being all in all, and all in every part thereof. And seeing the Protector was free pirated: open heard, humble, hard to diffuse, easy to forgive. The other proud, sustle, close, crnell, and revengefull; it was impar congressus betwixt them, almost with as much disadvantage as betwixt a paked and an armed person.

38. Hereupon, he was imprisoned at *Windſor*, in a place antiently called *a Beauchamp's Tower*, it ſeems by a ſad *Prolepſis*, but never verified till now when this *V. Count Beauchamp* (by his original honour) was therein confined, and hence was he removed to the *Tower of London*. However, although all this happened in the worſt juncture of time, viz: in the juncture of his beſt Friend (the Lord *Ruffell* Privie Seal) then away in the Weſt, yet by his own innocence, his other Friends endeavour, the Kings interpoſing, and Divine Providence, he was acquitted, and though ousted his Proteſtorſhip, reſtored and continued Privie Counſellour, as in the *King's Diarie* was formerly obſerved.

39. But after two years and two months, his enemies began afresh to assault him, hoping that as the first froak had'd, the next would tell him to the ground. Indeed, *Warwick* (who had too powerful an influence upon all the Lords) could not erect his intended Fabric of Sovereignty except he first cleared the ground-work from all obstructive rubbish, whereby this Duke of *Somerſet* was the Principal: In whose absence the Lords met at the Council Table, where it was contrived how all things should be ordered in relation to his *Attainment*. 11

40. *R. Rich* Lord Chancellor (then living in great *S. Bartholomews*) though outwardly concurring with the rest, began now secretly to favour the Duke of *Somerfet*, and sent him a Letter, therein acquainting him with all passages at the Council Board, superscribing the same (either out of haste, or familiarity) with no other direction save, *To the Duke*: enjoying his Servant a ret attendant, as newly entered into the family, safely to deliver it. The man made more haste than good speed, and his Lord wondering at his quick return, demanded of him where the Duke was when he deliver'd him the Letter: in *Charter-house* (said his Servant) on the same token that be read it as the window, and smiled thereat. But the Lord *Rich* smiled not at his relation, as sadly sensible of the mistake and delivery of the Letter to the Duke of *Norfolke*, no great friend of his, and an utter enemy to the Duke of *Somerfet*.

41: Wonder not if this Lord rose early up the next morning, who may be presumed not to have slept all night. He higheth to the Court, and having gotten admittance into the Bed Chamber before the King was risen up, fell down on his knees, and desired that his old age might be eased of his burthenfome Office: pleading, That there ought to be some preparatory interval in States-men betwixt their Temporal businesse and their Death; in order to which, he desired to retire into *Exile*, there to attend his own Devotions. Nor would he rise from the ground till the King had granted his request. And thus he saved himself from being *stript* by others by first *putting off his own clothes*, who otherwise had lost his Chancellours place for revealing the secrets of the Councill Board. Some daies after the Scale was solemnly fetcht from him, and conferred on Doctor Goodrich Bishop of *Ely*.

42. The Impeachment of the Duke went on nevertheless, and two Nets were laid to catch him, that if one broke the other might hold. He was indicted of *Treason*, and *Felony*; the former was only to *give the report*, the latter, to *discharge the bullet*. So great a Peer could not be accused of less than *High Treason*, what the offence might appear proportionable to the offender. However, he was acquitted of *Treason*, whereas the people in *Westminster-hall* gave such a shout, that though the fame was intercepted and circumscribed by the *house*, it is reported to be heard as farre/ as *Long-Acre*.

43. But

|                       |                     |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| Ann,<br>Dom.<br>1551, | Ann<br>Reg.<br>Ed 6 |
|-----------------------|---------------------|

Dec.

|                       |                        |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Anno<br>Dom.<br>1551. | Anno<br>Regis<br>E. 6. |
|-----------------------|------------------------|

43. But this *found* was fecounded with a *sad silence* when he was condemned for *Felony*, by a new made *Stawme*, for plotting the death of a *Privie Counsellor*; namely, the Earle of Warwick. Here a strange oversight was committed, that he craved not the *benefit of the Clergie*, which could not *legally* be denied him; on the granting whereof, the ensuing punishment had certainly been remitted; and not long after he was *beheaded on Tower-hill*, with no less *praise* for his *piety* and *patience*, than *pity* and *grief* of the *Rebellers*.

44. *Pofterity* is much unsatisfied in the juſtneſſe of his ſuffering, and generally doe believe, That he himſelfe was the *ſheep* who was here condemn'd for the *ſlaughter*. A good Author tells us, *That he loſt his life for a ſmall crime, and that upon a nice\* point, ſubtilly deviſed and packt by his enemies.* And yet that the good *King* Himſelfe was poſſeſſed of his guilt, may appeare by His enſuing *Letter*

\* written with His own hand to a dear Servant of His, as followeth :

To Our well-beloved servant *Barnaby Fitz-Patrick*,  
one of the Gentlemen of Our Chamber.

EDWARD.

**L**ittle hath been done since you went, but the Duke of Somerset's arraignment for felonious Treason, and the Musters of the new-erected Gendarmery. The Duke, the first of this Moneth was brought to VVestminster-hall, where sate as Judge, or High Steward, my Lord Treasurer, twenty six Lords of the Parliament went on his Triall, Indictments were read; which were severall; some for Treason, some for trayterous Felony. The Lawyers read how Sir Thomas Palmer had confessed that the Duke, once minded, and made him privie, to raise the North, after to call the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquesse of Northampton, and the Earle of Pembroke, to a Feast, and so to have slain them. And to doe this thing (as it was to be thought) had levied men a hundred at his house at London, which was scanned to be Treason, because unlawfull Assemblies for such purposes, was Treason by an Act made the last Sessions. Also how the Duke of Somerset minded to stay the Horses of the Gendarmery, and to raise London. Crane confessed also the murdering of the Lords in a Banquet. Sir Miles Partridge also confessed the raising of London. Hamman his man having a Watch at Greenwich of twenty weaponed men to resist, if he had been arrested, and this confessed both Partridge and Palmer.

[ f f f ]

Palmer.

**Sad silence.**

A  $Q$ - $x$  e for  
p. 11. 1 y.

\* *Gabel Brä*  
in *Saxonia*.

\* Transcribe out of the Original.

Palmer. *He answered, That when he levied men at his House, he meant no such thing, but onely to defend himself. The rest very barely answered. After debating the matter from nine of the clock till three, the Lords went together, and there weighing that the matter seemed only to touch their lives, although afterward more inconvenience might have followed, and that men might think they did it of malice, acquitted him of High Treason, and condemned him of Felony, which he seemed to have confessed. He hearing the judgment, fell down on his knees, and thanked them for his open Triall. After he asked pardon of the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquesse, &c. whom he confessed he meant to destroy, although before he swore vehemently to the contrary. Thus fare you well.*

¶ From Westminster the 20<sup>th</sup> of December,  
Anno Domini 1551.

Hereby it plainly appeareth, that the King was possessed with a persuasion of His Uncles guiltinesse: whether or no so in truth, God knoweth; and generally Men believe Him abused herein. And it seemeth a wonder to me that six weeks (from December the 1, to January the 22.) interceding betwixt the Dukes condemnation and execution, no means were made during that time to the King for his pardon. But, it is plain, that his foes had stopped all access of his friends unto the King.

The Dukes  
charact.

45. The Duke of Somerset was religious himself, a lover of all such as were so, and a great Promoter of Reformation. Valiant, fortunate, witnesse his victory in Musleborough field, when the Scots filled many carts with emptinesse, and loaded them with what was lighter than vanity it self, Popish Images, and other Trinkets, wherein they placed the confidence of their Conquest. He was generally beloved of Martiall men, yet no marvell if some did grumble against him, seeing there is no Army, save that of the Church Triumphant, wherein the Souldiers at some time or other doe not complain against their Generall. Nor is the wonder great if he sometimes trespassed in matters of State, seeing the most conscientious Polititian will now and then borrow a point of Law (not to say, take it for their due) even with an intent never to pay it. He was better to perform than plot, doe than design. In a word, his self-hurting innocence declined into guiltinesse, whose foule was so farre from being open to causelesse suspitions, that it was shut against just jealousies of danger.

His great build-  
ings.

46. He built Somerset-house, where many like the workmanship better than either the foundation or materials thereof: For the Houses of three Bishops, Landasse, Coventry and Litchfield, and Worcester, with the Church of St. Mary le Strand, were plucked down to make room for it. The stones and timber were letche from the Hospitall of S. Johns. This Somerset house is so tenacious of his name, that it would not change a Dutchie for a Kingdome, when solemnly proclaimed by King James, Denmarke house from the King of Denmarke's lodging therein, and His Sister Queen Anne her repairing thereof. Surely it argueth, that this Duke was well

Anno  
Dom.  
1551.  
Anno  
Regis  
E. I. 6.  
5.

1551. Dec.  
10.

well-belov'd, because his name made such an indelible impression on this his house, whereof he was not full five years peaceably possessed.

47. We lately made mention of Barnaby Fitz-Patrick, to whom the King directed His Letter, as who was bred and brought up with Him from His infancy, though somewhat the older. He was Prince Edward's PROXIE for CORRECTION, though we may presume seldom suffering in that kinde, such the Princes generall innocence and ingenuity to learn His book. Yet when such execution was done, as Fitz-Patrick was beaten for the Prince, the Prince was beaten in Fitz-Patrick, so great an affection did He bare to His Servant. Towards the end of His Reign He maintained him in the Court of France both to learn fashions there, and lend intelligence thence. And it will not be amiss to insert the King's private Instructions unto him how he should behave himself in the French Court, partly for the rarity, partly for the certainty thereof, having it transcribed out of the Originall of the King's own hand, as followeth:

1. First, he shall goe in the Lord Admirals Company, and at the same Lords departing he shall have a Letter to the French King, which the Lord Admirall shall deliver, and present him to the French King; and if it shall chance that the French King will give him any Pension, entertainment, or reward at his being there for the time he tarrieth there, he shall receive it, and thank His Majesty for it, and shall serve when he shall be appointed. Nevertheless, when he is out of the Court he shall be most conversant with Mr. Pickering.

2. And at his setting forth shall carry with him four Servants, and if the wages amount to any great summe (more than I give him) that the French King giveth him, to live there after that proportion, advertising Me of the same.

3. Also all this Winter he shall study the Tongue, and see the manner of the Court, and advertise Me of the occurrences he shall hear, and if he be desirous to see any place Notable, or Town, he may goe thither, asking leave of the King. And shall behave himself honestly, more following the company of Gentlemen, than pressing into the company of the Ladies there, and his chief pastime shall be Hunting and Riding.

4. Also his Apparell he shall wear it so fine as shall be comely, and not much superfluous. And the next Sommer, when either the King goeth or sendeth any man into the Warres to be His Lieutenant, or to lead an Army, he shall desire to goe thither, and either himself, or else shall will Mr. Pickering to declare to the French King, how he thinketh not himself to have fully satisfied nor recompensed neither His Majesties good entertainment nor Mine expectation who had sent him over if he should return, having so delicately and idly almost spent the time, without he do it at this time of service be desirous to goe himself into the Warres, by the which thing he might at this time doe His Majesty service, and also learn to doe Me service hereafter, yea, and His Majesty so if the case so required. And therefore seeing this Nobleman shall now goe that his request is to have leave to goe with him.

5. Having said this to the French King, he shall depart into the Warres, waiting on this Nobleman that shall be sent, and there he shall mark the divers fortifications of places, and advantages that the enemy may take, and the ordering and conduct of the Armies. As also the fashion of the skirmishes, battles, and assaults, and the place of the chief Towns where any enterprizes of weight have been done, he shall cause to be set out in black and white, or otherwise, as he may and shall send them hither to Me, with advertisement of such things as have passed.

6. Furthermore, he shall at all times when he taketh money advertise Me of it, and I shall send him. And so the next year being well spent, upon further advertisement, and taking leave of the French King, he shall return.

[C f f 2]

7. And

The Kings In-  
structions to  
Fitz-Patrick  
for his behavi-  
our in France.

\* Afterwards  
Knights, and  
supposed Saicer  
to Q. Elizabeth.

7. And if there arise or grow any doubt in any matter hereafter, in the which he shall need advise: he shall advertise by the Post, and shall have Answer thereof.

This Barnaby Fitz-Patrick, after his return out of France, was created by the King, Baron of Upper Ossery in Ireland, and died a most excellent Protestant, as hereafter we shall shew in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

48. On the 15<sup>th</sup> of April, the Parliament ended which had sate three Moneths at Westminster, though therein nothing of Church-matters determined, save a Penalty imposed on such who should strike or draw weapon in Church, or Church-yard, with the abolishing of the generall Holy daies of S. Mary Magdalen, and S. George: yet so, that it should be lawfull for the latter to be solemnly celebrated by the Knights of the Right honourable Order of the Garter. The Orders of which Order were about this time reformed and purged from some antient superstitions.

49. Six Dolphins were taken in the Thames (three neer Quinborough, and three above Greenwich, where the Thames is scarce tainted with brackishnesse) in so much that many grave men dispensed with their wisdom, and beheld them with wonder, as not seen before on our shores. A fish much loving man and musick, swifter than all other fishes, and birds too: yea, than the Swallow it self (if Pliny say true) though all their celerity bestowed them not here to escape the nets of the fisher-men. Their coming up so farre was beheld by Mariners as a presage of fowl weather at Sea; but by States-men, as a prodigious omen of some tempestuous mutations in our Land. And particularly, they suspected the Kings death, though for the present He was very pleasant and merry in His progresse about the Countrey, as by his ensuing Letter to His former favourite, written in the next August, doth appear.

#### EDWARD.

THE cause why we have not hitherto written unto you have partly been the lack of a convenient Messenger, partly because we meant to have some thing worthy writing ere VVe would write any thing. And therefore being now almost in the midst of Our journey which VVe have undertaken this Sommer, VVe have thought good to advertise, now since Our last Letters dated at Greenwich, VVe departed from thence towards a thing farre contrary to that wherein as VVe perceive by your diligent advertisement you and all the Countrey you are in are occupied; for whereas you all have been occupied in killing of your enemies, in long marchings, in painful journeys, in extreme heat, in sore skirmishings, and divers assaults; We have been occupied in killing of wilde Beasts, in pleasant journeys, in good fare, in viewing of faire Countreys, and rather have sought how to fortifie Our own, than to spoil another mans. And being this determined came to Giltford, from thence to Petworth, and so to Coudray (a goodly House of Sir Anthony Brownes) where we were

mar-

marvellously, yea rather excessively banquetted. From thence VVe went to Halvenaker (a pretty House besides Chichester.) From thence VVe went to Warblington (a faire House of Sir Richard Cottons.) And so to VValthan (a faire great old House, in times past the Bishop of Winchester, and now my Lord Treasurers house.) In all these places, VVe had both good hunting, and good cheer. From thence we went to Portsmouth Town, and there viewed not onely the Town it selfe and the Haven, but also divers Bulwarks, as Chattertons, VVaselford, with other; in viewing of which VVe finde the Bulwarks chargeable, massey, well rampared, but ill-fashioned, ill-flanked, and set in unmeet places, the Town weak in comparison of that it ought to be, too huge great (for within the Walls are faire and large Closets, and much vacant room) the Haven notable great, and standing by nature easie to be fortified. And for the more strength thereof We have devised two strong Castles on either side of the Haven at the mouth thereof: For at the mouth the Haven is not past ten score over, but in the middle almost a mile over, and in length for a mile and a half able to beare the greatest ship in Christendome. From thence VVe went to Tichfield (the Earl of South-Hampton's House) and so to South-Hampton Town. The Citizens had bestowed for Our coming great cost in painting, repairing, and ramparing of their VValls. The Town is handsome, and for the bignesse of it as fair houses as be at London. The Citizens made great cheer, and many of them kept costly tables. From South-Hampton we came to Bewly a little Village in the middle of the new Forrest, and so to Christ-Church (another little Town in the same Forrest) where VVe now be. And having advertised you of all this, VVe thinke it not good to trouble you any farther with news of this Countrey, but onely that at this time the most part of England (thanks be to God) is clear of any dangerous or infectious sicknesse. VVe have received all your Letters of the 26 of May, of the 19 of June, and the first of August. Thus fare you well.

From Christ-Church the 22 of August.

Little Church-work in this Parliament.

An ill prelude: Bilboys Godwins Annals in this year.

1 Nat. Hist. l. 9, cap. 8.

Ann. Dom. 1552. Ann. Reg. Ed. 6. 6.

April 15.

Aug. 25.

A threefold di-  
vision of Bi-  
shops.

But leaving the *King* in His *Progresses*, we come to behold the *Bishops* in their *Pro-  
gresses*, and finde them divided into three sorts:

1. *Zealous Protestants*, as Archbishop *Cranmer*, Bishop *Ridley*, *Hooper*,  
*Farrer*.

*Zealous Papists*, as *Gardner*, *Tunstall*, *Bonner*: which three alone, were  
deprived of their Bishopricks, and confined.

3. *Papists in heart*, but outwardly conforming to the *Kings Lawes*, as  
*Heath* Archbishop of *York*, and many other *Bishops*.

Here it is worthy our inquiry why this latter sort, which so complied under King  
*Edward the sixth*, should be so stubborn and obstinate under Queen *Elizabeth*,  
whereof I can give but this reason assigned: That growing older and nearer their  
graves, they grew more conscientious and faithfull to their own (though erroneous)  
principles, it being in vain to dissemble now death did approach, though  
their younger years had been guilty of such prevarications.

## SECTION X



Ann.  
Dom.  
1551.  
Ann.  
Reg.  
Ed. 6.  
6.



## SECTION II.

DIGNISSIMO VIRO  
CAROLO CHENEY

De Comitatu *BUCK*: Armigero,  
Mecœnati suo munificentissimo.

**E**THELSTANUS, Saxonum Monarcha, decre-  
to sanxivit, si *massere ascenderet, ut ter*, Magnum  
mare transfretaret, per proprium negotium suum, fuit deinde

*TAINI dignus rectitudine*. In qua lege enucleanda, mihi  
aliquantillum immorandum; quum licet tibi (ut alia  
omnia) expedita, aliis forsitan aliquid nodi ei subesse vi-  
deatur.

1. *Massere*) Mercatorem designari in confesso est.
2. *Magnum mare*) Mediterraneum intenditur, quo  
nomine Sacræ Scripturæ *\* sepius innotescit*.
3. *Proprium negotium*) quâ clausulâ excluditur servile  
genus, (*FACTORES* dicimus) qui non sui ju-  
ris, sed Domini rationem reddituri.

4. *Taini*)

\* *Regius Co-  
dex fol. 143.  
col. 4. Spel-  
manni Con-  
cilia, p. 406.*

\* *Num. 34. 6.  
Joh. 1. 4. &  
15. 12.*

4. *Taini*) intelligimus melioris notæ Generosum.

5. *Dignus reſtitutione*) Olet hoc ſæculi barbariem.

Sed his verbis voluit Rex, ut cenſeatur *Iſo-Tainus*, atq; eundem honoris gradum forſiatur.

Quod ſi, Vir clariffime, illi ſeculo tanta contigiffet felicitas, ut tu tunc temporis vixiffes, quibus titulis te decorandum Rex ille cenſuiſſet: qui, ortu tuo Nobilis, *Mare parvum, medium, magnum, omnia*, (multis aquarum terrarumque montibus ſuperatis) tranſiviſti. Idq; non turpis *lucri* cauſa, ut *navem mercibus*; ſed *ſcientiæ* ergo, ut *mentem dotibus* inſtructam reportares.

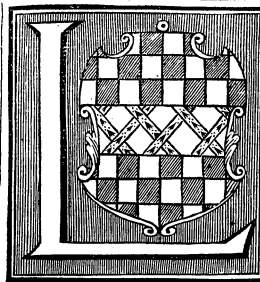
Te igitur in ipſiſſimo Libri mei *umbilico* (quantum paginas *ſcriptas*, nondum *impreſſas*, æſtimare potui) collocandum curavi, eo conſilio, quo provida *natura Soli* inter *Planetas medium locum* aſignavit, ut ex æquo, utrinque totum opus nomine tuo illuſtraretur.

Deus Te, tuamque *Conjugem* (non magis natalium *ſplendore*, quam propriis *virtutibus* ſpectabilem) conſue protegat, dum in dubium venerit, longiorve an beatorum veſtra vita ſit reputanda.

Informa-

Ann.  
Dom.  
1552.

R. G.  
Ed. 6.  
June  
10.



Ately information was given to the Kings Council, that much coſly furniture which was embzeſſed, might very reaſonably (ſuch the Kings preſent occaſions) and profitably be recovered. For, private mens halls were hung with *Star-cloathes*; their tables and beds, covered with *copes*, inſtead of carpets, and coverlets. Many drank at their daily meals in *chalcices*; and no wonder, if in proportion it came to the ſhare of their Lories to be watered in rich *coſſins* of marble. And, as if fiſt laying of hands unto them, ſei King on them was generally the price they had payed for them. Now, although four years were elapſed, ſince the deſtruction of Colledges & Chanteries, and much of the beſt Church ornaments was tranſported beyond the Seas, yet the Privie Council thought, this very gleanings in the ſtubble, would richly be worth the while, and that, on ſtrict inquiſition, they ſhould retrieve much plate in *ſpecie*, and more money for moderate fines of offenders herein. Beſides, whereas Pariſh Churches had ſtill many rich Ornaments left in the cuſtody of their *Wardens*, they reſolved to convert, what was *ſuperfluous*, or *ſuperſtitious*, to the Kings uſe. To which purpoſe, Commiſſions were iſſued out, to ſome ſelect perſons in every County, according to the \* tenour following:

*Inſtructions* given by the King's Maſteſtie to His right truſty and right beloved Couſin and Counſellour the Marqueſſe of *Northampton*, and to the reſt of His Highneſſe Comiſſioners appointed for the Survey of Church-goods within His Maſteſties County of *Northampton*.

EDVYARD.

Fiſt, Upon the receipt of the ſame Commiſſion by any one of the ſame Commiſſioners, he ſhall ſo fiſt receive the Commiſſion, ſhall forthwith with all convenient ſpeed, give knowledge to the reſt named in the ſame Commiſſion, and with them ſhall agree to meet and aſſemble with that ſpeed they can for the execution of the ſame Commiſſion and theſe *Inſtructions*. And if any of the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall be dead, ſick, or otherwiſe, be ſo abſent out of the Countrey for the ſervice of the King, that he cannot with ſpeed attend the ſame in that caſe, The reſt of the ſame Commiſſioners, ſo that they be to the Number appointed, by the Commiſſion, ſhall not make any delay from the proceeding in the ſame Commiſſion, but ſhall forthwith allow their ſittings, Aſſemblies and meetings for the ſame Commiſſion, as in like caſes hath been, or ſhall be met to be uſed.

Item, For their better and more certain proceeding, the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall in ſuch caſes, where none of the Commiſſioners be Cuſtos Rotulorum of that County, ne hath been ſince the beginning of Our Reign, command the ſaid Cuſtos Rotulorum, or their Deputy, or the Clerk of the Peace of thoſe parts, to bring or ſend unto them ſuch Books, Registers, and Inventories, as hath heretofore any wiſe come to their hands, by Indenture, touching the Summes, Numbers and Values of any Goods, Plate, Jewels, Veſtments, and Belles, or Ornaments of any Churches, Chappels, and ſuch like. And likewiſe the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall ſend to the Biſhops of every Dioceſe wherein the ſaid County is Situate, or to their Chancellours, Commiſſaries, or other Eccleſiaſtical Officers in whoſe hands, or cuſtody, the like of the aforeſaid Inventories and Registers have command of them, and every of them, They ſhall receive and take the ſaid Books, Registers, and Inventories. And that done, the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall compare both the ſame Inventories, (that is

[ R G ]

to

Commiſſion  
is ſent to  
enquiry at  
Oxford.

\* The original  
under the  
King's hand  
was ſent me by  
Mr. Thomas  
Preſam laſe  
of Geddington  
in Northem.  
penn-ſhire.

to say) as well such as they shall receive and take of the Custos Rotulorum, or their Deputy, or the Clerk of the Peace, as of the Bishops, or other under-Officers, and according to the best, richest, and greatest Inventories of the said Commissioners shall proceed to make their survey and enquire. And by the same make the searches of the defaults and wants that shall be found. And generally the same Commissioners shall not only by the view of the said Registers and Inventories, but also by any other means they can better devise, proceed to the due search and inquisition of the wants and defaults of any part of the said Goods, Plate, Jewels, Vestments, Bells, or Ornaments.

Item, For the more speedy obtaining of the said Registers and Inventories, the said Commissioners shall receive special Letters of commandement from our Privie Councell for the deliverie thereof, which Letters the said Commissioners shall deliver as they shall see occasion.

Item, The said Commissioners shall upon their view, and survey taken, cause due Inventories to be made by Bills or Books indented, of all manner of Goods, Plate, Jewels, Bells, and Ornaments, as yet remaining, or anywise forth coming, and belonging to any Churches, Chappels, Fraternities, or Gilds, and the one part of the same Inventories to send and return to our Privie Councell, and the other to deliver to them in whose hands the said Goods, Plate, Jewels, Bells, and Ornaments shall remain to be kept preserved. And they shall also give good charge and order that the same goods and every part thereof be at all times forth coming to be answered, leaving nevertheless in every Parish Church or Chappell of common resort, one, two, or more Chalice or Cups, according to the multitude of the People in every such Church or Chappell, and also such other Ornaments as by their discretion shall seem requisite for the Divine Service in every such place for the time.

And, because We be informed, that in many places great quantities of the said Plate, Jewels, Bells, and Ornaments be imbeilled by certain private men contrary to Our expresse commandements in that behalf; The said Commissioners shall substantially and justly enquire and attain the knowledge thereof, by whose default the same is, and hath been, and in whose hands any part of the same is come. And in that point the said Commissioners shall have good regard, that they attain to certain names, and dwelling places of every person and persons, that hath sold, alienated, imbeilled, taken or carried away, and of such also as have cancelled, advised, and commanded any part of the said Goods, Plate, Jewels, Bells, Vestments, and Ornaments to be taken or carried away, or otherwise imbeilled. And these things they shall as certainly and duly as they can cause to be searched and understand.

Upon a full search and enquiry whereof, The said Commissioners, four or three of them shall cause to be called before them. Also the persons by whom any of the said Goods, Plate, Jewels, Bells, Ornaments, or any other the premises, have been alienated, imbeilled, or taken away, or by whose means or procurement the same, or any part thereof hath been attempted, or to whose hands or use any of the same or any profit for the same hath grown. And by such means as to their discretions shall seem best, cause them to bring into their said Commissioners hands to Our use the said Plate, Jewels, Bells, and other the premises so alienated, or the true and just value thereof, certifying unto Our Privie Councell the names of all such as refuse to stand to, or obey their Order touching the re-delivery, and restitution of the same, or the just value thereof. To the intent that as cause and reason shall require, every man may answer to his doings in this behalf.

Finally, Our pleasure is, that the said Commissioners in all their doings shall use such sober and discreet manner of proceeding as the effect of this Commission may goe forward with as much quiet and as little occasion of trouble or disquiet of the multitude as may be, using to that end, such wise persuasions

Ann.  
Dom.  
1552.  
Ann.  
Reg.  
Ed. 6.  
6.

Ann.  
Dom.  
1552.  
Ann.  
Reg.  
Ed. 6.  
6.

swasions in all places of their Sessions in respect of the place, and disposition of the People may seem to their wisdoms most expedient. Growing also good and substantial order for the stay of the inordinate and greedy covetousness of such disordered people, as have or shall goe about the alienating of any the premises, So as according to reason, and order such as have, or shall contemptuously offend in this behalf may receive reformation, as for the quality of their doings shall be requisite.

In pursuance of these their Instructions, the Kings Commissioners in their respective Counties, recovered much, and discovered more of Church-wealth and Ornaments: For, some were utterly imbeilled by persons not responsible, and there the King must lose his right. More were concealed by parties not detectable, so cunningly they carried their stealths, seeing every one who had nimmed a Church-Bell, did not ring it out for all to hear the sound thereof. Many potent persons well known to have such goods, shuffed it out with their greatnesse, mutually connived at therein, by their equals, fellow-offenders in the same kinde. However, the Commissioners regained more than they expected, considering the distance of time, and the cold sent they followed for many years after the Dissolution. This Plate, and other Church-Utensils, were sold, and advanced much money to the Exchequer. An Authour telleth us, That (amongst many which they found) they left but one filver Chalice to every Church, too narrow a proportion to populous Parishes, where they might have left two at the least, seeing for expedition sake, at great Sacraments, the Minister at once delivereth the wine to two Communicants. But they conceived one Cup enough for a small Parish, and that greater and richer were easily able to purchase more to themselves.

2. All this Income rather stayed the stomach, than satisfied the hunger of the Kings Exchequer: For the allaying whereof, the Parliament, now sitting, conferred on the Crown, the Bishoprick of Durham. This may be called the English Heribolis, or Wiriburge, it being true of both,

*Dunelmia sola, judicet Ense et Stola.*

The Bishop whereof was a Palatine, or Secular Prince, and his Seal in form resembled Royalty in the Roundnesse thereof, and is not Oval, the badge of plain Episcopacy. Rich, and entire the revenues of this See, such as alone would make a considerable addition to the Crown, remote the situation thereof, out of Southern fight, and therefore, if dissolved, the sooner out of mens mindes. Besides, Cuthbert Twissall the present Bishop of Durham, was in durance, and deprived for his obstinacy, so that so stubborn a Bishop gave the State the fairer quartrell with so rich a Bishoprick, now annexed to the Kings revenue.

3. Well it was for this See, (though dissolved) that the lands thereof were not dispersed by sale unto severall persons, but preserved whole and entire (as to the main) in the Crown. Had such a disposition of the parts thereof been made, no lesse than a State miracle had been requisite for the recollection thereof. Whereas now within two years after, Queen Mary restored Twissall to this Bishoprick, and this Bishoprick to it self, re-settling all the lands on the same.

4. By this time, such Learned men as were employed by the King, to reform the Ecclesiastical Laws, had brought their work to some competent perfection. Let me enlarge my self on this subject of concernment, for the Readers satisfaction. When the Pope had ingrossed to his Courts the cognizance of all causes, which either looked, glanced, or pointed in the least degree, at what was reducible to Religion, he multiplied Laws, to magnifie himself. Whole principal designe thetinc, was not to make others good, but himself great: nor so much to direct, and defend the good, to restrain and punish the bad, as to chinate and entangle both. For, such the number of their Clementines, Statutes, Injuncts, Extravagants, Provincials, Synodalls, Glosses, Sentences, Chapters, Summaries, Rescripts, Breviaries, Bins and Bort Cases, &c. that none could carry themselves so cautiously, but would be rendred obnoxious, and caught within the compass

\* Sir Geo.  
Hayward.

Durham Bishoprick dissolved.

\* yet the Duke of Northumberland, either was, or was to be possessor thereof.

Afterwards restored by Queen Mary.

A wood, rather a wilderness, of the Popes Canons.



Two and thirty  
Regulours  
of the Canon-  
Law.

Contracted to  
eight by King  
Edward the 6.

of offending. Though the best was, for money they might buy the Popes pardon, and thereby their own innocence.

5. Hereupon, when the Popes power was banished out of England, his Canon-Law, with the numerous Books and branches thereof, lost its authority in the Kings Dominions. Yet, because some gold must be presumed amongst so much dross, grain amongst so much chaffe, it was thought fit, that so much of the Canon Law should remain as was found conformable to the Word of God, and Laws of the Land. And therefore King Henry the eighth was impowred by Act of Parliament, to elect two and thirty able persons, to reform the Ecclesiastical Laws, though in His Reign very little to good purpose was performed therein.

6. But the designe was more effectually followed in the daies of King Edward the sixth, reducing the number of two and thirty to eight, thus mentioned in His Letters Patents dated at Westminster, the last year, November: 11.

|                             |                                    |                   |                         |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| Bishops                     | { Thomas Cranmer, of Camerbury. }  | Divines           | { Peter Martyr. }       |
|                             | { Thomas Goodrich, of Elie. }      |                   | { Richard Cox. }        |
| Civilians, and<br>Canonists | { Dr. William May. }               | Common<br>Lawyers | { John Lucas. }         |
|                             | { Dr. Rowland Taylor, of Hadley. } |                   | { Rich: Good-<br>rick } |
|                             |                                    |                   | { Esquires. }           |

It was not onely convenient, but necessary, that Common Lawyers should share in making these Church Constitutions, because the same were to be built, not onely sure in themselves, but also symmetrical to the Municipall Lawes of the Land. These Eight had power by the Kings Patents, to call in to their assistance what persons they pleased, and are said to have used the pens of Sir John Cheeke, and Walter Haddon, Dr. in Law, to turn their Lawes into Latine.

Laws no Laws  
not stamped  
with Royall  
Authority.  
\* Titulo de Di-  
vini Officii,  
cap. 6.

\* John Pwini, at  
the end of his  
Preface to his  
Book, intituled,  
[Reformation:  
no enemy to  
Her Majesty.]

\* Anno 1640.  
A silent Con-  
vocation.

The true rea-  
son thereof.

7. However, these had onely a preparing, no concluding power; so that, when they had ended their work, two things were wanting, to make these Ecclesiastical Canons (thus by them composed) have the validity of Laws. First, an exact review of them by others, to amend the mistakes therein. As where \* they call the Common Prayer-Book then used in England, proprium & perfectum omnis divini cultus iudicem, & magistrum: a title truly belonging onely to the Scripture. Secondly, a Royall ratification thereunto; which this King, prevented by death, nor any of His Successours ever stamped upon it. Indeed, I finde in an \* Author, (whom I am half-afraid to alledge) that Doctor Haddon Anno 12 or 13 Elizabeth, delivered in Parliament a Latine Book, concerning Church-Discipline, written in the daies of King Edward the sixth, by Mr. Cranmer, Sir John Cheek, &c. which could be no other than this lately mentioned. Which Book was committed by the House, unto the said Mr. Haddon, Mr. George Bromley, Mr. Norton, &c. so be translated, I conceive into English again, and never after can I recover any mention thereof, save that some thirteen years since \* it was printed in London.

8. A Parliament was called in the last of this Kings Reign, wherein no Church-matter was medled with, save that therein a Subsidie, granted by the Clergy, was confirmed. Such moneys being the Legacie of course, which all Parliaments (fairly coming to a peaceable end) bequeath to their Sovereign. As for the Records of this Convocation, they are but one degree above blanks, scarce affording the names of the Clerks assembled therein. Indeed, they had no Commission from the King to meddle with Church-businesse, and every Convocation in it self, is born deaf, and dumb, so that it can neither hear complaints in Religion, nor speak in the redresse thereof, till first Ephraim, be thou opened, be pronounced unto it by Commission from Royall Authority.

9. Now, the true reason why the King would not intrust the diffusive body of the Convocation, with a power to meddle with matters of Religion, was a just jealousie

Ann.  
Dom.  
1552.  
Ann.  
Reg.  
Ed. 6.

Ann.  
Dom.  
1553.

Ann.  
Reg.  
Ed. 6.  
7.

jealousie which He had of the ill affection of the major part thereof: who under the fair rinde of Protestant profession, had the rotten core of Romish superstition. It was therefore conceived safer for the King to relye on the ability and fidelity of some select Confidens, cordiall to the cause of Religion; than to adventure the same to be discussed, and decided by a suspicious Convocation.

10. However, this barren Convocation is intituled the parent of these Articles of Religion, (fourty two in number) which are printed with this Preface, Articuli de quibus in Synodo Londinensi, Anno Domini 1552. inter Episcopos, & alios eruditos viros convenerat. With these was bound a Catechisme, younger in age (as bearing date of the next year) but of the same extraction, relating to this Convocation, as authour thereof. Indeed, it was first compiled (as appears by the Kings Patent prefix'd) by a single Divine, (\* characted pious and learned) but afterwards persesed and allowed by the Bishops, and other learned men, (understand it, the Convocation) and by Royall Authority commended to all Subjects, commanded to all School Masters to teach it their Scholars.

11. Yet very few in the Convocation ever saw it, much lesse, explicitly consented thereunto: but these had formerly (it seems) passed over their power (I should be thankfull to him, who would produce the originall instrument thereof) to the select Divines appointed by their Delegates, to whom they had deputed their authority. A case not so clear but that it occasioned a cavill at the next Convocation in the first of \* Queen Mary, when the Papists therein assembled, renounced the legality of any such former transactions.

July  
6.

Pretious King Edward the sixth now changed his Crown of Gold for one of Glory: we will something enlarge our selves, to give posterity His true Character; never meeting more virtues in so few years. For His Birth, there goeth a constant tradition, that Caesar-like, He was cut out of the belly of His Mother, Jane Seymour: though a great person of Honour, (deriving her Intelligence mediately from such as were present at Her Labour) assured me of the contrary. Indeed, such as shall read the calm, and serene style of that Letter, which I have seen written, (though not by) for that Queen, and signed with Her own Signer after Her delivery, cannot conjecture thence, that any such violence was offered unto Her. But see the Letter.

Right trusty and welbekovd, We greet you well; and forasmuch as by the inestimable goodnesse, and grace of Almighty God, We be delivered and brought in Childe-bed of a PRINCE, conceived in most lawfull Matrimony, between my Lord the Kings Majestie, and Us. Doubting not, but that for the love and affection which you bear unto Us, and to the Common-wealth of this Realm, this knowledge shall be joyous, and glad tidings unto you: We have thought good to certifie you of this same: For the intent ye might not onely render unto God condigne thanks and praise for so great a benefice, but also continually pray for the long continuance, and preservation of the same here in this life,

(ggg3)

Forty two Ar-  
ticles of Reli-  
gion, and the  
Kings Cate-  
chisme.

\* A pio gadem  
& erudite viro  
conf. 1552, in  
the Kings Pa-  
tent.  
Consented, and  
not consented to  
by the Con-  
vocation.

\* See more  
thereof in the  
next year.

The death of  
K. Edward the  
sixth, who was  
not cut out of  
His Mothers  
belly, as is com-  
monly repor-  
ted.

Queen Marys  
Letter after  
Her Delivery  
to the Lords  
of the Coun-  
cill.

life, to the honour of God, joy, and pleasure of my Lord the KING and Us, and the univerſall weal, quiet, and tranquility of this whole Realm.

¶ Given under our Signet at my Lords Manour of Hampton Court, the 22 day of October.

And although this Letter was soon after seconded with another of a sadder subject, here inserted, subscribed by all the Kings Physicians; yet neither doth that so much as insinuate any impression of violence on Her person, as hastening Her death, but seems rather to cast the cause thereof on some other distemper.

These shall be to advise your Lordships of the Queens estate: Yesterday afternoon She had a natural Lax by reason whereof She began to lighten, and (as is appeared) to amend, and so continued till towards night. All this night She hath been very sick, and doth rather appeare, than amend. Her Conſeſſour hath been with Her Grace this morning, and hath done that to his office appertaineth, and even now is preparing to minister to Her Grace the Sacrament of Unction.

¶ At Hampton Court this Wednesday morning at eight a clock.

Your Lordships at Commandement,

Thomas Cutland. John Chambers, Priest.  
Robert Karhold. William Butts.  
Edward Bayntam. George Owen.

Impute we here this Extreme Unction administered to Her, partly to the over-officiousness of some superstitious Priest, partly, to the good Ladies inability; perchance insensible what was done unto her, in such extremity: otherwise we are confident, that Her judgment, when in strength, and health, disliked such practices, being a zealous Protestant. Which Unction did her as little good, as the twelve Masses said for Her soul in the City of London, at the Commandement of the Duke of Norfolk; whether he did it to credit their Religion with the countenance of so great a Convert; or did it out of the Nimicry of his own Love and Loyalty to the Queen, expressing it according to his own judgment, without the consent, (if not against the will) of the Queens nearest kindred.

1. But leaving the Mother, let us come to the Son, who, as he saith of himself in the Manuscript of His Life, was for the first six years bred and brought up amongst the Women; and then consigned to masculine Tuition under Doctor Richard Cox, and Sir John Cheeke, who taught Him Latine; and John Belmain, who instructed Him in the French Tongue. How great and sudden His proficiency in Learning was, will appear by this Letter; written with His own hand to His Father, when about eight years old. And although some may cavill this Letter not to be the Princes, but Cheeke's or Cox's in the Prince, yet the very matter and style will attest it the genuine Issue of His infant Genius.

Literæ

Literæ meæ semper habent unum Argumentum, Rex Nobilissime, atq; Pater Illustrissime, id est, in omnibus Epistolis ago tibi gratias pro beneficentia tua erga me maxima; si enim sapius multo ad te literas exararem, nullo tamen quidem modo potui pervenire officio literarum ad magnitudinem benignitatis tuæ erga me. Quis enim potuit compensare beneficia tua erga me? Nimirum nullus qui non est tam magnus Rex ac nobilis Princeps, ac tu es, cuiusmodi ego non sum. Quam obrem Pietas tua in me, multo gravior est mihi, quod facis mihi, quæ nullo modo compensare possim, sed tamen admitar, & faciam quod in me est, ut placeam Majestati, atque præcabor Deum, ut diu te servet incolumem. Vale Rex Nobilissime atque Pater Illustrissime.

Hatfeldiæ,  
vicesimo septimo  
Septemb:

Majestati tuæ  
observantissimus Filius,  
EDWARDUS Princeps.

With the increase of His Age, His Writing was improved, both in the Letter, Matter, and Phrase thereof, as appeareth by what He wrote in Latine some months after, to His Mother-in-Law, Queen Katherine Parke, in thankfulness for the New yeares gift (the Kings and Her own Picture) She had sent unto Him; One may charitably believe that so Learned a Lady, understood the Letter without an Interpreter; but sure it is, She communicated the same to the King, who joyfully accepted thereof.

Another to  
Qu. Katherine  
Parke.

Quod non ad te jamdiu scripserim Regina Illustrissima, atque Mater charissima, in causa fuit, non negligentia, sed studium.

4 In Sir Tho.  
Cotton's Librar-  
y, whence I  
transcribed it.

Non enim hoc feci, ut nunquam omnino scriberem, sed ut accuratius scriberem. Quare spero te futuram contentam & gavisuram, quod non scripserim. Tu enim velles me proficere in omni honestate & Pietate, quod est signum insignis & diuturni tui Amoris erga me, atque hunc amorem multis beneficiis mihi declarasti, & præcipue hac strenua, quam proximè ad me misisti, in qua Regiæ Majestatis, & tuæ effigies ad vivum expressa continetur. Nam plurimum me delectat vestras Imagines Abscentium contemplari, quos lubentis-  
sime

Ann.  
Dom.  
1553.

Ann.  
Reg.  
Ed. 6.  
7.

4 Extant in  
Sir Tho. Cotton  
Library, sub  
Ner. esp. 10.

5 Extant, ibid.

A sadder Let-  
ter: of Her  
Physicians un-  
to them.

Prince Edw.  
towardsness  
in learning.

*finè videre cupio presentes, ac quibus maximè tum-  
Naturâ, tum Officio devinctus sum. Quamobrem ma-  
jores tibi gratias ago, ob hanc strenam, quam si mississes  
ad me preciosas vestes, & Aurum celatum, aut quidvis  
aliud Eximium. Deus tuam Celsitudinem, quam me  
brevis visurum spero, servet incolumem.*

Hartfordiæ,  
decimo Januarii.

Filius Celsitudini tuæ  
obsequentissimus,  
EDVARDUS Princeps.

Now our hand is in, but one Letter more (but in date some moneths before the last) to His Uncle, Earl of *Hartford*, and we have done. For if Papists superstitiously preserve the Fingers, Teeth, yea Locks of Haire of their pretended Saints; wonder not if I prize the smallest Reliques of this gracious Prince, never as yet presented to publique view.

**N**atura movet me ut recorder tui Avuncule Charissime, etsi negotia tua impediunt te ne videas me, ideo de literas ad te, quæ literæ forent testimonium Recordationis meæ, quam habeo de te. Quod si haberem ullum melius monumentum Benevolentia meæ erga te, quam literæ sunt, illud ad te mitterem. Puto autem te accepturum literas meas bene non pro bonitate literarum, sed pro Benevolentia scriptoris. Et tu non eris adeo letus in accipiendis literis à me, ut ego gaudebo, si intellexero te in bonam partem accepisse illas, quod puto te facturum. Optimè valeas in Christo Jesu.

Hunsdoniæ,  
octavo Novemb:

E. Princeps.

Such was the Piety of this young Prince, that being about to take down something, which was above his reach, one of His *Play-fellows* proffered Him a booted-plated *Bible* to stand upon, and heighen Him to take what He desired. Perceiving it a *Bible*, with holy Indignation, He refused it, and sharply reproved the Offerer thereof; it being unfit, He should trample that under His feet, which He was to treasure up in His head and heart. How many now adaies, unable in themselves to archieve their own wicked ends, make Gods Word their *Pedestall*, that standing thereon, they may be (not the *bolier*, but) the *higher*, and the better advantaged, by abusing a piety, to attain their own designs.

13. When Crowned King, His goodness increased with His greatness, constant in His private devotions, and as successful, as fervent therein, witness this particular: Sir *John Cheeke*, His School-Master, fell desperately sick; of whose condition

A Letter to the  
Earle of Hart-  
ford.

An instance  
of His piety.

And an extra-  
ordinary one  
of the preva-  
lency of His  
Prayer.

Ann.  
Dom.  
1552.

Ann.  
Reg.  
Edu. 6.  
7.

tion the King carefully enquired every day: At last his Physicians told Him, That there was no hope of his life, being given over by them for a dead man. No, saith King Edward, he will not die at this time, for this morning I begged his life from God in my Prayers, and obtained it: which accordingly came to passe; and he soon after, against all expectation, wonderfully recovered. This was attested by the old Earle of *Huntingdon*, bred up in his Childhood with King Edward, unto Sir *Thomas Cheeke*, still surviving about 80 years of age.

14. He kept an exact Account, written with His own hand. (and that a very Legible one) of all Memorable accidents, with the accurate Date thereof. No high Honour was conferred, Bishoprick bestowed, State Office disposed of, no old Fort repaired, no new one erected, no Bullion brought in, no great Summes sent forth of the Land, no Ambassadors dispatched hence, none entertained here: in a word, no matter of moment transacted, but by Him, with His own hand it was recorded: Whose Notes herein, though very particular, are nothing triviall, though short, not obscure, as formerly we have made use of some of those which concern our History.

15. Whilst in health, His body was no lesse active in exercise, than His minde quick in apprehension. To give one Instance of both together. One day being shooting at *Butts*, (a manfull, and healthfull Pastime, wherein He very much delighted) He hit the very mark. The Duke of *Northumberland*, being present, (and, as I take it, betting on His Side) Well shot my Liege, quoth he. But you shot never the mark, (returned the King) when you shot off my good Uncle *Somersets* head. And it is generally conceived that grief for his death caused K. Edwards Consumption, who succeeded not to any Consumptive Inclination, as hereditary from His Extraction, from a Father but little past, and a Mother just in the strength of their Age.

16. However, I finde in a \* *Papish Writer*, that it was said, That the Apothecary who poisoned him, (for the horror of the offence, and the disquietness of his conscience) drowned himself. And that the Landress who washed his shirt, lost the skin off her fingers. But if his History be no better than his Divinity, we that justly condemn the one, can doe no lesse than suspect the other.

17. We will conclude this Kings most Pious life with that His most devout Prayer on His Death-Bed, which God heard and graciously answered, for the good of the Church of England.

**L**ord God, deliver Me out of this miserable, and wretched life, and take Me among thy chosen. Howbeit, not my will, but thy will be done. Lord, I commit my spirit to thee. O Lord, thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee; yet for thy choosens sake send me life and health, that I may truly serve thee. Oh my Lord God, blesse thy people, and save thine inheritance. Oh Lord God, save thy chosen People of England. Oh my Lord God, defend this Realm from Papistry, and maintain thy true Religion, that I and my People may praise thy holy Name, for Jesus Christs sake.

His exact  
Diary.

His good At-  
tency and  
quick wit.

An uncertain  
report.  
\* Image of  
both Churches,  
page 423.

The Prayer of  
K. Edward on  
his death-bed.

d Fox A. 2. &  
Mon. p. 13. 5.

[h h h]

17. One

Opposers of  
the Liturgie  
now strong.  
\* *Enimvero*  
Se mens,  
printed An-  
no 1607.  
pag. 81.

17. One of the last Sermons King Edward heard, was preached before Him by *Hugh Latimer*, at what time their party began to spread and increase, who opposed the *Liturgie*, witnesseth this passage in his Sermon: \* *I have heard say, when that the good Queen that is gone, had ordained in her House daily Prayer, both before Noon, and after Noon; the Admirall getteth him out of the way, like a Mole digging in the earth. He shall be Lots Wife to me as long as I live. He was, I heard say, a Covetous man, a covetous man indeed: I would there were no more in England. He was, I heard say, an Ambitious man: I would there were no more in England. He was, I heard say, a Seditious man, a Contemner of Common-Prayer: I would there were no more in England. Well! he is gone, I would he had left none behinde him. A passage so informative to the Church History of that Age, must not passe without some observation thereon.*

*The good Queen is gone:* ] this was Queen *Katharine Par*, (the Relict of King *Henry the eighth*: who some two years since died in Child-bed.

*The Admirall:* ] This was *Thomas Lord Seymour* her Husband.

*Getteth himself out of the way:* ] Here is the question, on what terms he absented himself, whether on

Popish,

or

Non-Conformist.

In proof whereof he is compared to *Lots Wife*, which importeth a looking back, and reflexion on former practice.

Being termed herein *Seditious*, and not *Superstitious*; it intimates, that a factious Principle made him distrust the Common-Prayer.

*A Contemner of the Common Prayer, I wish there were no more:* ] This probably relates unto a potent Party dissatisfied to the *Liturgie*, which now began to be very considerable in *England*, but (if the premises be rightly collected) much too blame in the judgment of godly Master *Latimer*.

18. The *disturbers of the Liturgie*, bare themselves high upon the judgment of Master *Calvin*, in his Letter (four years since) to the Duke of *Somerfet* Lord Protector, now no longer a *privacie*, because publicly printed in his *Epistles*.

And yet Master *Calvin* is therein very positive for a set *Forme*, whose words deserve our Translation and observation.

\* *Formulam precum, & rituum Ecclesiasticorum valde probamus, ut certa illa extet.*

*A quâ ne Pastoribus discedere in functione sua liceat.*

1. *Ut consilium quorundam simplicitati & imperitiâ.*

2. *Ut certius constet omnium inter se Ecclesiarum consensus.*

3. *Ut obviam incurrat defultoria quorundam levitati, qui novationes quasdam affectant.*

*Sic igitur, statum esse Catechismum oportet, statum Sacramentorum administrationem, publicam item precum formulam.*

*I doe highly approve that there should be a certain Form of Prayer and Ecclesiasticall Rites.*

*From which it should not be lawfull for the Pastors themselves to discede.*

1. *That provision may be made for some peoples ignorance and unskillfulness.*

2. *That the consent of all Churches amongst themselves may the more plainly appear.*

3. *That order may be taken against the defultorie levity of such who delight in innovations.*

*Thus there ought to be an established Catechisme, an established Administration of Sacraments, as also a publick Form of Prayer.*

So

Ann.  
Dom.  
1553.

Ann.  
Reg.  
Ed. 6.  
7.

So that it seems not a *Form*, but *this Form* of Prayer did displease, and exceptions were taken at certain passages still in the *Liturgie*, though lately reviewed by the *Bishops*, and corrected.

19. Whilst mutuall animosities were heightened betwixt the *Opposers* and *Assertors* of the *Liturgie*, Providence put a period for a time to that Controversie in *England*. Such who formerly would not, soon after durst not use the *Common Prayer*, *Mass* and *Papery* being set up by Queen *Mary* in the room thereof. Thus when *Children fall out and fight* about the *candle*, the *Parents* coming in and taking it away, leave them to decide the differences in the *dark*.

Watson fore-  
wardeth this just  
ly punished

*The end of the Reign of King EDWARD the sixth.*



THE  
Church-History  
OF  
BRITAIN.

The Eighth Book.

CONTAINING THE PERSECUTIONS  
Under the Reign of  
QUEEN MARY.



LONDON,  
Printed in the Year, M. DC. LV.

*Punishment for their going naked; that what sometimes they affect of Fancy, should alwayes be enjoyned them by Authority; till the Cold converted them into more Civility.*

*In vain do they plead for their Practise, the Precedent of the Prophet \* Isaiah, going naked for three years, whose act was extraordinary and mystical, having an immediate command from God for the same. As well may they in Imitation of \* Hosea, take a known harlot to their wives, which I beleieve they would not willingly do, though they have made Harlots of other mens wives, if all be true reported of them.*

*Their other Opinion is, that THOU and THEE is the Omer of Respect to be measur'd out to every single person; (allowing the hiest no more, the lowest no less) be he (to speak in their own \* Phrase) either King, Lord, Judge, or Officer.*

*We will take their words asunder (as the wheels of a watch) only scowre them, and then put them together again.*

*King) though none at this present in the Land, yet because these pretend to a Prophetical spirit, and there may be one in due time, their words are considerable.*

*Lord) here your Honour with those many persons your Peers are concerned.*

*Judge) in this place the shoove pinches them, because they \* bear the Sword to punish Offendors.*

*Officers) I suppose either Civil or Military, if they allow of the distinction.*

*No mention here of Ministers: It seems THOU and THEE, is too good language for us; who are Cains, and Baalaams, and Dogs, and Devils in their mouths. The best is, the sharpest railing cannot pierce, where Guiltiness in the*

\* Isaiah 20. 3.

\* Hosea 1. 2.

\* Pamphlet called the Language of truth. pag. 7.

\* Rom. 13. 4.

*the person railed on, hath not first wimbled an hole for the entrance thereof.*

*Their Principall Argument for their Practise, is drawn from many places in \* Scripture, where THOU and THEE are used by God to Man, and Man to God; and Man to Man, which cannot be deny'd.*

*In Opposition whereunto we maintain, that THOU from Superiors to Inferiors is proper, as a Signe of Command; from equals to equals is passable, as a note of Familiarity; but from Inferiors to Superiors, if proceeding from Ignorance hath a smack of Clownishness, if from Affectation, a tang of Contempt.*

*But in answer to their Objection from Scripture, we return foure things.*

*First, THOU is not so distastful a term in Hebrew and Greek, as it is in the English, custom of every Country being the grand Matter of Language to appoint what is honourable, and disgraceful therein. The Jews had their \* Racha or terme of contempt unknown to us; we, our THOU, a signe of slighting unused by them.*

*Secondly, It followeth not, because THOU and THEE only are set down, that therefore no other Additions of Honour were then and there given from Inferiors to their Superiors. A negative Argument cannot be framed in this Case, that more respect was not used, because no more exprest in Scripture; it being the designe of Histories, chiefly to represent the substance of deeds, not all verbal Formalities.*

*Thirdly, what Inferiors in Scripture wanted in words, they supplied in Postures and Gestures of Submission; even to \* Prostration of their bodies, which would be condemned for Idolatry, if used in England.*

*Lastly, There are extant in Scripture, expressions of respect, as when Sarah termed her Husband Lord, which (though but \* once mentioned in the text) was no doubt*

\* Exod. 22. 12. five times in one verse.

\* Math. 5. 22.

\* Gen. 33. 3.  
1 King. 1. 16.  
& 23. as also  
1 King. 18. 27.

\* 1 Pet. 3. 6.

doubt her constant Practise, or else the holy Spirit would not have took such notice thereof, and commended it to others imitation.

\* Said or sung after the Communion.

But they follow their Argument, urging it unreasonable, that any should refuse that Coine in common discourse, which they in their solemn Devotions pay to God himself. THOU and THEE are Currant in the Prayers of Saints clean thorough the Scripture, as also in our (late admired) Liturgy, we Praise THEE, we Bless THEE, we Worship THEE, we Glorifie THEE, we give THEE Thanks for THY great Glory.

It is answered; those Attributes of Greatness, Goodness, &c. given to God in the Beginning of every Prayer do Virtually and Effectually extend and apply themselves to every Clause therein, though for Brevities sake not actually repeated.

Thus OUR FATHER in the Preface of the Lords Prayer, relateth to every Petition therein; OUR FATHER hallowed be thy Name; OUR FATHER thy Kingdom come; OUR FATHER thy will be done &c. And this qualifyeth the harshness and rudeness of THOU, THEE and THY, when for expedition and expressiveness sake they are necessarily used.

Your Honour will not wonder at the Practise of these QUAKERS, having read in the Prophetical Epistles of \* S. Peter, and \* S. Jude (last placed, because last to be performed) that towards the end of the world some shall NOT BE AFRAID to speak evil of Dignities. These Feare, where no feare is, and QUAKE where they need not; but feare not, where feare is; being bold and impudent where they ought not. They are NOT AFRAID, not only to speak against Dignities (which in some case may be done, where they are Vitious men) but against Dignities, the lawful, useful, needful, Ordinances of God himself.

God

God grant these may seasonably be suppressed, before they grow too numerous otherwise such who now quarell at the Honour, will hereafter question the weakh of others. Such as now accuse them for Ambition for being higher, will hereafter condemne them for Covetousness, for being broader then others; yea and produce Scripture too, proper and pregnant enough for their purpose, as abused by their Interpretation. In a word, it is suspicious such as now introduce THOU and THEE, will (if they can) expel MINE and THINE, dissolving all propriety into confusion.

And now, my Lord, how silly a thing is that Honour, which lies at the mercy of such mens mouths, to tender or deny the same. The best is Mens Statures are not extended or contracted, with their shadows; so as to be stretched out into Giants in the morning; shrunk up into Dwarves at Noone, and stretch'd out at Night into Giants again. Intrinsicall worth doth not increase and abate; Wax and Waine, Ebb and Flow, according to the Fancy of others. May your Lordship therefore labour for that true Honour, which consisteth in Vertue and Gods Approbation thereof; which will last and remain how furiously soever the wicked rage, and imagine vain things against it.

Here I presume, to present your Honour the Lives and Deaths of some worthies, contrary to those QUAKERS in their Practise, and Opinion; I mean the Martyrs in the Reign of Queen Mary. These despised not their Superiors, giving due Reverence to those who condemned them, honouring lawfull Authority, though unlawfully used: These cast not off their Cloaths, but modestly wore their Linnen on them at their Suffering. These counterfeited no Corporall QUAKING, (standing as firme as the stake they were fastned to:) though in a Spirituall sense working out their salvation with Feare

Feare and Trembling: *Whose* admirable Piety and  
Patience is here recommended unto your Lordships con-  
sideration; by

Your humble Servant to be com-  
manded in all Christian Offices,

THOMAS FULLER.

Anno  
Regin.  
Mar.  
1.  
Anno  
Dom.  
1553



THE  
CHVRCH-HISTORY  
OF  
BRITAINNE.

CEN T. XVI.



1. King Edward, tender in years, and weak with  
sicknesse, was so practiced on by the impor-  
tunitie of others, that, excluding His two  
Sisters, he conveyed the Crown to the Ladie  
Jane His Kinswoman, by that which we may  
well call the *Testament of King Edward*, and  
the *Will of the Duke of Northumberland*.  
Thus, through the pious intents of this Prince,  
wishing well to the *Reformation*; the Religi-  
on of Queen *Murie*, obnoxious to excepti-  
on; the ambition of *Northumberland*, who  
would do what he listed; the simplicity of

*Suffolke*, who would be done with as the other pleased; the dutifulnesse of  
the Ladie *Jane*, disposed by her Parents; the fearfulnessse of the Judges,  
not daring to oppose; and the flattery of the Courtiers, most willing to  
comply, matters were made as sure, as mans policy can make that good  
which is bad in it self. But the *Commons* of England who for many yeers  
together had connd loyalty by-heart, out of the *Statute of Succession*, were  
so perfect in their lesson, that they would not be put out of it by this new  
started designe: so that every one proclaimed *Mary* next Heir in their con-  
sciences: and, few daies after King *Edwards* death, all the project miscarried:  
the plotters whercof some executed, more imprisoned, most pardoned,  
all conquered, and Queen *Mary* crowned. Thus, though the streame of Loy-  
alty for a while was violently diverted, (to runne in a wrong channell,) yet  
with the speediest opportunite it recovered the right course again.

2. But now in what manner this *Will of King Edwards* was advanced, that  
the greatest blame may be laid on them who had the deepest guilt, the following  
answer of *Sr. Edward Mountagu*, Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas (accused  
for drawing up the *Will*, and committed by Queen *Mary* to prison for the same)  
will truly acquaint us. The original whereof under his own hand, was com-  
municated unto me, by his great grandchild, *Edward Lord Mountagu of Seab-  
ton*, and here faithfully exemplified;

A a

Sr. Edward

Queen Mary  
in despite of  
the Duke of  
Northumber-  
land's opposi-  
tion, crowned.

The truth of  
the carriage  
of Sr. Edward  
Mountagu in  
his drawing  
up the *Will*  
of King *Edw.*  
the sixth.



SR. Edward Mountagu, Knight, late Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas, received a letter from Greenwich, dated the eleventh day of June last past, signed with the hands of the Lord Treasurer, the Duke of Northumberland; John Earl of Bedford, Francis Earl of Shrewsburie, the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Clynton, the Lord Darcy, John Gate, William Peter, William Cecil, John Cheke: whereby he was commanded to be at the Court on the morrow by one of the clock at after-noon, and to bring with him Sr. John Baker, Justice Bromley, the Attorney, and Solicitor General, and according to the same, all they were there at the said hour of one of the clock. And, after they were brought to the presence of the King, the Lord Treasurer the Marquisse of Northampton, Sr. John Gate, and one or two more of the Council, whose names he doth not now remember, were present.

And then and there the King by His own mouth said, that now in His sickness he had considered the state of this His Realm and Succession, which, if He should decease without Heir of His body, should go to the Lady Mary, who was unmarried, and might marry a stranger-borne, whereby the Law of this Realm might be altered and changed, and His Highness's proceedings in Religion might be altered. Wherefore His pleasure was, that the state of the Crown should go in such forme, and to such persons as His Highness had appointed in a Bill of Articles not signed with the Kings hand, which were read, & commanded them to make a Book thereof accordingly with speed. And they, finding divers faults not only for the incertainty of the Articles, but also declaring unto the King, that it was directly against the Act of Succession, which was an Act of Parliament which would not be taken away by no such devise. Notwithstanding His Highness would not otherwise, but that they should draw a Book according to the said Articles, which he then took them, and they required a reasonable time of His Highness for the doing thereof, and to consider the Laws and Statutes made for the Succession, which indeed were and be more dangerous then any of them, they did consider and remember, and so they departed commanding them to make speed.

And on the morrow all the said persons met, and, perusing the said Statutes there grew this question amongst them, whether it were presently treason by the words of the Statute of Anno primo Edwardi Sexti, or no treason till it were put in execution after the Kings death? because the words of the Statute are, the King His Heirs and Successors, because the King can have no Successors in His life; but to be sure they were all agreed that it were the best and surer way to say to the Lords, that the execution of this devise after the Kings decease was not only treason, but the making of this devise was also presently treason, as well in the whole Council as in them, and so agreed to make their report without doing any thing for the execution thereof.

And after Sr. William Peter sent for the said Sr. Edward to Eely-place, who shewed him that the Lords required great speed in the making of the said Book, and he told him, there were none like to be made for them for the danger aforesaid. And after that, the said Sr. Edward, with the rest of his company, went to the Court, and before all the Council, (the Duke of Northumberland being not in the Council-chamber) made report to the Lords, that they had considered the Kings Articles, and also the Statutes of Succession, whereby it appeared manifestly, that if they should make any Book according to the Kings commandment, they should not only be in danger of treason, but also their Lordships all, wherefore they thought it their bounden duties to declare the danger of the Laws unto them, and for avoiding of the danger thereof they had nothing done therein, nor intended to do, the Laws being so dangerous and standing in force.

The Duke of Northumberland, having intelligence of their answer, either

Anno Dom. 1553  
Anno Regni Mar. 1.

Anno Regni Mar. 1.  
Anno Dom. 1553

either by the Earle of Huntington, or by the Lord Admiral, cometh into the Council-Chamber before all the Council there, being in a great rage and fury, trembling for anger, and amongst his ragious talk called the said Sr. Edward Traitor; and further said, that he would fight in his shirt with any man in that gurrell (as all the whole Council being there will report) whereby the said Sr. Edward, with the rest were in great fear and dread, in special Mr. Bromley, and the said Sr. Edward, for Mr. Bromley told the said Sr. Edward after, that he dread then that the Duke would have striken one of them: and after they were commanded to go home, and so departed in great fear, without doing any thing more at that time, wishing of God they had stood to it, as they did then, unto this time.

And after the said Sr. Edward received another letter dated at Greenwich the 14<sup>th</sup> of June last past, signed with the hands of the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Bedford, the Marquisse of Northampton, the Earle of Shrewsburie, the Lord Clynton, the Lord Cobham, the Lord Darcy, William Peter, John Gate, John Cheeke, whereby he was commanded to bring with him Sr. John Baker, Justice Bromley and Mr. Golsolde, and to be at the Court on the morrow by one of the clock at after-noon, where all they were at the same houre, and conveyed into a chamber behinde the Dining-Chamber there, and all the Lords looked upon them with earnest countenance, as though they had not known them. So that the said Sr. Edward, with the other, might perceive there were some earnest determination against them: and at length they were brought before the King Himself, there being present all the whole Council.

And the King demanded of them why they had not made His Book, according to His commandment, and refused that to do? with sharp words and angry countenance; and the said Sr. Edward opened unto His Highness the cause why they did it not; and he and other had before declared and opened to the Council, that if the writings were made, they were of no effect nor force, but utterly void when the King should decease, and the Statute of Succession not impaired nor hurt, for these will not be taken away, but by the same authority they were made, and that was by Parliament. To that said the King we minde to have a Parliament shortly, not telling when, which was the first time that the said Sr. Edward heard of any Parliament to be had. Whereunto he said, if His pleasure were so, all might be deferred to the Parliament, and all dangers and perils saved, whereunto the King said he would have this done, and after ratified it by Parliament. And after commanded them very sharply upon their allegiance to make it; and there were divers of the Lords, that stood behind the said Sr. Edward, said, and if they refused to do that, they were Traitors. And the said Sr. Edward was in great fear as ever he was in all his life before, seeing the King so earnest and shap, and the said Duke so angry the day before, who ruled the whole Council as it pleased him, and were all afraid of him (the more is the pity) so that such cowardness and feare was there never seen amongst honourable men, as it hath appeared.

The said Sr. Edward, being an old weak man and without comfort, began to consider with himself, what was best to be done for the safeguard of his life, which was like to chance in that fury and great anger presently. And, remembering that the making of the said writing was not presently treason by the Statute of Anno primo, because this word Successor would take no place while the King was living, and determined with himself not to meddle nor execute any thing concerning the same, after the death of the King, which he hath truly kept herunto. And also remembering that the Queens Highness that now is should come by Act of Succession, as a purchaser by the law, might not lawfully punish treason or contempt committed in the Kings life, he said unto the King, that he had served His most noble Father many yeers, and also His Highness during His

A a a 2

time,

time, and loth he would be to disobey His commandment; for his own part he would obey it, so that His Highness would grant to them His commandment, license and commission under His great Seal, for the doing, making, and executing of all things concerning the same, and, when the things were done, that they might have a general pardon. All which Commission and pardon was as much as the said Sr. Edward could invent to help this danger over, and besides the things above remembered, which Commission and pardon the King granted them, saying, it was but reason that they should have them both, and the Commission is passed the Great Seal, and the Pardon was signed, and (as far as he knew) sealed.

All the said matters considered, the said Sr. Edward said, for his part he would obey the Kings commandment, and so did M. Bromley say the same; and the King said to Sr. John Baker, what say you? you said never a word to day; who (as I take it) agreed to the same. Mr. Golsford required a respite, for he was not yet persuaded to do the thing required. How the said Duke and the Earl of Shrewsbury handled him, he can tell best himself. And after upon the said Sr. Edwards motion the King gave him licence to be advised until upon the morrow, who of himself being in great fear was content to obey the Kings commandment; and so the doers and makers of the said Book, with sorrowfull hearts, and with weeping eyes, in great fear and dread devised the said Book, according to such Articles as were signed with the Kings proper hand, above and beneath, and on every side. And their said Commission, with Articles so signed with the Kings hand, and the Book drawn in paper, were conveyed from the Court to the Lord Chancellors, to be ingrossed in parchment and to pass the great Seal, which was done accordingly.

And on the morrow next after the last Terme ended, the said Sr. Edward and all the Judges were sent for; he puts his hand to the Book in parchment sealed with the Great Seal, and so did many others. The said Book of Articles so signed remaineth with the Lord Chancellor, Bishop of Ely; but, who conveyed the said Paper Book into the Chancery, or who wrote them, or who set their hands to the same Book, the said Sr. Edward till he see them he cannot tell: but he will not deny but he was privie to the making of them, as he hath before said: and that he came to the knowledge of the matter by the Articles unsigned, and by the Articles signed, with the Kings hand, and both delivered unto him by the Kings own hands. Who put the King in minde to make the said Articles; or who wrote them; or any of them; or by whose procurement or counsell they were made; or by what means he and others were called unto this matter: he knoweth not, but he thinks in his conscience the King never invented this matter of Himself, but by some wonderfull false compasse: he prayeth God the truth may be known, as he doubts not it will be.

And further, he and all his company, as well before the King as before the Lords at all times, said, that their writings (before they were made, and after they were made) were of no value, force, nor effect, to any intent, constitution, or purpose, after the Kings death, and there is no remedy to help this but by Parliament. And that after the said Thursday, being the morrow after the Terme last past, that be by any writings, printing, overt, deed or act, never did anything thence the same day, in the Kings life, ne thence the death of the King, for he determined with himself to be no executor of the said devise, whatsoever should chance of it: nor ever meddled with the Council in any thing, nor came amongst them, until the Queens Grace that now is, was proclaimed Queen in London, nor never executed Commission, Proclamation, or other commandment from the Ladie Jane nor Her Council, but commanded my son to serve the Queens Grace that now is, and to go to Sr. Thomas Tresham, and Buckingham-

Anno  
Dom.  
1553  
Anno  
Regni  
Mar.  
1.

Buckingham-shire-men that went to her Grace to defend Her, which he so did to my no little cost.

The case thus stated, these notes follow written with the same hand.

Now that it is to be considered the great fear the said Sr. Edward was in, as well by the Duke of Northumberland on the one day, as by the King on the other day.

Also it is to be considered the Kings commandment upon their allegiance, by His own mouth, and the Articles signed with His Highness own hand, and also His Commission, license, and commandment under His Great Seal to the said Sr. Edward and others, for the making of the said Booke.

Also the Kings pardon signed with His Highness hand.

Also it is to be considered, that the said Booke was made in the Kings life, seven or eight dayes before His death: and the Queens Highness being Successour, by Act of Parliament, to the Crown, and having the same, as a Purveyor, may not lawfully by the Laws of the Realme punish the said offence done in the Kings time.

Also the said Sr. Edward hath humbly submitted himself to the Queen Highness, and to the order of the Commissioners: Which Commissioners have ordered the said Sr. Edward to pay to Her Highness a thousand pounds, who hath already paid thereof five hundred pounds, and the other five hundred pounds are to be paid at the Feast of All-Saints come Twelve-moneth. And also to surrender his letters Patent of lands to the yearly value of fifty pounds called Eltyngton, which he had of the gift of King Edward the Sixth, which was all the reward he had of the said King Edward for his service, costs and expences.

Also, it is to be considered, that the said Sr. Edward is put from his office of the Chief Justice-ship of the Common-Pleas, being of the yearly value of six hundred marks, which office the most noble King of famous memory King Henry the Eighth gave him in consideration of his long service, and also had six weeks imprisonment.

Also it is to be considered, that the same Sr. Edward hath seventeen children, viz. eleven Daughters, and six Sons: whereof one of the said Sons had his legge stricken off by the knee in Scotland at Muckleborough-field, the Duke of Sommerlet being there. And his Son and Heire, by his commandment, served the Queens Highness with twenty men, to the cost of the said Sr. Edward of one hundred pounds, as the Gentlemen of Buckingham-shire can report.

So far the late Judge with his own hand: Wherein he affirmeth that he meddled not with the Council in any thing afterward, as may appear by his not subscribing the letter of the Lords to Queen Mary (enjoyning, shall I say? or) advising Her to desist from claiming the Crown, whereto all the Privie<sup>\*</sup> Councilours subscribed, only the hand of Sr. Edward Mountagu is wanting. And, seeing in the whole transaction of this matter, the obedience rather then invention of Judge Mountagu was required, not to devise, but draw things up according to Articles tendered unto him, I cannot believe his<sup>\*</sup> report relating that the King used the advice of Justice Mountagu in drawing up the Letters Patents, to furnish the same with reasons of Law, as Secretary Cical with arguments from Politie.

A a 3

Some

\* See them  
exant in Mr.  
Fox. Act. &  
Mon. Anno  
1553.

\* Sr. John  
Heywood: in  
his Edward 5

Sr. R. Chalmley comes off with loss.

\* See Sr. H. Spelman, Gratulatio in p. 417. Sr. James Hales his honesty.

Confess he-twixt two Religions  
a Nch 13. 24.

Mr. Jewell pens the first Congratulatory letter to the Queen.

3. Some will wonder that no mention herein of *Sr. Roger Chalmley*, Lord Chief Justice of the *Kings Bench*, and in dignity above *Sr. Edward Mountagu* (at this time but Judge of the *Common-Pleas*;) that he was not employed to draw up the Book. But it seems Judge *Mountagu* his judgement was more relied on, who had been formerly Lord Chief Justice of the *Kings Bench*, and deserted it. Yet the said *Sr. Roger Chalmley* was imprisoned for bare subscribing this Will, and (as it seems) lost his place for the same. For Justice *Bremley*, though equally guilty with the rest (so far favour extends in matters of this nature) was not only pardoned, but from an inferior Judge, \* advanced to be succellour to *Sr. Roger Chalmley*, and made Judge of the *Kings Bench*.

4. Whereas *Sr. Edward* saith that all the Judges were sent for and that many put their hands to the Book, it intimated that all did not but that some refused the same, it being eminently known to the everlasting honour of *Sr. James Hales* that no importunity could prevail with him to underwrite this will as against both law and conscience.

5. Eight weeks and upwards passed between the proclaiming of *Mary Queen*, and the *Parliament* by her assembled: during which time two religions were together set on foot, *Protestantisme* and *Poperie*, the former hoping to be continued, the later labouring to be restored, And as the *Jews Children* \* after the captivity spake a middle language betwixt *Hebrew* and *Araba*, so during the aforesaid interim the *Chuch* and *Chapels* in *England* had mongrell celebration of their *Divine Services* betwixt *Reformation* and *Superstition*. For the *Obsequies* for King *Edward* were held by the *Queen* in the *Tower August* the seventh, with the *Dirge* sung in *Latin*, and on the morrow a *masse of Requiem*, and on the same day his *Corps* were buried at *Westminster* with a *sermon* service, and *Communion* in *English*. No small juggling was there betwixt the zealous *Promoters* of these contrary *Religions*. The *Protestants* had possession on their side, and the *Protection* of the *Laws* lately made by King *Edward* and still standing in free and full force unrepealed. Besides, seeing by the fidelity of the *Suffolk* and *Norfolk* Protestant Gentry, the *Queen* was much advantaged for the speedy recovering of her *Right*, they conceived it but reason, that as she by them had regained the *Crown*, so they under her should enjoy their *Consciences*. The *Papists* put their *Ceremonies* in Execution, presuming on the *Queen* her private practice and publique countenance, especially after she had imprisoned some *Protestants*, and enlarged some *Papish Bishops*: advancing *Stephen Gardiner* to be Lord *Chancelour*. Many which were *Newters* before conceiving which side the *Queen* inclined would not expect, but prevent her authority in Alteration: So that *Superstition* generally got ground in the *Kingdome*. Thus it is in the *Evening* *Twilight*, wherein *light* and *darkness* at first may seem very equally matcht, but the later within little time doth solely prevail.

6. What impressions the Comming in of *Queen Mary* made on *Cambridge*, shall, God willing be presented in our particular *History* thereof. The sad and sudden alterations in *Oxford*, thereby are now to be handled. *Ma. John Jewel* was chosen to pen the first *Gratulatory Letter* to the *Queen*, in the *Name* of the *University*, an office, imposed on him, by his enemies, that either the refusal thereof should make him incur danger from his foes, or the performance expose him to the displeasure of his friends; Yet he so warily penned the same in *Generall* promise, that his Adversaries missed their *marke*. Indeed all, as yet, were confident, that the *Queen* would maintain the *Protestant Religion* according to her solemn promise, to the *Gentry* of *Norfolk*, and *Suffolk*, though (she being composed of *Courtship* and *Poperie*;) this her unperformed promise was the first *Court-belly-water*, which the sprinkled amongst the *People*.

7. And, because every one was counted a *Truant* in *Poperie*, who did not out

Anno Dom. 1553  
Anno Regni Mar. I.

Aug. 7.

Anno Regni Mar. I.  
Anno Dom. 1553

out-run the Law, *Dr. Tresham*, an active *Papist*, and a *Van-Carrier* before *Authority*, repaired the great Bell in *Christ Church*, which he new nam'd, and baptized *MAR. T.* And whilst *Mr. Jewel* was reading the *Letter* he had penned, to *Dr. Tresham*, for his approbation thereof, presently that bell tol'd to *Masse*, (a *Parentesis* which was not in the *Letter*) and *Tresham* breaking off his *Attention* to what was written, exclaimed in a zealous Exaltation, *Oh sweet Mary! how musically, how melodiously doth she sound!* This sell then rung the *kyell* for that time to the truth in *Oxford*, henceforward fill'd with *Protestant Tears*, and *Papish Triumphs*.

8. Then *Stephen Gardiner* *visitor* of *Maudlin*, (as succellour to *William Wainfleet* Bishop of *Winchester* founder thereof) sent *Commissioners* to the *College*, (whereof *Sr. Richard Read* the chief, and *Dr. Wright Arch-Deacon* of *Oxford*;) whereby strange effects were produced.

1. *Walter Haddon*, then a *President* of the *College*, (though omitted by *Brian Twine* for what cause I know not, in their *Catalogue*) willingly quitted his place.
2. *Thomas Bentham* (that year *Censor*) being required to *Correct* the *Schollers* for their absence from *Papish Prayers*, ingeniously confessed his sorrow for his Compliance in the *Reign* of King *Henry* the 8<sup>th</sup>, and constantly professed that he would not accumulate sin on sin, adding moreover that he accounted it not equal, to punish that in other, which he himself did willingly and wittingly commit, and thereon was outed of his place.
3. *Thomas Bickley* was served in the same manner. This was he who formerly snatching the *Hof* out of the *Pixe* at evening Prayer, first rent it with his hands, then trampled it under his feet, and now expelled, with great difficulty escaped into France.
4. *Henry Bull*, who about the same time openly in the quire snatched the *Censor* out of his hands, who was about to offer *Idolatrous Incense* therein, was likewise by the visitors put out of his Fellowship.

What shall I speak of learned *Lawrence Humphrey*, painful *John Fox*, studious *Michael Reaniger*, sweet natur'd *Jobu Molins*, Arch-Deacon of *Pauls*, *Arminius Saul*, *Peter Morvin*, *Hugh Kirke*, and *Luke Purfise*, dear brethren in *Christ*, all at this time forced to forsake their *College*: So that then *Magdalen* wept indeed for the losse of so many worthies. All this extremity was executed by these visitors, not as yet impowred by law, the statutes of King *Edward*, standing hitherto unrepealed. But some are so desirous to worship their *Sin*, that, to make sure work, they will adore the dawning day: And many of the *Oxford* *Schollers* thought *Prolepsis* the best figure in their *Grammar* to foresee what the *Queen* would have done, and to ingratiate themselves by antedating the doing thereof.

9. Of all the visitors in *Magdalen College*, *Arch-Deacon Wright* was most moderate, seeking to qualifie the cruelty of the rest, as farre as he could or durst appear. Blinde he was in one eye, but acute and clear-sighted in his minde, and though his compliance for the present cannot be excused, yet commendable was his forwardnesse, that presently on the Crowning of *Queen Elizabeth*, he confessed his errors, and with a weak voice but strong Arguments in his *Sermon* preached in *All-hallows*, solidly confuted the maine of *Papish* opinions; This was his last Will and Testament, being at the present much decayed in his Body, his strength only serving him, to give a solemn account of his Faith. For soon after he fell sick, and at the end of eight dayes, in perfect minde and memory, peaceably departed this life. Wherefore lying \* *Sanders* is not to be lifted to, when reporting that this *Wright* dyed raving and distracted. It being usual with him, to account all those *baring mad*, who are not stark blinde with ignorance and superstition: Let not *Sanders* be too buisie in traducing Gods dying Servants, lest what he wrongfully

Mary the new Baptized nulle Bell in Christs Church.

Alteration by Gardiners visitors in Maudlin College.

a Lawrence Humphrey in his Latin life of Dr. Jewel. p. 71.

Arch. Desc. Wright a moderate visitor who afterwards reconciled his errors and died peaceably.

\* Lawrence Humph. ut supra p. 76.  
\* In defence of the Popes monarchy.  
\* Camb. Brit. in the year, 1583.

\* *Camb. Brit.*  
in the year  
1582.

Masse set up  
in Corpus  
Christi  
College.

*Jewel driven  
out of Corpus  
Christi  
College.*

*Peter Martyr  
departs the  
Realm.*

The Dutch  
Congregation  
depart into  
Denmark.

John Wein-  
house narra-  
tive of diffi-  
culty. Belgarum  
Cochran, p. 2.

A few copies  
of *Verbs*.

\* So I conceive his name whom Laurence Humphrey in *Jewels* life p. 97 calls *Edwardus Annus*.

wrongfully chargeth on others, justly befall himself, as it came to passe accordingly. For a learned \* *Pen* tells us, that he died in *Ireland*, *Mente motus*, which if it amounts not to a Madnesse, I understand not the propriety of that expression.

10. Pass we now from *Maudlins* to *Corpus Christi* Colledge, where behold a sudden *Alteration*; *Masse* being presently brought up in the place of the *Communion*. It may seem a wonder, seeing so many *Superstitious Utensils* are required thereunto, where the *Papists* got *Attiring Cloaths* for the *Theatrical Pompe* thereof; yet so it was, that they who to day [vily] had nothing, next day wanted nothing for the *Celebration* of the *Masse*. Surely these *Trinkets* were never dropt down from *Heaven*; but such who formerly had been cunning in concealing, were now forward in producing their wicked *Wardrobe*; and one *Colledge* afforded enough, not onely to suffice it self, but for the present to supply the whole *Univrsity*.

1. But how well soever any *Colledge* kept their superstitious *Trifles*, sure I am *Corpus Christi Colledge* lost an essential *Ornament* thereof, namely Mr. *John Jewel*, fellow therein, who, on his refusal to be present at *Masses*, and other *Papists* Solemnities, was driven out of the *Colledge*, and retired himselfe to *Broadgates Hall*; where he continued for a short time in great Danger.

12. It was now high time for Mr. *Peter Martyr* seasonably to provide for his own security, who being by Birth a *stranger*, and invited over hither, and placed here by *King Edward* the sixth, to be *Professor of Divinity in Oxford*, had the *warrant of the Publique faith*, and the *Law of Nations*, for his safety. Whereupon he solicited for leave to return, which was granted unto him. Well it was that he had *protection of proof*; otherwise such was the enmity of the *Papists*, and so sharp set were the Teeth of some persecuting *Bishops* against him, that they would have made this *Martyr* brook his own name, and have sacrificed his life to their fury.

13. About the time of his Departure, (pardon a short digression) the Dutch congregation in London was also dissolved, gaining Licence with much ado to transport themselves. These taking the opportunity of two Danish Ships, then lying in Thames mouth, adventured themselves therein even in the beginning of Winter, uncertain were to get any habitation. One hundred seaventy and five were embarked in one vessel, from which the others were divided with Tempest, and with much danger got at last to *Esforno* in *Denmark*. Had they staid longer in England, untill the *Queens marriage* with King *Philip of Spain*: (being most of them his Native Subjects in the *Netherlands*) it had been difficult, if not impossible for them to have procured their safe, and publicke departure.

14. As for Mr. Jewell, he continued some weeks in *Broad-Gates Hall*, whither his Schollers repaired unto him, who he constantly instructed in *Learning*, and *Religion*. Of all his *Pupils*, *Edward \* Tear* in this one respect was most remarkable, who by his *tutor* being seasoned with the love of the Truth, made a double *Copie of Verses*, against the *Superstition* of the *Masse*, which he enraged Mr. *Welsh*, the *Conjor*, as I take it of *Corpus Christi College*, against him, that he publickly and cruelly *whipp* him, laying on *two lasses*, for every *verse* he had made, which I conceive were about *eighty* in all : Part of them, I have here thought fit to infer ; and blest be God I may *Translate*, and the Reader peruse them without any pain and perill, and not at the dear rate, whereat the *Author* compos'd them, I have the rather presented them, because they proved as well *Propheetical* as *Poetical*, comfortably foretelling, what afterwards certainly came to passe.

*Supplex*

|                   |                       |
|-------------------|-----------------------|
| Anno Dom.<br>1553 | Anno<br>Regin<br>Mar. |
|-------------------|-----------------------|

|       |      |
|-------|------|
| Anno  | Anno |
| Regin | Dom  |

|      |      |
|------|------|
| Mar. | 1553 |
| I.   |      |

Supplex oro Patris veniant celestis ad aures  
 Ex animo pueri quos recitabo preces :  
 Ecce patent aditus, pater altis janus Caeli  
 Ad summum vates, iam penetrabo Deum.  
 Summe Pater, qui cuncta videtur, qui cuncta gubernas,  
 Qui das cunctis tuis, qui quoque cuncta rapis,  
 Effice ne maneas longaeus Missa per Annos :  
 Effice ne fallat decipiente tuos;  
 Effice ne cecos populum reddat ocellos  
 Missa, docens verbo dissona multa tuo :  
 Effice jam rursus Sigis de cendant ad Undas,  
 Unde trahit fontem principumque sumum.

Accept O heavenly Father I request

These few Devotions from my humble Breast:  
 See ther's Access, Heaven's gate open lies,  
 Then with my Prayers I'll penetrate the skies;  
 Great God, who all things feelst, do all things Iway,  
 And All things giv'it, and all things tak'it away,  
 Let not the prent Maffe long-lived be,  
 Nor let it those beguile belong to thee:  
 Thy peoples eyes keep it from blinding quite,  
 Since to thy word it is so opposite,  
 But send it to the Stygian Lakes below: (flow.  
 From whence it's life and source doth forge and

15. But to return to Mr. *Jewel*: he had not lived long in *Broadgate Hall*, when, by the violence of the Popish *Inquisition* being assaulted, on a sudden, to *subscribe*, he took a *pen* in his hand, and, smiling, said, *have you a minute to [see how well] can write?* and thereupon under-writ their *Opinions*. Thus the most *oriental Jewel* on earth Hath some *flames* therein. To conceal this *his Fault*, had been partiality; to excuse it, flattery; to defend it, impiety; to insult over him, Cruelty; to pity him, Charity; to admire God, in permitting him, true devotion; to be wary of our selves, in the like occasion. Christian discretion.

16. Such as go out when God openeth them a Doore to escape, do peaceably depart; But such who break out at the window, either tickle in the passage, or bruise themselves by falling down on the out-side. *Jermol* may be an instance hereof, whose cowardly compliance, made his foes no fewer without him; and one the more (a *guilty Conscience*) within him. The *Papists* neither loved, nor honoured, nor trusted him any whit the more, for his his *Subscription*, which they conceived not Cordiall; forced from him by his feare: Yea thereby he gained not any degree of more safety: and his life being *way-laid* for, with great difficulty, he got over into *Germanie*.

17. *Rejoyce not over me O mine Enemy; for though I fall, yet shall I rise again; as here it came to passe: Comming to Framcroft,* he had Dr. *Edwin Sand,* (afterwards *Arch-Bishop of York*), for his *Board,* and *Bedfellow,* who counselled Mr. *Jewell,* with the joynt advice of Mr. *Chambers,* and Mr. *Sampson,* his *blome friends,* to make a publicke *Confession* of his sorrow for his former *Subscription:* whereupon on a *Sunday,* after his fore-noons *Sermon,* in the *Congregation of Framcroft,* he bitterly bewailed his *fall,* and heartily requested pardon from God and his *People,* whom thereby he had offended. *Wet were the eyes of the Preacher,* and those not drie of all his *Auditors:* what he fairly requested was freely given: and hence forward all

*Respondet Dominus sperans de sedibus Altis,  
Ne dubites velle Credere pariter opus:  
Olim sum passus mortem, nunc capio dextram  
Patris, nunc summi Iunt me regis poli:  
In calce igitur toto cum corpore vici;  
Et me Terrestris nemo videre potest;  
Falsa Sacerdotes de me mendacis fingunt,  
Missum quique colunt, hic mea verba negant:  
Dura Cervicis populus non mittere Missam  
Fecit, Et me medio tollere dogma lacrimis;  
Sed tu crede mihi, veris Scripturae reserui,  
Tolletrique suo tempore Missa nequam.*

The Lord, beholding from his Throne, reply'd,  
Doubt not, young Youth, firmly in me confide  
I dy'd long since, now sit at the right hand  
Of my blest'd Father, and the world command  
My body wholly dwells in heavenly light,  
Of whom no earthly Eye can gain a sight :  
The shamelesse Priests of me forge truthlesse lies  
And he that worships Maffe, my word denies  
A stiffneck'd people for their fins did make  
Me send them Maffe, my word away to take  
But truit me, Scripture shall regain her sway,  
And wicked Maffe in due time fade away.

Mr. Jewell his  
great fall,

**Carnall Compliance never profits.**

Mr. Jewels  
seasonable  
and sincere  
Recovery.

all embraced him, as a Brother in Christ, yea as an *Angel of God*. Yea who- soever seriously considereth the high Parts Mr. Jewell had in himselfe, and the high opinion others had of him, will conclude his Fall necessary for his Humiliation.

18. But to return to Oxford, whither, about this time, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, were brought to be bated in Disputation, by the fiercest Papists, of both Universities; Which worthy Bishops, restrained in Liberty, debarred out of the Prison, to dispute, and after the end thereof thither remanded. Here it is sad to recount thole Legions of Tannits, which were passed upon them: They who had three Logicall termes in every Syllogisme, had far more railing ones after it, in following their Argument, and opprobrious improving thereof against the Prisoners. Wherefore when Weston, the Prolocutor (Or Obloquutor rather) closed all with his vain glorious brag, *Vicit veritas*, was a truer Conclusion of the Disputation; though indeed there could be no proper victory, where there was no fair Fight: things not being methodized with Scholasticall Formality, but managed with tumultuous Obscenities. See all at large in Mr. Fox: to transcribe which would be tedious, exscribe something, imperfect, Contract all, obscure: may the reader therefore be remitted thither, for his perfect satisfaction. Onely, I will add: this Disputation was but a preparative, or Prologue to the Tragedy of these Bishops Deaths: as it were to drive their Bodies, the more afore-hand, that afterwards they might burn the brighter, and clearer for the same.

19. But we leave the prosecution hereof with the impression made by the Alteration of Religion on every severall Colledge in Oxford, to some learned men of that University, as an office proper for them to performe, having as their education therein, so their advantage thereby in consulting the Registers of their severall Colledges. I have hitherto, and shall hereafter be the shorter in Matters of this Univerfity, remembering two profitable Precepts, for this purpose; the one *Minus notis, minus diu insistendum*: the other *ΞΕΝΟΣ ΩΝ ΑΠΑΤΜΟΝΙΣΘΙ*, Being a stranger be not over-busie: Who confesse my selfe bred in another Seminary of learning. Wherefore if my tongue, long acquainted with CAMBRIDGE Sibleth, have or shall chance to faulter in pronouncing the termes of Art, or Topicall Titles, proper to this University, I hope the Readers Smile shall be all the writers Punishment. For as I heartily protest the fidelity of my Affections to my Aunt, and humbly request that my Weaknesse or want of Intelligence, may no way tend to her Prejudice, so I expect that my Casuall mistakes should meet with a Pardon of Conscience: And if any of her own Children (which is much to be desired) Will hereafter write a particular History of Oxford, I should be joyfull if the best Beames can bring will but make him Scaffolds, and the choicest of my Corner-stones, but serve to fill up the Walls of his more beautifull Building.

20. We have something trespassed on time to make our Story of Oxford intire, and must now go a little backward. The Queen being crowned on the first of October, her first Parliament began the fifth day following, where-in Godwot a poor appearance of Protestant Bishops. For Cranmer of Cant. was in the Tower for treason. Ridley of London, and Poynt of Winchester were displaced on the restitution of Bonner and Gardiner, Hologate of Yorke, Buss of Bristol, Bir. of Chester, Hooper of Worcester and Gloucester, Barlow of Bath and Wells, Scory of Chichester, Ferrar of St. Davids, Coverdale of Exeter were already deprived either for being married, or delivering some displeasing doctines. Onely two Protestant Bishops, viz. John a Tylour of Lincoln and John Harley of Hereford (on what score I know not) found the favour to be last undone, as remaining un-deprived at the beginning of the Parliament, where they presented themselves according to their duty, & took their place amongst the

Anno Dom. 1553.  
Anno Regni Mar. 1.

The life-lesse bluc of a disputation at Oxford.

Some Oxford men invited to undertake a proper task.

Protestant Bishops withdrew themselves from the Parliament.

■ Fox Acts & Mon pag. 1410.

the Lords. But presently began *Solemn Masse* after the Popish manner, which these two good Bishops not abiding withdrew themselves, and shortly both of them died their natural deaths; Providence graciously preventing their violent destructions.

21. All the rest of the Bishops present in Parliament, as Sampson of Coventry, and Litchfield, Capon of Salisbury, Threlby of Norwich, Bulkeley of Bangor, Parfew of St. Asaph, Kitchen of Landaffe, though dissembling themselves Protestants in the dayes of King Edward, now returned to their Vomit, and the advancing of Popery. No wonder then if all things were acted according to their pleasure, the Statute of Premunire made by King Henry the Eighth, and many other good laws of Edward the Sixth repealed. Masse and Latine service with the maine of Popery reestablished.

22. But in the Convocation which began few dayes after, amongst all the Clergy therein assembled there were found but six which opposed the Reduction of Popery, Viz.

1. Walter Philips Dean of Rochester.
3. John Philpot Archdeacon of Winchester.
2. James Haddon Dean of Exeter.
4. Richard Cheyny Archdeacon of Hereford.
5. John Ailmer Archdeacon of Stow.

6. One whose name is not recorded.

Of these Mr. Philpot one of a fervent spirit (but not to any distemper as some suspect) was so zealous against Transubstantiation, that he offered to maintain the negative by Gods word, and confound any fix who should withstand him in that point, or else faith he, let me be burned with as many fagots as be in London before the Court gates.

23. But Weston the Prolocutor in the Convocation threatened him with the Prison, adding that he was a mad man, meeter to be sent to Bedlam then continue there. Philpot returned he would think himself happy to be out of that company. Nay, left you slander the house said Weston, and say we will not suffer you to declare your minde, we are content you come into the house as formerly on two conditions. First, that you be apparelled in a long gown and Tippet as we are. Secondly, that you speak not but when I command you. Then said Philpot, I had rather be absent altogether; and so it seems departed the place, and soon after the Convocation ended, having concluded all things to the hearts desire of the Papists therein.

24. Afterwards Philpot was troubled by Gardiner for his words spoken in the Convocation. In vain did he plead the Priviledge of the Place, commonly reputed a part of Parliament, alledging also how Weston the Prolocutor once and again assured them, that the Queen had given them leave and liberty, fully and freely to debate of matters of Religion according to their own conscience. Once at his Examination the Lord Rich<sup>d</sup> affirmed, that the Convocation was no part of the Parliament House, and we must believe him herein, because a Lawyer, and a Lord Chawncellour: Otherwise we have the Statute 8. Hen. 6. That the Clergy of the Convocation shall have such liberty as they that come to the Parliament. In fine Philpot in defence of the Truth acted the valiant part of a Martyr according to his promise, though the Scene was altered from the Court-gates to Smithfield.

25. The match of Queen Mary with Philip King of Spain was now as commonly talked of as generally distast. To hinder the same Sr. Thomas Wyatt a Knight took Armes with a great party assisting him. Saunders saith, and that very truly, that he was *Vir magna potentia*, being indeed well borne, well allied, well learned, well landed, and well loved, wanting neither wit, wealth, nor valour, though at present all were ill employed by him. Indeed this his Treason may be said to fall in labour, some weeks before the full time thereof (occasioned by a sudden fright) and therefore no wonder if the issue thereof proved abortive. For Wyatt hearing that one of his Dear Friends was cast into the Fleet (though for a cause unrelated to this Plot, to which the

Popery reflected by the rest.  
b Ely and Oxford 1. concise void at this time.

Six Proteflant Champions in the Convocation.

c Fox Acts & Mon pag. 1413.

Weston his railing on Mr. Philpot.

Philpot feared the truth with his blood.

d Fox Acts & Mon. pag. 1806.

Wyatt rising to hinder the Spanish match.

Anno Regni Mar. 1.  
Anno Dom. 1553.  
1. 5.

18.

25.

30. Dec. 13.

Jan. 20. 53. 54.

The *Queen*  
*Herauld* sent  
unto him.

Almost  
drowned with  
false directi-  
ons.

But all ends  
in meritment.

The *Londo-  
ners* revolt to  
*Wyat*.

*Wyat's* info-  
rmance, and  
*Q. Mary* her  
oration.

*A. A. & Mon*  
*1419.*

*partie* was *privy* ) suspected, as guilt is ever jealous, that this his *Friend* had betrayed the designe, which made *Wyat* anticipate the due date thereof, and break our the looner into open hostility.

26. The *Queen*, hearing of his *commotion*, sent an *Herauld* unto him to desist, which *Herauld* came to *Sr. Tho.* his house deeply moated round about, the *Bridge* being drawn up, yet so that a place like a *Ford* pretended a safe passage thereunto. On the inside thereof walked the proper case of a man well habited, and his face carrying no despair of wisdom therein. The *Herauld* asked him whether he might safely go over there, to whom the other slightly answered, Yea, Yea; but had not the strength of his *Horse* been more then ordinary, he either had been drowned in the water, or buried in the mudde.

27. The *Herauld* hardly escaping fills all the *House* with complaints, that being an *Officer* sent from the *Queen* under the protection of the *publike faith* (having his *coate*, his conduct upon him) he should be so wilfully abused by false directions to the danger of his life by one of *Sr. Tho.* his servants. The *Knight* highly offended at the fault (as *Gentleman* enough, and enemy to actions of baseness) summons all his *Servants* to appear before the *Herauld*, vowing that the *Offendour* should be sent *Prisoner* to the *Queen* with his legs bound beneath his *Horse's* belly, to receive from her the reward of his wickednesse.

28. The *Herauld* challengeth the party at the first sight of him. Alas! said *Sr. Tho.* he is a meer *Natural*, as will appear, if you please to examine him. Why *Sirrah* said the *Herauld* did you direct me to come over where it was almost impossible to passe without drowning? To whom the other answered, the *Duckes* came over not long before you, whose legs were shorter then your horses. Hereat the *Herauld* smiled out his anger, adding withall, *Sr. Thomas*, hereafter let your Foole wear the Badge of his *Profession* on him, that he may deceive no more in this kinde. But passe we to matters of more moment; *Wyat* courteously dismissed the *Herauld*, but denying to desist, marched to *Rocheſter* to meet his *Complices* out of the *West of Kent*, who came short unto him, as intercepted and routed, with *Sr. Henry Illes* their *Con-ductour*, by the *Lord Abergavenny*, though this losse was presently repaired.

29. For when *Thomas Duke of Norfolk* marched down with five hundred *Londoners*, in *white Coats* to resist *Wyat*, and was now come to *Stroud*, on the other side of *Rocheſter*, the *Londoners* revolted to *Wyat*. Thus the most *Valiant Leader* cannot make his *Followers Loyal*. Yet these *Londoners* false to forsake the *Duke* were faithful not to betray his person, which they might easily have done if so disposed. *Wyat* is much elated with this supply, as more in the omen then in it self, who concluding all *Londoners* of the same lump, hereby promised himself easie entrance into that *City*, and hearty entertainment therein.

30. His infoleny is said to rise with his success, so that having a *Treatie* with some of the *Privie Councellers* in his passage to *London*, he demanded unreasonable conditions, affirming that he would rather be trusted then trust, and therefore requiring the person of the *Queen*, the *Tower of London* to be committed unto him, with power to displace *evill Councellers*, not propounded with more pride, but that with as much scorn they were refused. Mean time, *Queen Mary* came to *Guild-Hall*, and there made a long oration, and indeed if on just occasion he could not speak confidently and pertinently, she was neither Daughter to her Father, nor to her Mother. *Mr. Foxe* addeth that she seemed to have perfectly conned her speech without book; which is so, sounds nothing to her disgrace, some being for extemporary prayers, but none to my knowledge for extemporary policy. This her oration secured the affections of the *Citizens* unto her, as by the sequell will appear.

31. Entering

Anno  
Dom. 3.  
155-  
4.  
Anno  
Regni  
Mar.  
1.  
1.

Janu-  
29.

Febr.  
1.

Anno  
Regni  
Mar.  
1.  
1.

Anno  
Dom.  
3.  
155-  
4.

Feb.  
6.

31. Entering *Southwarke* he enjoyneth his *souldiers* to offer no violence, or take any thing without payment, yet *Wincheſter Houſe* soon felt their fury, though such by his command (a *Generall* can but proclaim and punish the *Breakers* of his *Proclamation*) were made exemplary for their rapine. Then were the *Prisons* (and *Southwarke* is well stored with houses of that kinde) set open for such who were guilty onely of pretended heresie, not *Felony* and murder. But some who thanked him for his clemencie, refused the acceptance thereof, (a tender conscience is a stronger obligation then a *Prison*) because as they were legally committed they would be legally discharged.

32. But now all the *Towers* of the *Tower*, and the topps of the *ſquare Steeples* neer the *Bridge-Foot*, on the other side were planted with *Ordinance* (so that both *Church* and *State* threatened his ruine) ready to be discharged into *Southwarke*, either to beat down the *Burrough*, or to force *Wyat* to depart, who perceiving it impossible to force his passage into *London* over the *Bridge*, and moved with the miserable moans of the *Southwarke*ers, left their *Burrough*, and though towards the evening marched swiftly, silently, secretly to *Kingſton upon Thames*. Speed begets speed, quicknesse causeth successe in matters of execution, as here in *Wyat* his coming to *Kingſton* before any almost had notice of his motion.

33. But *Wyat* was not so much advantaged with his own expedition, as with the coincident oversights of the *Queens* party (whose carelesſenesse and cowardise met together) enough to destroy her cause, had not *Divine Providence* resolved with small successe to rectifie all humane mistakes. First, such fet to order *Kingſton Bridge* did their work by halves, breaking and not breaking it down, so that the substantialls standing, the rest were easily repaired for *Wyat* his safe passage over. Secondly, two hundred men set to defend the opposite banke quitted their *Station*, the very sight of two pieces of *Ordinance* planted against them. Thirdly, the *Queens Scouts* lost their eyes, (and deserved to lose their Heads) who could not discover a *Body* of four thousand men marching with a large train of *Artillery* so that the *Queen* had notice thereof, by the *Kentish Fugitives* sooner then by her own *Scouts*.

34. But time soon gained by *Wyat* was as soon lost, on the accident of a piece of *Ordinance* breaking its carriage. Now whilst the *Army* waited the leasure of bringing up this broken piece (an hour to *Wyat* being of greater consequence then the greatest Gun) he came short of the time prefixed to such *Citizens* as were *Fanours* of his cause. Otherwise he had been at *London* in the night (taking his enemies napping before they dreamt of him) and all terror is most active in the darke, when the lesse men fee, the more they suspect, whereas now it was break of day before they had gotten to *Knights-Bridge*.

35. *Wyat* had a double designe, and performed them both alike. One violently to take *White-Hall*, the other peaceably to betaken into *London*. *Captain Vaughan* with five hundred *Welsh-men* (and one would wonder how they should straggle into *Kent*) embraced the right-hand way towards *Westminster*, and then wheeled away to *White-Hall*, his men shooting their arrows (regardless where they lighted) into the windows of the *Court*, but could not force their passage into it. *Wyat* went directly to *Charing-Crosse*, where he met with some opposition, but continued his resolution for *London*.

36. Here one might have observed, that within three hours the tongue of the multitude in *London* thrice altered their tunes. First they cryed,

1. A *Wyat*, a *Wyat*, every mouth giving the alarme to the next man he met. The next note was
2. *Treason, Treason*, all suspecting that the *Earle of Pembroke* the *Queens Generall* had revolted, because hovering aloofe in the fields he suffered

B b b

*Southwarke*  
erected and  
*Prisons* equi-  
ed.

*Southwarke*  
left, *Kingſton*  
marched to.

The carelesſe-  
nesse of the  
*Queen* her  
*Souldiers*.

a B. Godwin's  
annals of  
England in Q.  
Mary 146. 35.4

*Wyat* his  
march how  
retarded.

His double  
designe.

Three tunes  
of *London* in  
three hours.

suffered *Wyat* his *Van* and *main Battell* (cutting off some of the Reare) to march undisturbed save with one shot, from *Knights-Bridge* to *Charing Chroffe*. Their next tune was

32. Downe with the *Draggle tails*, Downe with the *Draggle-tails*, And indeed no wonder if these *Kentish-men* marching in the darke, to avoid discovery in the depth of winter through dirty wayes were richly landed in their cloaths, and well fringed with mire and mud about them.

37. *Wyat* himself marched directly up the *Strand* and *Fleetstreet* with the losse of lesse then twenty men, and coming to *Ludgate* promised himself entrance into the *City*. But there he found nothing forbid his admission save a *strong gate close* (but and well fortified against him with *men* and *ammunition*. From that minuite he went backward both in motion and successe. Returning to *Fleetstreet* He fate down on a *Bench* over against the *Bell Savage* (an Inne so called, because given by one *Isabell* \* *Savage* to the Company of *Cutlers*) and there too late began to bemoan and accuse his own rashnesse. Retreating to *Temple-Barre* he was faced with some horse, and after a fight being moved by a *Herauld* to submit himself. Then will I yield faith he to a *Gentleman*, and so submitted himselfe (say a most) to *Sr. Maurice Berkeley*, say b others to *Sr. Clement Parton* being in neither of them mistaken for his *Gentl. extraction*.

38. Hence was he carried to *White-Hall* to be examined, thence to the *Tower* to be committed; Entering therein *Sr. John Bridges* Lieutenant thereof taking him by the collar with his dagger in his hand; *Ab Traitors*, faith he, I would stab thee my self, but that I know thou wilt be executed, to whom the other calmly replied, *Sr, now it is no mastery*. Some dayes after he suffered penitently and patiently on the *Scaffold*, condemning his own *act*, and therefore we have spoken the lesse against him, for speaking so much against himself. Fifty, of his *Complices* were hanged four hundred, led with ropes about their necks, pardoned by the *Queen*, and all things stilled and quieted.

39. Long since had *Queen Mary* sent for *Cardinall Poole* in *Italie*, to come over into *England*. But *Charles the Emperour* by the *Pope's* power, secretly retarded his return, fearing it might obstruēt the propounded marriage betwixt *King Philip* his Son and *Queen Mary*. Indeed the *Queen* bare *Poole* an unfeigned affection; and no wonder to him that considereth

1. Their age. He being about ten years older, the proportion allowed by the *Philosopher* betwixt *Husband* and *Wife*.
2. Parentage. She being *Daughter* to *King Henry* the eighth. He (by his *Mother Margaret*, *Daughter* to *George Duke* of *Clarence*) *Grandchild* to *Edward* the Fourth.
3. Education. Both when young brought up together, the aforesaid *Lady Margaret* being *Governesse* of *Queen Mary* in her infancy.
4. Religion. Both *zealous Catholics*, and suffering, the *Queen* confinement, the *Cardinall* exile for the same.

His person also and nature was such as might deserve love; and though a *Cardinall* *Descon*, yet that shallow character might easily be shaved off by the *Pope's* dispensation, so that there was some probability of their marriage: and Oh how *Royally Religious* would their *Offspring* have been extracted from a *Crown* and a *Cardinalls Cap*.

40. But now when the marriage with *Prince Philip* was made up; *Poole* at last got leave for *England*, and to wipe away all superstition of *Lutheranisme* wherewith he was formerly taxed, he became a *Crutch*, that he might be beleaved a *Cardinall Papist*. For meeting in *Erabant* with *Emanuel Tremellius*, requesting some favour from him, he not onely denied him relief, but also returned him railing termes, though formerly he had been his *familiar Friend*. Yea his *Godfather* giving him his name at the *Font*, when *Tremellius* from a Jew first turned *Christiian*.

Anno  
Dom.  
1554

Anno  
Regni  
Mar.  
3.

April  
11.  
Q.  
May.  
2.

Wyat swooped  
at Ludgate.

\* Shows fur-  
vey of London.

a Hollingshead,  
Srow, Specd.  
b For. pag.  
1419.

Penitent at  
his execution

c Hollingshead.

The Empe-  
rour why jea-  
lous of Car-  
dinall Poole.

Poole at last  
gets leave for  
England.

d Antiq Brit.  
in Vols pag.  
351.

41. Arrived in *England*, he was first ordained *Priest* (being but *Deacon* before) and then consecrated *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury* by *Heath*, *Arch-Bishop* of *Torke*, and sixe other *Bishops* the *Queen* her selfe being present thereat, in the *Franciscan Church* at *Greenwich*, one of those *Bankrupt Covenants* which her grace had set up again, Three dayes after he was dedicated in *Bow Church* in *Chapside*, where rich in costly robes and sitting on a gilded Throne his *Pall* was presented unto him. Adorned herewith, *Poole* presently mounts the *Pulpit* and makes a *drie Sermon* of the use and honour of the *Pall* without good language or matter therein (may they all make such who take for their Text what is not in *Scripture*) many much admiring the juvenescence of his discourse, as if putting off his parts when putting the *Pall* upon him.

42. Now fate the second *Parliament* in this *Queens* *Reigne*, wherein she parted with her Supremacy to the *Pope*, and *Poole* by his *power Legatine* solemnly reconciled *England* to the *Church* of *Rome*, that is, set it at open odds and enmity with *God* and his *Truth*. Then did he dispense with much irregularity in severall persons, confirming the *Institution* of *Clergie-men* in their *Benefices*, legitimating the *Children* of forbidden marriages, ratifying the *Processes*, and *Sentences* in matters *Ecclesiasticall*, and his *Dispensations* were confirmed by *Acts* of *Parliament*, as in the *Statutes* at large appear. Then was *Anthony Brow*, *Vicount Mountcure*, *Thirleby Bishop* of *Eliz*, and *Sr. Edward Carne* sent on a *gratulatory Embassie* to *Pope Paul* the fourth to tender *Englands* thanks for his great favours conferred thereon: A sad and certain preface of heavey persecution which immediately did ensue.

Is ordained  
Priest, and  
consecrated  
Arch Bishop.

a Ant. Britin  
Vols pag. 353.

Englands-  
conciled to  
Rome.





## SECTION. II.

To Mr. THOMAS BOWYER of the Old  
Jury Merchant.

YOn may with much joy peruse this sad story of Persecution presented unto you, whose Grandfather Francis \* Bowyer brought no fuel to these flames, but endeavoured to quench them. The Church is indebted to him for saving reverend Dr. Alexander Nowel, (then School-master of Westminster, designed to Death, by Bonner) and sending him safe beyond the Seas. Thus he laid a good foundation, to which I impute the firm-standing of your family, it being rare, to see, (as in yours) the third Generation in London living in the same Habitation. May many more of the stock, succeed in the same, the desire of your obliged friend T. F.

\* Afterward  
Sheriffe of  
London Anno.  
1577.

The disposing  
of the future  
matter.

# Eccle. 2. 12.



E come now to set down those particular Martyrs that suffered in this Queens Reigne. But this point hath been handled already so curiously, and copiously by Mr. Fox, that his industry herein hath starved the endeavours of such as shall succeed him; leaving nothing for their pens, and pains to feed upon. <sup>a</sup> For, what can the man do that cometh after the King? even that which hath been already done, faith Solomon. And

Mr. Fox appearing sole Emperour in this subject, all posterity may despair to add any remarkable discoveries, which have escaped his observation. Wherefore to handle this subject after him, what is it, but to light a candle to the Sun? or rather (to borrow a metaphor from his book) to kindle one single stick to the burning of so many faggots? However, that our pains may not wholly be wanting to the Reader herein, we will methodize these Martyrs, according to the several Dioceses, and make on them some brief observations.

2. In the Diocesse of Exeter (containing Cornwall and Devonshire) I finde but one Martyr, namely Agnes <sup>b</sup> Frisf, condemned by William Stanford then Judge of the Assise of Lancaston, but burned at Exeter. The tranquillity of these parts is truly imputed <sup>c</sup> to the good temper of James Turberville the Bishop; one, as gently qualified, as extracted; and not so cruel to take away the lives from others, as carefull to regain the lost livings to his Church: and indeed he recovered to him and his successors, the Fee-farme of the Manour of Crediton. Yet to shew his sincerity in Religion, that he might not seem to do nothing, he dippt<sup>d</sup> his fingers in this poor womans blood, but did not afterwards wash his hands in the persecution of any other Protestant for ought we can finde in any history.

3. The

Persecution  
in the Diocess  
of Exeter.  
<sup>b</sup> Fox. 2052.  
<sup>c</sup> Holinshed  
pag. 1309.

Anno  
Regin  
Mar.  
3.  
Anno  
Dom.  
1555

3. The like quiet disposition of Gilbert Bourn, Bishop of Bath and Wells secured Somersetshire. Indeed, he owed his life under God, to the protection of a Protestant (for Mr. Bradford at Pauls-crosse, saved him from a dagger thrown at him in a tumult) and this perchance, made him the more tender to Protestants lives. Yet in the Register of his Church, we meet with one <sup>a</sup> Richard Lysb condemned by him, though his execution doth not appear, and yet it is probable, that this poor Isaac, thus bound to the Altar, was afterward sacrificed, except some intervening Angel staid the stroke of the sword.

4. So also the Diocess of Bristol, made up of Dorset-shire, and part of Gloucester-shire, enjoyed much quietnesse, John Holyman the Bishop did not for ought I can finde, prophane himself with any barbarous cruelty. But Mr. Dalby <sup>b</sup> his Chancellour (as an active Lieutenant to a dull Captain) sent three, namely, Richard Sharpe, Thomas Benion, and Thomas Hale, to the stake at Bristol, for the testimony of the truth. This Dalby knowing himself to be low in parts and learning, and despairing otherwise to appear in the world, thought, the onely way to recommend himself to mens notice, was, to do it by his cruelty.

5. More sparks of persecution flew into the Diocess of Salisbury, in Wiltshire and Barkshire, under John Capon the Bishop, and Dr. Geoffrey his Chancellour, for, this Dioc was worse then Saul himself. At Nubery he sent three Martyrs to heaven in the same charriot of fire, <sup>c</sup> Julius Palmer, John Gwin, and Thomas Askin. Yea, this was but a light flourish, in respect of that great blow he intended, had not heaven prevented him, and many others of his bloody crew, by the death of Queen Mary; whereby, to use Davids phrase, God smote them <sup>d</sup> on the cheek-bone; and brake the teeth of the ungodly.

6. In the Diocess of Winchester, consisting of Hants-shire, and Surrey, I finde no great impression from Stephen Gardiner the Bishop, and much marvel thereat. It may be this politician, who managed his malice with cunning, spared his own Diocess, fox-like preying farthest from his own den. Indeed he would often stay behind the traverse, and send Bonner upon the stage (free enough of himself without spurring to do mischief) to act what he had contrived. Yea, I may say of Gardiner, that he had an head, if not an hand, in the death of every eminent Protestant; plotting, though not acting, their destruction. And, being Lord Chancellour of England, he counted it his honour, to sit at foot game indeed, contriving the death of the Ladie Elizabeth, and using to say, that it was vain to strike at the branches, whilst the roote of all Hereticks doth remain. And this good Lady was appointed for the slaughter, and brought to the flames, when the seasonable death of this butcher, saved the sheep alive.

7. However (as bloody as he was) for mine own part, I have particular gratitude to pay to the memory of this Stephen Gardiner, and here I solemnly tender the same. It is on the account of Mrs. Clarke my great Grand-mother by my mothers side, whose husband rented Farnham-Castle, a place whither Bishop Gardiner retired, in Surrey, as belonging to his Sea. This Bishop, sensible of the consumptionous state of his body, and finding physick out of the Kitchen more beneficial for him, then that out of the Apothecaries shop, and speciall comfort from the Cordials he provided him; did not onely himself connive at her Heresie, as he termed it, but also protected her during his life, from the fury of others. Some will say, this his curtesie to her, was founded on his kindnesse to himself. But however, I am so far from detaining thanks from any, deserved on just cause, that I am ready to pay them, where they are but pretended due on any colour.

8. Suffex smarted more than all the forenamed Counties together, under John Christopherson Bishop of Chichester. This man was well learned and

In the Do-  
cess of Bath  
and Wells.

<sup>a</sup> Fox. pag.  
2054.

In the Dio-  
cess of Bristol

<sup>b</sup> Fox. pag.  
2052.

In the Dio-  
cess of Saris-  
burie.

<sup>c</sup> Fox. pag.  
1540.

<sup>d</sup> Psal. 2. 7.

In the Dio-  
cess of Win-  
chester.

The Ancho-  
rite's gratitude  
to Stephen Gar-  
diner.

In the Dio-  
cess of Chi-  
chester.



a Fox. pag.  
2004. & pag.  
2024.  
In the Dio-  
cesis of  
Canterbury.

In the Dio-  
cesis of  
Rochester.

In the Dio-  
cesis of London  
under Bonner.  
b 1 Cor. 15. 32

Under Dr.  
Story  
quer.  
for he is not  
in T. Gudwin  
catalogue.

In the Dio-  
cesis of  
Norwich.

In the Dio-  
cesis of Ely.

and had turned *Eusebius* his Ecclesiastical History into latine, with all the persecutions of the Primitive Christians. What he translated in his youth, he practised in his age, turning Tyrant himself, and scarce was he warme in his Bishoprick, when he fell a burning the poor Martyrs. Ten in one fire at a *Lewis*, and seaventeen others at several times inundry places.

9. In the Diocesis of *Canterbury*, Cardinal *Poole* appeared not perfonally active in the prosecution of any to death. Whilst others impute this to his statelincelle, not stooping to so small matters; we more charitably ascribe it to his favouring of the Protestant party, having formerly lost the Papacy under that imputation. But, seeing it is a true Maxime, which an heathen man layeth down; *It is enough for a private man, that he himself do no wrong; but a public person must provide, that those under him do no injury to others*; I see not, how the Cardinal can be excused, from the guilt of that innocent blood, which *Thornton* his Suffragan, and *Hartfield* his Arch-Deacon, shed like water, in, and about the City of *Canterbury*.

10. The Diocesis of *Rochester* (containing the remainder of *Kent*) was of small extent. But, that *stock* must be very little indeed, out of which the ravenous *Wolfe* cannot fetch some prey for himself. *Morris* the Bishop played the tyrant therein, being the first in Queen *Maries* dayes that condemned a woman (*Margery Polley* by name) to be burnt for religion; with many more who at *Dartford*, or *Rochester*, scaled the truth with their lives.

11. Crolle we the *Thames* to come into *Middlesex*, and *Essex*, the Diocesis of *London* under Bishop *Bonner*, whom all generations shall call Bloody. St. *Paul* mentioneth his fighting with beasts at *Ephesus* after the manner of men, which some expound, his encountering with people, men for their shape, and sex; but best for their cruell mindes, and manners. In the same sense we may say, that *Lion*, *Tiger*, *Wolfe*, &c. are; yea, a whole forest of wilde beasts met in *Bonner*, killing two hundred in the compasse of three years. And, as if his cruelty had made him Metropolitan of all *England*, he stood not on distinction of Dioceses, but martyred all, wheresoever he met them. Thus Mr. *Philpot* belonged to *Gardiners* Jurisdiction, and often pleaded in vain, that *Bonner* was none of his Ordinary, yet *Bonner* (Ordinary, or Extraordinary) dispatch'd him, who cared not whence men came, but onely whither he sent them. No sex, quality, or age, escap'd him, whose fury reached from *John Petty* a lad of eight years old, by him scourged to death; even unto *Hugh Laverock*, a Creepie, sixty eight years old, whom he caused to be burnt.

12. Dr. *Story* Dean of \* *Pauls* must not be forgotten, being under *Bonner* a most cruell persecutour. Was not this false Herauldy, cruelty on cruelty? Well; So it seemed good to Divine Providence, as conducing most to the peace of the Church, that one place rather than two, should be troubled with such damnable Tyrants. *Bonner* persecuted by whole-sale, *Story* by Retail; the former enjoyned, the later attended the execution; What *Bonner* bade, *Story* beheld to be performed. Yea, sometimes he made cruel additions of his own invention; As, when he caused a faggot to be tossed in the face of Mr. *Dent*: the Martyr, when he was ready to be burnt. How he was rewarded afterwards for his cruelty, by Gods blessing in due place.

13. Under the same Torrid Zone of persecution (but a little more temperate) lay *Norfolke*, and *Suffolke*, in the Diocesis of *Norwich*. Bishop *Hopton* was unmercifull in his Visitations; but *Downing* the Chancellour plaide the Devil himself; enough to make wood deare in those parts, so many did he consume to ashes, whose several examinations are at large set down in the Book of Martyrs.

14. *Ely* Diocesis [ *Cambridge-Shire* ] succeeds, whose Bishop Dr. *Thurly* was a learned, discreet, and moderate man; witness his meek behaviour at the degrading of Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, shedding plentiful

tears

Anno  
Dom.  
1555.  
3. Mar.  
4.

Anno  
Regin.  
3.

Anno  
Dom.  
1555.

tears thereat. But, can water, and fire, weeping, and burning, come from the same person? Surely so it did here; for afterwards he singled out *John Hutter* (as the Representative for all the Protestants in his Diocesis) whom he caused to be burnt at *Cambridge*. The shedding his blood was as giving carnage of his zeal in the Popish cause, though afterward he made no farther payment in this kinde; justly offending the Protestants for doing so much, yet scarcely pleasing the Papists, because he did no more. As for the execution of *William Woolsey*, and *Robert Pigot*, in this Diocesis: *Thurly* was no whit interested therein, but the guilt thereof must be shared, betwixt Dr. *Fuller* the Chancellour, and other Commissioners.

15. In *Peterborough* Diocesis (consisting of *North-hampton-shire*, and *Rutland*) I finde but one, *John Kurde*, a Shoos-maker, burnt at *North-hampton*. But, this his death I cannot charge on the account of *David Poole* the Bishop, as consenting therunto, because *William Binley* Batchelour of law, and Chancellour of *Peterborough*, was onely his active Persecutor.

16. *Lincolne* Diocesis is next, the largest of the whole Kingdome, containing *Lincolne*, *Leicester*, *Huntington*, *Bedford*, and *Buckingham*, besides parts of *Hartford* and *Warwick-shires*. Now, according to the rules of proportion, who could expect otherwise, but, the *more men*, the *more Martyrs*? The greater the Province, the more grievous the persecution? But, it fell out the clean contrary, finding but one Martyr in all that space of ground (a \* Merchants servant burnt at *Leicester*.) Frivolous is their reason, who impute this to the disposition of *White*, Bishop of this Diocesis (the first half of Queen *Maries* Reign) whom they behold, as poetically given; of more phantasie, then fury, which vented it self in verses; more pleased to lash the Hereticks with a Satyr, then suck their blood by destructive courses. As little credit is to be given to their conceit, who ascribe the following tranquillity of this Diocesis to Bishop *Watson*, whose successour therein; because he was a man so buried in the speculations of School-Divinity, that it unactiv'd him to be practical in persecution. I say again, both these reasons amount not to any partial cause, of the peace of this Diocesis. For we know full well, that after the coming in of Queen *Elizabeth*, this *White*, and this *Watson* discovered keennes, and fiercenesse of spirit against Her, more then any other Bishops; in so much, that they threatened Her with an excommunication. I conceive the true cause was this; *Lincolne* Diocesis, in the Reign of *Henry* the eighth, had borne the heat of the day, when *Buckingham-shire* alone (as we have formerly observed) afforded more Martyrs then all *England* beside. God therefore thought it fit, that other Dioceses should now take their turnes; that this of *Lincolne*, harraied out before, should now lie fallow, whilst other Countries, like rest-ground, should suffer persecution, whereon indeed the plowmen plow'd, and made long furrows.

17. The Dioceses of *Oxford*, *Glocester*, *Hereford*, and *Worcester*, under their respective Bishops, *Robert Kinge*, *James Brook*, *Robert Parson*, and *Richard Pater*, enjoyed much quiet, It being true of them, what is said of *Jaica*, *Galilee*, and *Samaria*, after the conversion of *Paul*, *Then had the Churches rest throughout all those places*. This principally flowed from Gods gracious goodnesse, who would not have all places at once equally embroyled. It is not fit, that all the rooms in the house, should onely be chimney, furnace, or oven, but that it should also afford some other places for quiet repose. And yet I wonder much, that we finde no fire (and very little smoke) in *Glocester-shire*, seeing *Brook*, the Bishop thereof is characterized to be a Great Persecutor of Protestants. Indeed his fury spent it self most abroad; who, either being, or accounting himself a great Scholar, stickled much at *Oxford* against Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, pretending himself to be a Commissioner immediately Delegate from the Pope, and venting his malice against that good Prelate, in two Orations, onely remarkable for their length, and bitterness.

18. *Ralph*

In the Dio-  
cesis of  
*Peterborough*.

In the Dio-  
cesis of  
*Lincolne*.

\* Fox. Volum.  
3. pag. 705.

a Lib. 4. Cent.  
16. Parag. 2.

Quiet in foure  
Dioceses.

b Acts. 9. 31.

c *Stauson*  
Chronologie  
of Bishops  
pag 477.

In the Dio-  
cesis of  
Eborac.  
Liber 2.  
c. 15. de  
Episcopis  
et Clericis  
liber 2.  
c. 15.

In the Dio-  
cesis of  
Eborac.

In the Dio-  
cesis of  
Chester.

Peace in the  
Diocese of  
Durham.

In the Dio-  
cesis of  
Eborac.

And of Car-  
lisle.

The singu-  
larity of the  
Diocese of  
Landaff.

18. *Ralph Baynes* was Bishop of *Coventry*, and *Lichfield*, late Profellour of Hebrew in *Paris*, who also wrote a Comment on the Proverbs, and dedicated it to *Francis* the first King of *France*. Sure I am, he forgot a passage of *Salomon* therein Prov. 13. 21. But he that hath mercy on the poor, happy is he. This *Baynes* proving a blodie persecutour of Gods poor servants in his Jurisdiction. The gentle birth and breeding of Mrs. *Joyce Lewes*, was not too high for him to reach at, and the poor condition of *Jean Wast*, a blinde woman in *Darbie* was not too low for him to stoop to, condemning them both to death, with many other faithfull wimenes of the truth.

19. The Arch-Bishoprick of *Tork* enjoyed much peace, and tranquility under Dr. *Nicolas Heath*, a meek, and conscientious man. It is enough to intimate his moderate temper, equal, and disingaged from violent extremities, that *Primo Elizabethae* in the Disputation between the Papists, and Protestants, he was chosen by the Privie Council, one of the Moderators. And, as he shewed mercy in prosperity, he found it in adversity, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, though deposd from his dignity, reposd in a peaceable quietnesse. So that his impotent age might rather seem seasonably casd of troublesome greatnesse, than abridged of any requirites for his comfortable supportation.

20. Dr. *Cotes* was Bishop of *Chester*, who washed his hands in the blood of Mr. *George March* burnt at *Chester*. At whose execution, I understand not the addition of a pitchd barrill placed above his head, certainly to enflame the flame; but, whether out of kindnesse, to hasten his death; or cruelty, to encrease his pain, I dare not decide. Sure I am, *Cotes* died soon after, and *Cuthbert Scot* succeeded in his Bishoprick, one very busie about the burning of *Burcs* body in *Cambridge*, but otherwise I finde no persecution raised by him in his own Diocels.

21. The Bishoprick of *Durham* had *Halcyon* dayes of ease, and quiet, under God, and good *Cuthbert Tonsfall* the Bishop thereof. A learned man, of a sweet disposition, rather devout to follow his own, than cruel to persecute the conscience of others. Indeed, he being present in *London* at the examination of divers Martyrs, would sometimes lie out in base and unbecoming language (as when he called Bishop *Hooper* beast for being married) yet his passion herein may the rather be pardoned, because politickly presumed, to bawke the more, that he might bite the lesse, as appeared by his courteous carriage in his own Diocels. For, I meet with the marginal note in b Mr. *Foxe*, which indeed justly deserved even in the fireest letters, to be inserted in the body of his book. *Notes that Bishop Tonsfall in Queen Mariestime was no great bloody persecutor. For, Mr. Ruelle a Preacher was before him, and Dr. Himmer his Chancellour would have had him examined more particularly. The Bishop slayed him, saying, Hitherto we have had a good report among our neighbours, I pray you bring not this mans blood upon my head.* But more of this *Cuthbert Tonsfall* hereafter.

22. The Diocels also of *Carlisle* was not molested with any great troubles under *Owen Ogilthorpe*, the Bishop thereof, one qualified with a moderate temper. It argueth no lesse, because afterward he crowned Queen *Elizabeth*, an office which all other Bishops, then stiffly denied to performe. But, to speak plain English, though the peaceableness of these northerne Bishopricks, proceeded partly from the mildenes of those that late in the Episcopall chairs thereof; yet it must be remembered, that even want of matter for persecution to work on, conducd much to the peace of those places. The beams of the Gospel being neither so bright, nor so hot in these parts, where ignorance, and superstition generally prevailed.

23. The same may be said of all *Wales*, where casting over our eye, we discover no considerable persecution, under the Bishops of *Asaph*, and *Bangor*. But, as for the Bishop of *Landaff*, his proceedings against good

*Rawlins*

Anno  
Regin  
Mar.  
3.

Anno  
Dom.  
1555.

*Rawlins White* (whom he caused to be burnt at *Cardiffe*) was remarkable, as standing alone without precedent. For, He caused his Chaplain to say a mass (the first I beleieve, that found out, and last that used that way) for the conversion of the said *Rawlins*, though the same proved ineffectuall.

24. But Dr. *Morgan*, Bishop of *St. Davids*, is paramount for his cruelty, passing the sentence of condemnation on *Robert Farrar*, his immediate predecessour, whom he caused to be burnt at *Carmarthen*. We know whose counsell it was; *This is the heire, come let us kill him, that the inheritance may be ours*. And *Morgan* never thought himself in quiet possession of his Bishoprick, whilest *Farrar* was as yet in possession of his life. However, herein, *Morgan*, Out-Bonnered even *Bonner* himself, who (though not out of pitty, of pollicy) did not himself condemne *Ridley* his Predecessour, but procured him to be sent to *Oxford*, to be sentenced by others; whereas this Bishop himself pronounced the sentence on *Farrar*; an act which no good man could, and no wife man would have done. Thus have we briefly surveyed all the Diocelses in England; The Universities of *Cambridge*, and *Oxford* onely excepted; which, being *Peculiar*s, and exempt from Episcopall Jurisdiction, are reserved for a particular description, by Gods blessing, at the end of this book. Nor do we forget, (though acted out of the Continent of England) that cruel murder in the Isle of *Garnsey*, where, the infant burling out of the mothers wombe (the cruell fire being so mercifull, as to be the midwife, to separate, and tender the innocent babe, from the condemned mother. to the charity of the beholders) was first taken out of the fire, and then cast in again, and burnt with the mother thereof.

25. In all this Army of Martyrs, Mr. *John Rogers*, burnt in *Smithfield* Februarie the 4<sup>th</sup>. 1555. led the Vann; and five Martyrs burnt at *Canterbury*, November the 10<sup>th</sup>. 1558. (namely *John Cornford*, *Christopher Browne*, *John Herst*, *John Smith*, and *Katharine Knight*) brought up the Rere, according to their own prayer (not to say prophetic) at the stake, that they might be the last, as by Gods mercy it so proved. All these were executed in the four last yeers of Queen *Maries* Reigne, none suffering in the first yeer thereof. In which time, the Butchers under Her, did onely prepare their shambles for slaughter, whet their knives, and make ready their instruments of cruelty. Comparisons, I know, are odious, and the more, when made betwixt persons of eminencie. However, to such as peruse the whole story, these proportions will appear true. Of all the *Marian Martyrs*, Mr. *Philips* was the best borne Gentleman; Bishop *Ridley* the profoundest Scholar; Mr. *Bradford* the holiest, and devoutest man; Arch-Bishop *Cranmer* of the mildest, and meekest temper; Bishop *Hooper* of the sternest, and austere nature; Dr. *Taylor* had the merriest, and pleasantest wit; Mr. *Latimer* had the plainest and simplest heart; &c. Oh the variety of these several instruments! Oh their joynt harmony in a consort to Gods glory!

26. It is observable, that the Sacrament of the Altar was the main touchstone, to discover the poor Protestants. Many indeed, are the differences betwixt us and the Romish Church, but on this point the examiners pinched most. Haply, because in other controversies, Protestants (hunted after by those blood-hounds) might take covert under some tolerable distinction, and thereby evade the danger. Whereas this point of the real, corporal presence of Christ in the Sacrament, the self same body that was crucified, was such downe-right falsehood, it was incapable of any palliation, and was the compendious way to discover those of the contrary opinion. This neck-question (as I may terme it) the most dull and duncefull Commisioner was able to aske; and thanks be to God, the silliest Protestant-soule brought before them, was able to answer, first by denying it, then by dying in the defence of his denyall.

C cc

27. Remarkable

The cruelty of the B. of Bangor.

a Luk. 20. 14.

b Fox. Volum. 2. pag. 747. The first and last of the Martyrs.

The Sacrament of the Altar, the greatest Inare to Protestants.

Crucifix of  
Papists in  
persecuting  
Martyrs.

a Heb. 9. 27.

f. Psal. 14. 4.

Some Confessors  
of and  
by themselves  
courageous.

Ministerial  
Persecutors.

c. Revell. 19. 10.

d. Mr. Fox V. 1.  
2. p. 8. 9.  
D. sentence in  
positions.

e. Jer. 37. 20.

f. Jer. 38. 6.

Dr. G. R. R. R.  
his ill  
proceedings

e. John 18. 31.

27. Remarkable was their cruelty in pretorturing of many, whom afterwards they put to death. Herein akin in their proceedings to *Pilate*, first scourging, then crucifying Christ. By what law did *Edmond Terrell* first burne the hand of *Rose All-n*, and her body afterwards? Even by the fame that *Thomas first* burnt the hand of *Thomas Tomkins*, and then commanded him to be dispatch'd out of the way: By the same law, that *Cuthbert Simpson* was first cruelly rack'd, and then burnt, even by the law of their own might, and malice, not having otherwise any rag of legality, to cover the shame of their cruelty. Nature was mercifull in appointing that all men should *live & die*; whereas, had these Tyrants had the ordering thereof, they would have made divers to have died fundry times: yea, such was their cruelty, that, after once they had *eat up* Gods servants, if possible, they would have *chew'd* the *cut* upon them the second time.

28. Some Commissioners privately were courteous to the Martyrs, who notwithstanding publicly concurr'd to their condemnation. It is *Luther's* observation, that in Scripture, *sons of man* is alwayes taken in a good sense, but *sons of men* generally in the worst acceptation. Sure I am, take some of these men sole, and single by themselves, they were well natur'd, pittifull, and compassionate; but, when in conjunction with others, they became (at least by consenting) as cruel as the rest. What favour did *Dr. Fuller*, Chancellour of *Elze*, off. *r. William Woolsey*, and *Robert Piggot*, when alone? yet, when in complication with other Commissioners, pronounced the sentence of condemnation upon them.

29. Palfie we now from the Judicial, to the Ministerial Persecutors; *Sheriffs, Justices, Bayliffs, Promoters, Summoners* &c. The locusts had *this like* *c. unto* *Scorpions*, and *there were stings in their tails*. So here in officers, the baser, the bloodier; the meaner the more malicious; though by particular exception, some happened to be more mercifull then others. Of the *Twin-Sheriffs in London* (*Mr. Woodruffe*, and *Mr. Chester*) the former like *Esau*, had his hands rough, and hairy, being rugged and furlly to Gods servants; whilst *Mr. Chester* *Jacob-like*, had smooth hands, kinde, and courteous to such as suffered. Thus *Annie* (as I take it) the Sheriffe of *Chester*, was most cruel to *Mr. George Marlb*, whilst the Sheriffe of *Stafford-shire* (pitty it is, *Mr. Fox* hath not recorded his name) was afterward persecuted, for shewing so much favour to *Mrs. Joyce Lewes* at her execution, when he said Amen to her prayer, *desiring* *Gods* *to deliver this Realm from Papistrie*.

30. One prison may comparatively be a paradise in respect of another, and generally 'tis the Jaylour puts the difference betwixt them. How passionately did poor *Jeremy* plead? *Cause me not to return to the house of Jonathan the Scribe lest I die there*. And therefore he took it for a speciall favour to be sent to the *Court of the prison*. How nasty a place was the dungeon of *Malchish*, into which *Jeremias* was afterward cast? till *Ebed-melech* the blackmore drew him out thence? Now, amongst the fruitfull generation of *Jayles in London*, there were (though never a better) some lesse bad amongst them. I take the *Marshalls* to be in those times, the best for usage of prisoners. But, oh the misery of Gods poor Saints in *Newgate*, under *Alexander the Jaylour*, more cruel than his namesake the copper-smith was to *St. Paul*; in *Lollards-Tower*, the *Clauke*, and *Bonnors* *ele-house*; a place which minded them of the manner of their death, first kept amongst coles, before they were burnt to ashes.

31. It is more then suspicious, that many of these silly souls were hurried to the stake, even against those laws which then stood in force in the Realm, before the Writ *De Heretico comburendo* was issued out against them. For, what the Jews said to *Pilate*, *It is not lawfull for us to put any man to death*; The Ecclesiastical censures may say to the Secular Power in *England*, We have no power of life or limbe, but the inflicting punishments on both, must be devolv'd to the civill Magistrate. Yet *Dr. Gesserie* Chancellour

Anno Dom.  
1555.  
Anno Regni  
Mar. 3.

Anno Dom.  
1555.  
Anno Regni  
Mar. 3.

of *Sarishwrie* stood not on such legal niceties, but hastned them to the stake, more minding the end to which, than the justice of the proceedings, whereby he sent them thither.

32. All who met at last in final constancy, manifested not equal intermediate cheerfulness. Some were more stout, bold, and resolute; others more faint, fearfull, and timorous. Of the later was Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, who first subscribed a recantation, but afterwards recanted his subscription, and valiantly burned at the stake. Thus he that stumblen, and doth not fall down, gaineth ground thereby, as this good mans slip mended his pace to his martyrdom. It is also observable, that married people, the parents of many children, suffered death with most alacrity. *Mr. Rogers*, and *Dr. Tylour* may be the instances thereof. The former of these, if consulting with flesh and blood, had eleven strong reasons to favour himself, I mean, a wife, and tenn children, all which abated not his resolution.

33. Besides these who were put to death, some scores (not to say hundreds) dyed, or rather were kill'd with stinch, starving and strait usage in prison. I am not satisfied in what distance properly to place these persons. Some, perchance, will account it too high, to rank them amongst *Martyrs*; and surely, I conceive it too low, to esteem them but bare *Causefours*. The best is, the Herauldy of heaven knows how to marshall them, in the place of dignity due unto them; where, long since, they have received the reward of their patience.

34. Miraculous was Gods providence, in protecting many which were condemned to the stake. It is part of the praise of his power, *To hear the groning of the prisoner, to loose those that are appointed to death*. In *Dauids* expression, *There was but a step between them, and death*; which step also had been stepped, had not one instantly stepped aside, I mean the seasonable death of *Queen Mary*. She melancholicke in minde, unhealthfull in body, little feared of Her forraigne foes, less beloved by Her native Subjects, not over-dear to Her own Husband, unsuccessfull in Her treaties for peace, and unfortunate in Her undertakings for war, having deceived the Gentrie of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke*, by Her false promises, was deceived Her self by a false conception, and having consumed so many of Gods Saints by fire, dyed Her self by water, an hydropicall Tympanie.

35. Observable was the mercy of the Protestants to these persecutors, after the power was delivered into their hands, under the Reigne of *Queen Elizabeth*; by whom none of the aforesaid Tyrants were prosecuted, or molested, for any act of cruelty done by them in the dayes of *Queen Mary*. Nor suffered they in the least degree, on their former account, except they ran on a new score of contempt against the Queen and State. As such Bishops who, in the first of Her Reigne, refused the Oath of Supremacy. Otherwise, all such as conformed to Her Government, were not onely permitted to enjoy their old, but admitted to new preferment. Witnesse *Mr. Binley*, Chancellour of *Peterborough*, who condemned *John Karde* of *Norhampton*, yet in *Queen Elizabeths* dayes had the Arch-Deaconry of *Peterborough* conferred upon him. Thus, while Papists heap fagots on Protestants, Protestants, according to *Solomons* counsel, heap coals on them (courtesies, and civilities) to melt them if possible into remorse.

36. But, though the Protestants shewed much mercy to the Papists, their persecutors, yet the God of the Protestants manifested much justice, in their wooll, and wretched deaths. I confesse, Gods best servants sometimes have had sad and suddain ends; witness good *Elis* himself, who fell down, and brake his neck. I confesse likewise, that some wicked men, who have liv'd like *Lions*, have died (to use the common countrie phrase) like *Lambs*; or to use the expression of the Psalmist, *They have*

a. Fox Vol. 3.  
pag. 890.

All the Martyrs not a like cheerfull.

Of those who died in prison.

2. *Maries* death life to many.  
f. Psal. 102. 20.  
e. 1 Sam. 20. 3.

Protestants mercy, for Papists malice.

d. Pro. 25. 22.

Gods judgments must warily be dealt with.

e. 1 Sam. 4. 18.

f. Psal. 73. 4.

g Luke 13. 5.

h Deu'tis Ec-  
clesiast lib. 4.  
cap. 17.Gods hand  
wilde conuinc-  
ing of the  
persecutors.

a Deut. 32. 43.

What ufe to  
be made of  
the Martyrs  
sufferings.  
b Marth. 9. 3.Pursue his  
Carroll against  
the Murther  
callers an-  
twered.

no hands in their death, so fairly, and quietly do they expire. It is not good therefore to be over tampering in this particular (our Saviour himself re- trenching the censoriousness of the Jews, for falling so heavy on the memo- ries of those on whom *the tower of Siloe* & fell) and infallibly to infer from their fatal death, their final damnation. However, when a remarkable death, suddenly follows a notorious wicked life, even such passengers, as are posting in the speed of their private affairs, are bound to *make a stand*, and solemnly to observe the justice of Gods proceedings therein. The rather, because *Bellarmine* our adversary <sup>h</sup> affirms, that *Infelix exitus Adversario- rum*, the unhappy end of the Adversaries thereof, is one of the marks of the true Church. These cautions premised, take a few of many signal fatalities of these wicked persecutors.

37. *Morgan*, Bishop of *St. Davids* (who sentenced *Farrar* his prede- cessor) not long after was stricken in so strange a sort, that his meat would rise up, sometimes out of his mouth, sometimes out of his nose, most hor- rible to behold, but more terrible to endure, and so continued till his death. Judge *Morgan*, who condemned the *Ladie Jane*, soon after ran mad, and sodied, having all ways in his mouth, *Lady Jane*, *Lady Jane*, the bloody Chan- cellour of *Norwich*, died suddenly, taken (as some say) sitting in his chair. *Berrie*, the remorseless Commissarie in *Norfolk*, fell down suddenly to the ground with an heave grone, and never stirred after. *Thornton*, the Suffra- gan of *Dover*, looking upon his men, playing at bowls, was upon a sudden strook with a pally, had thence to his death-bed, and, being advised by some to remember God, *yes, so I do* (saith he) *and my Lord Cardinal too*, Dr. *Gesserie*, the bloodie Chancellor of *Sarisbury*, died suddenly on a Saturday, the day before he had appointed, more than ninety persons to be examined by inquisition. Mr. *Woodroffe*, that cruell Sheriffe of *London*, be- ing but a week out of his office, was so stricken by the hand of God, that for seven years space, till his dying-day, he was not able to move himself in his bed. *Burton* the cruell Bailie of *Crowland*, was poisoned to death, with the stinch of a crows dung, muting on his face. What shall I speak of *Dale*, the Promoter, eaten up with lice? *Alexander* the Keeper of *Newgate*, con- sumed with offensive rottenness? *Robert Balding*, smitten with lightning, at the taking of *William Seaman*? *Clarke*, who hangd himself in the Tower, with many more? So that we may conclude with the prophetic of <sup>a</sup> *Mo- ses*, *Rejoyce O ye nations with his people, for he will avenge the blood of his servants, and will render vengeance to his adversaries, and will be mercifull unto his land, and to his people.*

38. And now, to take our leaves of those Martyrs, what remains? but, 1. That we glorifie God in, and for their patience; <sup>b</sup> *who had given such power unto men.* 2. That we praise God, that true doctrine at this day, may be professed at an easier rate, then in that age. In Faires, and Markets, for the most part, commodities are sold dearest in the morning, which towards evening may be bought at a lower price. Sure I am, they paid most for the Protestant-Religion at the dawning of the day from Popery (life, or limbe, was the lowest price thereof) which since may be purchased at a cheaper pennie-worth. 3. That we embrace, and defend that doctrine, which they sealed with their lives; and as occasion shall be offered to vindicate, and assert their memories, from such scandalous tongues, and pens, as have, or shall traduce them.

39. It is inconsistent with our History, here to enter the lists, with that railing book which *Parsons* the Jesuite hath made against those good Martyrs. Only it is remembered, that his *Cavill-General* is chiefly at their calling, be- cause they were most Mechanicks, Weavers, Shooe-makers &c. An excep- tion lying as well against just *Joseph*, a Carpenter; hospita! *Simon*, a Tan- nery; zealous *Aquila*, and *Priscilla*, Tent-makers; attentive *Lydia*, a purple-seller.

Anno  
Dom.  
1555.Anno  
Regin.  
Mar.  
3.Anno  
Regin.  
Mar.  
3.Anno  
Dom.  
1555.

ple-seller. And is it not injurious to infer their piety to be less, because their painfulness was more? If it be farther objected, that it is improba- ble, that these fillic souls should be more illuminated with knowledge, than the great Doctors of the Romish Church: know that Christs birth was re- vealed to the shepherds in their calling, *watching their flocks by night*, and concealed from the Priests, and Pharisees (the pretended shepherds of *Israel*: ) and, God might give more light to these industrious artificers, than to their idle Masters of Arts.

40. Behold your calling (saith the Apostle) how not manie wife men after the flesh &c. But God hath chosen the foolish things of this world to confound the wise. And, allways in time of persecution, the Church is like a *copse*, which hath in it more under-wood than oakes. For, great men consult with their safety; and, whilest the poorer sort (as having little to lose) boldly embrace religion with both armes; the rich (too often) do only behold it at distance, with a smiling countenance; but dare not adven- ture to entertain it, except with very great fecrecie. We conclude all with this observation, that such Martyrs, as were artificers by their vocation, humbly continued in the station, wherein Divine Providence had placed them, none presuming (as too many now adays) to invade the minist- rial function, not adventuring to preach, save only that their real Sermon of patience at their death.

41. So much for the first forme, of Christians in those dayes, which were martyr'd. A second sort succeeds of such, who, being *Confessours* for the Faith, fled into forrain parts from persecution. This their removal is not onely defended from cowardize, but warranted for Christian Policy by our Saviours <sup>a</sup> precept, *But when they persecute you in this City, flee into another.* Had all fled, Religion had been at a losse for champions, to defend her for the present, had none fled, Religion might have been at a losse for champi- ons, to maintain her for the future. We will give in a particular, both of such eminent persons, and of the places wherein they were entertained. Part- ly, that such places may receive their deserved praise, for their hospitality to exiles: and partly, that our harbouring the banished *Dutch* (flying many years after from the cruelty of *Duke d'Alva*) in *London*, *Norwich*, *Canter- bury*, *Colchester*, and *Sandwich*, may appear, not so much the giving of a free, and fair curtessie; as the honest paying of a due debt, and wiping off an old score runn on trust by our great-grand-fathers.

c Luke 2. 1.

Poverty and  
piety oft goe  
together.  
d 1. Cor. 1. 25,  
27.A Catalogue  
of Confes-  
sours, with  
their places  
of refuge.  
e Mat. 10. 23.Som  
feated  
them-  
selves  
at,

1. *Emden*, in *East-Frisland*, a Staple-Town of English Merchants. I finde neither the names, nor number of those that harboured here; only it appears, that *John Scorie*, late bishop of *Chi- chester*, was here Superintendent of the English Congregation in *Emden*.
2. *Weasel*, then in the Dominions (as I take it) of the Duke of *Cleve*, but bordering on the *Low-Countries*, in the possession of the King of *Spain*. The English meeting here, was rather a Chappel, then a Church; or, rather a Tabernacle, then a Chappel; because soon set up, and as suddenly taken down again. For they, who formerly had fled so far from *Mary*, were now loth to live too neer to *Philip*; and, for fear of so potent a neighbour, quickly forsook this place, and disposed themselves elsewhere, in these four following Church-Colonies.

Some

a Troubles of  
Frankford  
printed  
Anno. 1575.  
pag 185.

3. Arrow, <sup>a</sup> a small city in Switzerland, on the banks of the River Arrola, belonging to the Republique of Berne. The most noted men abiding here were

|                 |                    |          |           |
|-----------------|--------------------|----------|-----------|
| Thomas Leaver.  | Richard Langborne. | Boys.    | Upchaise. |
| Robert Penmall. | Thomas Turpin.     | Willford |           |

4. Strasburgh, where they found most courteous entertainment. The most eminent English, abiding here, as may be collected from their solemne <sup>b</sup> joynt-subscription to a letter, were

|                      |                 |                       |
|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| James Haddon.        | Guido Eaton.    | Michael Reymuger.     |
| Edwin Sandys.        | John Geoffrey.  | Augustine Bradbridge. |
| Edmond Grindal.      | John Peadar.    | Arthur Saule.         |
| John Huntington.     | Thomas Eaton.   | Thomas Steward.       |
| Christopher Goodman. | Thomas Lakin.   |                       |
| Humphrey Alcockson.  | Thomas Crafson. |                       |

5. Zurich. This was no formed Congregation of Pastours, and people; but rather a flock of Shepheards, and therefore the letters unto them carie this style in their superscription, To the Students at Zurich. But, behold their names,

|                   |                 |                    |
|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| Robert Horne.     | John Mullings.  | John Parkhurst.    |
| Richard Chambers. | Thomas Spenser. | Roger Kelke.       |
| Thomas Leaver.    | Thomas Bentham. | Robert Beaumont.   |
| Nicolas Kerville. | William Cole.   | Laurence Humphrey. |
| Henry Cockraft.   | John Pretio.    |                    |

6. Frankford on the Meine. Where they found the State very favourable unto them. And this was the most visible, and conspicuous English Church beyond the seas, consisting of

|                      |                  |                  |
|----------------------|------------------|------------------|
| c John Bale.         | Thomas Steward.  | John Samford.    |
| Edmond Sutton.       | Thomas Wood.     | John Wood.       |
| John Makebrase.      | John Stanton.    | Thomas Sorby.    |
| William Whittingham. | William Walton.  | Anthonye Cariar. |
| Thomas Cole.         | Jasper Swyft.    | Hugh Alford.     |
| William Williams.    | John Geofric.    | George Whetnall. |
| George Chidley.      | John Grate.      | Thomas Whetnall. |
| William Hammon.      | Mighell Gill.    | Edward Sutton.   |
| John Fox.            | William Kelke.   |                  |
| Laurence Kent.       | John Hollingham. |                  |

c Tr. of Fr.  
pag. 20. & 25.

d 1 Sam. 30. 31

Here we omit their petty Sanctuaries, having (like <sup>d</sup> David) places, where himself, and his men were wont to haunt, Deesburgh, Vormes, &c. Where their stragling numbers amounted not to the constitution of a Church. If these Congregations be compared together, Emden will be found the richest for substance (there the Merchants which bear the bagg;) VVesel the shortest for continuance; Arrow the slenderest for number; Strasburgh of the most quiet temper; Zurich had the greatest scholars, and Frankford had the largest privileges. Nor let any wonder, if some in these Catalogues, assigned to one colonie, were afterwards found in another; seeing the Apostles <sup>e</sup> expression, *VVe have here no biding City*, hath init a single truth in time of peace, and at least a double one in time of persecution; men sitting from place

e Heb. 13. 14.

Anno  
Regin  
Mar.  
3.

Anno  
Dom.  
1555

place to place, as they were advifed by their own security. Know also, that besides these (the first founders of these severall Congregations) many additional persons, coming afterwards out of England, joynded themselves thereunto.

42. Come we now to set down the sad troubles of Frankford, rending these banished exiles asunder, into severall factions. This I dare say, if the Reader takes no more delight in perusing, than in penning so dolefull a subject, he will shew little mirth in his face, and feel less joy in his heart. However we will be somewhat large, and wholly impartial in relating this sorrowfull accident; the rather, because the penn-knives of that age, are grown into swords in ours, and their writings laid the foundations of the fightings now adayes.

43. The English exiles came first to Frankford June the 24<sup>th</sup>, and on the 14<sup>th</sup> of July following, by the speciall favour, and mediation of Mr. Jo<sup>h</sup>n Glaburg, one of the chief Senatours of that State had a Church granted unto them: yet so, as they were to hold the same in Coparcenie with the French-Prottestants, they one day, and the English another; and on Sunday, alternately to chuse their hours, as they could best agree amongst themselves. The Church was also granted them with this provilo, <sup>a</sup> That they should not dissent from the French in doctrine, or ceremonie, lest thereby they should minister occasion of offence. On the 29<sup>th</sup>, of the same moneth, our English with great joy, entred their new Church, and had two Sermons preached therein, to their singular comfort. About which time they constituted their Church, choosing a Minister, and Deacons for a time; and, out of conformity to the French, abrogated many things, formerly used by them in the Church of England, as namely,

1. They concluded, that the answering aloud after the Minister should not be used.
2. The Letanie, Surplice, and other ceremonies in Service, and Sacraments, they omitted, both as *superstitions*, and *superstitious*.
3. In place of the English Confession, they used another, adjudged by them of *more effect*, and framed according to the *b* State and Time.
4. The same ended, the people sung a Psalm in meeter, in a plain tune.
5. That done, the Minister prayed for assistance of Gods Spirit, and so proceeded to the Sermon.
6. After Sermon, a general prayer for all States, and particularly for England, was devised, which was ended with the Lords prayer.
7. Then followed a rehearfall of the Articles of Belief, which ended, the people sung another psalme, as before.
8. Lastly, the Minister pronounced the blessing. *The peace of God &c.* or the like, and so the people departed.

What is meant by framing their Confession according to the State and Time, I understand not (must our confessions, as our clothes follow the fashions of the State, and place we live in?) except it be this, that it was made more particularly, not only for *sinners*, but for *exiles*, acknowledging their present banishment, justly inflicted on them for their offences. The prayer devised after Sermon, according to the genuine sense of the word, seems no extemporary prayer then conceived by the Minister, but a true forme formerly agreed upon by the Congregation. Thus have we a set account of their Service; conceive it onely of such things, wherein they differed from the English Liturgy, not of such particulars wherein they concurr'd therewith; the cause (as I conceive) why no mention of reading of psalms, and chapters in their Congregation. These certainly were not omitted, and probably were

A Trif. intro-  
duction to  
the troubles  
of Frankford.

A Church at  
Frankford  
first granted  
to the  
English.

a Tr. of Fr.  
pag. 6.

b Tr. of Fr.  
pag. 7.

Other English Congregations invited to Frankford.

Those of Zurich quickened by importunity.

But refuse to communicate with them.

were inserted betwixt the Confession, and singing the first psalme.

44. Thus settled in their Church, their next care was to write letters, Dated August the first, to all the English Congregations, at *Strasburgh, Zurich, Wesel, Emden* &c. to invite them: with all convenient speed to come, and joyne with them at *Frankford*. This is the *Communion of Saints*, who never account themselves peaceably possessed of any happiness untill (if it be in their power) they have also made their fellow-sufferers, partakers thereof. However, this their invitation found not any great entertainment amongst the other English Church-Colonies; all delaying, and some denying to come; but especially those of *Zurich* were most refractory, and shewed least inclination to repair to *Frankford*.

45. This occasioned severall reiterated letters from *Frankford*; pressing, and requiring those of *Zurich* deeply to weigh this matter of Gods calling, and the necessity of uniting themselves in one Congregation. Let none say that *Frankford* might as well come to *Zurich* as *Zurich* to *Frankford*; because the English-*Zurichians* (though not in number) in learning, and quality equalled, if not exceeded those of *Frankford*. For *Frankford* was neerer to *England*, and more convenient for receiving intelligence thence, and returning it thither. Besides all Christendome met at *Frankford* twice a yeer (the vernal and autumnal mart) and, grant there was more learning at *Zurich*, there were more books at *Frankford*, with conveniences to advance their studies. But chiefly, at *Frankford* the Congregation enjoyed most ample privileges; and it was conceived it would much conduce to the credit, and comfort of the English Church, if the dispersed handfulls of their exiles, were bound up in one sheaf, united into one Congregation, where they might serve God in purity of faith, and integrity of life, having both Doctrine, and Discipline free from any mixture of superstition.

46. Notwithstanding this their importunity, those of *Zurich* made no other addreses to *Frankford*, than by dilatory letters excusing themselves from coming thither. Some saw no absolute necessity, that all the English should repair to one place; conceiving it rather safer, to adventure themselves in several bottoms, and live in distinct Colonies. Others were displeased with the imperative stile of the letter from *Frankford*, requiring them to come thither; exceeding the bounds of counsell for convenience, into command for conscience: yea, charging recusancy herein, as a sin on the soul of the refusers. They pleaded, they were already peaceably seated, and courteously used at *Zurich*: and, to goe away before they had the least injury offered them, was to offer an injury to those, who, so long and lovingly had entertained them. Some insisted on the material point, how they should be maintained at *Frankford*, there being more required to their living there, than their bare coming thither. But, the main was, those of *Zurich* were resolved no whit to recede from the liturgie used in *England* under the reign of King *Edward* the 6<sup>th</sup>, and, except these of *Frankford* would give them assurance, that comming thither they should have the full and free use thereof, they utterly refused any communion with their Congregation.

Anno Dom. 1555.  
Regin. Mar. 3.

S E C T.

Anno Dom. 1555.  
Regin. Mar. 3.

## SECTION. III.

To the right worshipfull Sr. HENRY WROTH Knight.

Sir, it is my desire fully to suite my dedications to my respective Patrons, that what is wanting in the worth of the present, may be partly supplied in the proprieties thereof, which made me select this parcel of my History for your Patronage. I finde Sr. Thomas Wroth your great-grandfather of the Bedchamber, and a favourite, to King Edward the 6<sup>th</sup> who (as I am informed) at his death, passed out of the armes of him, his faithfull Servant, into the embraces, of Christ, his dearest Saviour. Soon after Sr. Thomas found a great change in the English Court, but no alteration, (as too many did to their shame) in his own conscience, in preservation whereof he was faine to fly beyond the Seas. To be a fugitive is a Sin and shame, but an honour to be a voluntary Exile, for a good cause. Hence it is that I have seen, in your ancient House at Durance, the \* crest of your Armes, with the extraordinary addition of Sable vvings somewhat alluding to those of Bats, to denote your ancestours dark and secret flight for his safety. However God brought him home again, on the silver vvings of the Dove, when peaceably restoring him, in the days of Q. Elizabeth to his large Possessions. In a word, I may wish you and yours lest mediate trouble then he had in the course of his Life, but cannot desire you more final happiness in the close thereof. T F.

\* viz. a Lions head crested.



About this time Mr. John Knox came from Geneva, and was chosen by the Congregation of *Frankford*, for their constant Minister. Let none account it incongruous, that among so many able, and eminent English Divines, a Scotchman should be made Pastour of the English Church, seeing Mr. Knox his reputed merit did naturalize him (though a forraier) for any Protestant Congregation. At which time also Mr. Chambers, and Mr. Edmond Grindall came thither as Agents. with a letter from the Congregation of *Strasburgh*. This *Strasburgh*, as in the position thereof, it is almost seated in the just mid-way betwixt *Zurich* and *Frankford*: so the English there residing, embraced a moderate, and middle expedient, betwixt the extremities of the two fore-said Congregations. These made a motion, that they might have the <sup>a</sup> substance and effect of the Common Prayer-book, though such ceremonies, and things, which the Countrie could not bear, might well be omitted. Knox and Whittingham asked them, what they meant by the substance of the Book: and whilest the

Mr. Knox chosen constant Minister at *Frankford*.

a Tr. of Fr. pag. 24.

D d

other

The Liturgie  
of England  
touch'd to  
Mr. Calvin,  
and his cen-  
sure thereof.

other wanted commission to dispute the point, the motion for the present came to no perfection.

2. However it gave occasion that Mr. Knox, and others in *Frankford*, drew up in Latine a platforme, or description of the Liturgie, as used in *England* under King *Edward*, and tendered the same to the judgement of Mr. *John Calvin* in *Geneva*, to pass his sentence thereon. This is that Mr. *Calvin* whose cure of all the Churches is so highly commended by some, and as much censured is he by others, as boasting himself in another mans line, and meddling with foraine matters which did not belong unto him. Take Mr. *Calvin*'s judgment herein from his own letter bearing date the 20<sup>th</sup>. of *January* following, In the Liturgie of England, I see there are many intolerable foolish things; by these words I mean, that there is not that purity which were to be desired. These vices, though they could not at the first day be amended, yet, seeing there was no manifest impiety, they were for a season to be tolerated. Therefore it was lawfull to begin of such rudiments, or abecedaries, but so that it behooved the learned, grave, and godly Ministers of Christ, to enterprize further, and to set forth some thing more filed from rust, and purer. This struck such a stroke, especially in the Congregation of *Frankford*, that some therein, who formerly partly approved, did afterward wholly dislike; and moe, who formerly disliked did now detest the English Liturgie.

Dr. Cox, and  
others arrive  
at *Frankford*.

3. In this case stood matters in *Frankford*, when Dr. *Richard Cox*, with some of his friends out of *England*, arrived there. This Doctor was a man of an high spirit, deep learning, unblameable life, and of great credit amongst his Countreymen; for, he had been Tutor unto *Edward* the 6<sup>th</sup>. And well may the nurse herself be silent, whilst the well battling of the babe pleads aloud for her care, and diligence: as here the piety and pregnancy of his Prince-pupill, added much to Dr. *Cox* his deserved reputation. He, with others, coming into the Congregation *March* 12. discomposed the model of their service; first, answering aloud after the Minister; and, on the Sunday following, one of his company, without the consent and knowledge of the Congregation, got up into the pulpit, and there read all the a *Leantic*. Knox, highly offended hereat, in the afternoon, preaching in his course out of *Genesis*, of *Noahs* nakedness in his tent, took occasion sharply to tax the authors of this disorder, avowing many things in the English Book to be superstitious, impure, and imperfect; and, that he would never consent they should be received into the Congregation.

a Tr. of Fr.  
159. 38.

The Senate  
of *Frankford*  
interpose for  
Knox.  
b Tr. of Fr.  
159. 40.

4. Here I omit many animosities, and intermediate bickerings betwixt the opposite parties; especially at one conference, wherein Dr. *Cox* is charged to come with his intifacial argument *ab autoritate*, *Ego* volo habere, I will have it so. In fine, Knox his party finding themselves out-voted, by Dr. *Cox* his new recruits out of *England*, got one voice on his side, which, was louder, and stronger then all the rest; I mean the authority of the Senate of *Frankford*, interposing on his behalf: and, Mr. *John Glanberg* (principal procurer of their Congregation, as is aforesaid) publicly professed, that if the reformed order of the congregation of *Frankford* were not therein observed, c *As he had opened the Church-door unto them, so would he shut it againe*.

c Tr. of Fr.  
159. 43.

Mr. Knox  
accused of high  
treason: and  
departs from  
*Frankford*,  
d Pro. 30. 33.

5. The wringing of the nose (saith wife d *Agur*) bringeth forth blood; so the forcing of wrath bringeth forth strife. See here, the *Coxan* party depreffed, embrace a strange way to raise themselves, and accuse Knox to the State, for no less than high treason against the Emperour in an English book of his intitled, *An admonition to Christians*; first, privately preached in *Buckinghamshire*, and now publicly printed to the world. Eight places therein were laid to his charge: the seven last may well be omitted, the first was so effectual to the purpose, wherein he called the Emperour, no less an enemy to Christ then was Nero. Strange, that words spoken some years since, in another

Anno  
Dom.  
1555.  
Anno  
Regin.  
Mar.  
3.

Anno  
Regin.  
Mar.  
1555.

another land, and language, against the Emperour, to whom Knox then owed no natural allegiance (though since a casual, and accidental one, by his removal into an imperiall City) should, in this unhappy juncture of time, be urged against him, by exiles of his own religion, even to no lesse than the indangering of his life. But, what said *Rachel* of *Leah* 2. With great wrestlings have I wrestled with my sister, and I have prevailed: with great, rather than good wrestlings. Such, too often, is the badnesse of good people; that in the heat of passion, they account any play to be fair play, which tends to the overturning of those with whom they contend. Hereupon, the State of *Frankford* (as an Imperiall Town, highly concerned to be tender of the Emperours honour) willed Knox to depart the City; who on the 25<sup>th</sup>. of *March*, to the great grief of his friends, and followers, left the Congregation.

March  
25.

6. After the departure (or rather the driving away) of Mr. Knox; Dr. *Cox*, and his adherents clearly carried all, and proceeded to the election of officers in their Congregation. But first for a fit title for him that was to take charge of their souls, then for a proper person for that title.

1. Bishop (though first in nomination) was declined, as improper, because here he had no inspection over any Dioceses, but only a cure of a Congregation, on which very account Mr. *Scorie* (though formerly Bishop of *Chichester*) when preacher to the Congregation of *Emden*, took upon him the title of Superintendent.

2. Superintendent was here also waved, as the same in effect, onely a bad Latine word, instead of a good Greek.

3. Minister also was mislik'd, for the principal Preacher (though admitted to signifie his assistants) perchance as a terme of too much compliance, with the opposite party.

4. Pastour at last was pitched upon, as freest from exception, most expressive of the office, and least obnoxious to offence.

Then was Mr. *Whitehead* chosen their Pastour, yet so, as two Ministers, four Elders, and four Deacons, were joynt to assist him. And, because this was then a new University, as a congregation of the English, Mr. *Horne* was chosen Reader of the Hebrew, Mr. *Mullings* of the Greek, and Mr. *Traberne* was made Lecturer of Divinity. In this new modell'd Congregation, I finde no office by name assigned unto Dr. *Cox* (more honour for him to make all, than to be any officer) who was virtually influent upon all, and most active (though not in the doctrinal) in the prudential part of Church-government.

c Ibid. pag. 52.

7. As for the oppressed Congregation (so their opposites stile themselves) it was headed by *William Whittingham*, one (though of less authority, yet) of as much affection to the cause, as Knox himself. This partie continued their dislike of the Liturgie, calling it the Great English Book, offended (it seems) with the largeness thereof. And they affirmed (may the report lie on the reporters to avouch it) how *Cramer* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* did present a book of prayer, on hundred times more perfect than the Liturgie used in King *Edward*'s dayes, yet the same could not take place, because he was matched with so wicked a Clergie, in Convocation with other enemies. Besides this their old grudge against the Common Prayer, they were grieved afresh in this election of new officers in the English Congregation, that their old officers were neither legally continued, nor fully discharged, nor friend-like consulted with, nor fairly asked their consent, but no notice at all taken of them. In a word, never arose there a greater murmuring of the Grecians against the Hebrews, because their widows were neglected in their daily ministrations; than here an heart-burning in the *Whittinghamian* against the other party, for the affront offered to their old officers, in this new election.

Whittingham  
heads the  
opposite par-  
tie.  
d Ibid. pag. 40.

e Ibid. pag. 43.

f Acts 6. 1.

Aug. 27.

8. Here a moderate motion was made that the difference might be compromised.

Arbitration  
refused by the  
party of  
Dr. Cox.

D d d 2



premised, and referred to Arbitrators, which should be equally chosen on both sides. To this, Dr. Cox his party would in no wise consent. Whether because those pretended Arbiters would be no Arbiters, but parties, and widen the wound by dressing of it; or because, being already posessed of the power, they would not divest themselves of the whole to receive but part again from the curtesie of others. However this party lost much reputation by the refusal. For in all controversies, that side reculant to submit itself to a fair arbitration, contracts the just suspicion, either that their cause is faulty, or the managers thereof froward, and of a morose disposition. In fine, as when two swarms of bees daily fight in the same hive, the weakest grow for wife, as to seek themselves a new habitation: so here, *Whittingham*, and his adherents resolve to depart, and to seek their severall providences in another place.

9. But alas these two sides had a sad parting-blow. The *Oppress'd Congregation* complained, that instead of their *Valley*, they had a *valley* of ill words disengaged at them; amongst which none so mortal to their reputation, as the word *Schismatick*, wherewith the *Coxians* branded them at their departure. Much fending, and proving there was betwixt them, whether *Schismatick* was properly applicable to such, who agreeing in doctrine, dissented only in [superfluous] ceremonies. In conclusion, nothing was concluded amongst them as to agreement. And now, no pity shewed at their departure, no sending of sighes, or shedding of tears on either side; the one being as glad of the room they left, as the other were desirous of their own removal.

10. If any be curious to know the names of such, who separated themselves from this Congregation of *Frankford*, this ensuing catalogue<sup>a</sup> will acquaint him therewith,

|                      |                      |                  |
|----------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| William Williams,    | Thomas Wood.         | John Escot.      |
| William Whittingham, | William Kelch.       | Thomas Grafton.  |
| Anthony Gilby,       | John Kelke.          | William Walton.  |
| Christopher Goodman, | John Hilton.         | Lawrence Kent.   |
| Thomas Cole,         | Christopher Soothous | John Hellingham. |
| John Fox,            | Nicolas Purfote.     | Anthony Carier.  |

Of these Mr. Fox, with a few more, went to *Basil*, the rest settled themselves at *Geneva*, where they were all most courteously entertained. And now who can expect less, but, that those still remaining at *Frankford*, as the same in opinion, should be the same in affection, and live in brotherly love together. But alas; man, while he is man will be man; and Sathan the sower of tares, did set a sad dissention betwixt them, which we come now to relate.

11. There was an eminent member of the Congregation in *Frankford*, Mr. *Ashley* by name, one of a *worshipfull*<sup>b</sup> degree, and (as it seems) of a *Spirit* (not to say *Stomack*) no whit beneath his extraction. Now there happened some high words at Supper betwixt Him and Mr. *Horn* (then Pastor of the Congregation) yet so that all the difference by the seasonable mediation of the *Guests* was then seemingly composed. But two dayes after Mr. *Ashley* was convened before the *Elders*, where it was laid to his charge, that at the time and place aforesaid, he had spoken words slanderous to them and their Ministry. *Ashley* appealed from them, as an *adversary Part* against Him, (and therefore no competent Judges) unto the whole Congregation. (as men of estimation with both Parties) to hear and determine the difference betwixt them.

12. Hereat Mr. *Horn* and the *Elders* were highly offended, pleading that they had received authority from the whole Church, to hear and decide such

The two parties put a stander.

The names of such as went to Geneva. a Taken out of their subscription to a letter in the Troubles of Frankford 1548-47.

The sad difference betwixt Mr. Ashley and Mr. Horn. b Troubles of Frankford 1548-55.

Horne and the Elders in discontent quit their places.

Anno Dom. 1555. Anno Regni Mar. 4.

6. 155-7.

Jan. 14.

16.

Anno Dom. 1555. Anno Regni Mar. 4.

Feb. 2.

4.

14.

such *Cases*, and were resolved not to depart with the power, so legally delegated unto them. And whereas many meetings were made of Mr. *Ashleys* friends to debate his business, Mr. *Horne* and the *Elders* condemned them, as *tending to schism*, accounting their own presence so of the Quorum to any lawful assembly, that without it, all *conventions*, were *conventicles*. Yea Mr. *Horne* and the *Elders*, perceiving that Mr. *Ashleys* friends (being most numerous in the Congregation) would bring his *Cause* to be determined by the *diffusive Church*, fully and freely forsook their Ministry and Service therein. Preferring rather willingly to an *Pastor*, and *dis-Elder* themselves than to retain the place, without the power, Title without the Authority due thereunto.

13. This *deserting* of their Duty, was by others interpreted an high contempt of the Congregation. Especially, when two dayes after, a full Church, met with an empty Pulpit, wherein none to teach the people. The *Ashleyans* (being far the major part) took exception that *Horne* and the *Elders* should so slightly, and suddenly quit; what before they had so seriously, and solemnly, accepted; as if their *Pastoral charges* were like their *cloaths* or upper garments, to be put off at pleasure, to coole themselves in every heat of *Passion*. Besides, these men being married in a manner to their *Ministerial Functions*, could not legally divorce themselves without *mutual consent*, and the Churches approbation thereof.

14. Soon after the State of the controversie was altered, Mr. *Ashleys* business being laid aside, and another of an higher concernment taken up in the room thereof; namely how the Congregation should proceed against the Pastor and Elders, in case they were accused for *misconduct*. For hitherto no provisions were made, in the *constitutions* of this Church, to regulate this case if chancing to occur. Whether because the compilers of those *constitutions* charitably presumed on the integrity of all such Officers, or omitted the making any law against them, in favour to themselves (as most probable to obtain such places) or because no canons can at once be compleated, but a reserve must be left for the additions of others to perfect the same. But now eight were appointed to regulate the manner of the proceeding of the Congregation against Pastor and Elders if peccant, who were without (or rather above censure, according to the old Discipline) which still inflamed the anger of Mr. *Horne* and his Party.

15. A Party much advantaged by Mr. *Chambers* siding therewith, because He was keeper of the charity conferred on, and contributions collected for the Congregation. Now where goeth the *Poor*, there goeth the *Poor*, most in want were of *Hornes* side, in hope of the larger relief. This made others complain of *Chambers*, as an unjust Steward of the Churches treasure, too free to such as He affected, and bountifull only of *Taunts* and ill Terms to those of a different Judgement, making neither Mens Need, or Defects, but only his own fancy the direction of his Distributions.

16. Now began their brawls to grow so loud, that their next neighbours over-heard them, I mean the State of *Frankford* took notice thereof, to the shame of all, and grief of all good in the English Nation. For how scandalous was it that *exiles* of the same Country, for the same Cause could not agree together. But man in misery (as well as man in honour) hath no unde standing. Yea they began to fear, lest many Dutch-men, hitherto their bountifull Benefactors, should for the future withdraw their benevolences, conceiving these *exiles* wanted no money, who had such store of animosities, and probably these *exiles* would make them more peaceable amongst themselves. Their discords were the worse, because the *Vernall mart* at *Frankford* did approach, and it would be welcome ware, and an usefull commodity for Popish Merchants meeting there, to carry over into England, and all the world over, the news of their distractions.

17. Hereupon

Whereat the Church is highly offended.

Inquiry how to proceed against the Pastor and Elders if accused

Mr. Chambers accused of injustice.

The scandal of this dissention.





a *Hamprey* -  
up:rit.

Fortin li-  
berally usto  
them.

Improved by  
their own  
industry.

An! God his  
blessing  
above all.

Q. Mary her  
sickneſs be-  
lieved en-  
riched the cre-  
dit of English  
Exiles.

St. John Cheek  
his unpropo-  
sition return.

is best in *bad times*, to prevent danger. As for *Thomas Eaton* a *London Merchant*, but living in *Germany* he was (saith my <sup>a</sup> author) *communis hostes*, the *host-general* of all English Exiles, thanks, (and that forced on him, against his will) being all the *Sbot*, his *Guests* paid, at their departure.

24. The King of *Denmark*, *Henry Prince Palatine of Rhene*, *Christopher Duke of Wirtenberge*, *Wolffgang Duke of Bipont*, &c. with all the States and free cities wherein the English sojourned, were very bountiful unto them. So were the Dutch Divines, especially those of *Zurich*, and take them in order as my foreſaid Author nameth them, *Bulſinger*, *Pellican*, *Biblander*, *Simler*, *Walphius*, *Livator*, *Zuinglius*, whose *short ſtipends* would scarce reach to maintain themselves, and yet their thrift and charity stretched them so, as there-with also to relieve others. Nor let learned *Ceſar* be forgotten, that great natural Historian, and no less loving of *men*, then knowing in *beasts*, *fowls*, and *fishes*. As for *Peter Martyr*, he had a petty *colledge* in his house at *Strasburg*, (whereof Mr. *Jewel* was the *viceroy*) wherein most of the clergy paid (if any) ease rates for their diet therein.

27. Some of the English Schollars, subſisted partly by their own pains, the making of Books, the *Copies* whereof were very beneficial unto them. Say not this argued *ſalable ſouls* (favouring more of the *Stationer* than the *Scholar*) to sell their Books, yea that it was a kinde of *Simony* in them, to make profit of those their parts which God had freely bestowed upon them. For as it betrayeth a *mercenary minde*, in those who having plenty themselves, will forſidly contract for their *Copies*, so such *Authors*, who are in want, are faulty in being wanting to their own just relief, if neglecting moderate benefit by their own endeavours. Thus *John Bale* much advantaged himself, by his *ſolio* edition of his *Centuries*. Mr. *Fox* gained by his first (and least *Latin*) Book of *Martyrs*. Mr. *Laurence Humphrey*, was no loſer by his making and setting forth his three books of *Nobilitate*, which he intituled *Optimates*, as by translating *Philoſophy of Nobilitate*, and *Origen de recta ſe* out of greek. Others employed themselves, in overseeing and correcting the *Preſſes*, especially about the *English Bible*, with the *Geneva* notes thereon.

28. Such ſums attained by their own Industry, though small in *bulk*, were great in *bleſſing*, a divine benediction being always inviſibly breathed on painful and lawful diligence. Thus the *Servant* employed in making and blowing of the fire, (though sent away thence as soon as it burneth cleare) oft-times getteth by his pains a more kindly and continuing *heat*, then the Master himself, who sitteth down by the fame; and thus persons industriously occupying themselves, thrive better on a little of their own honest getting, then lazy Heirs on the large revenues left unto them.

29. One thing much kept up the credit of the English Exiles, with the Merchants and Bankers beyond the Seas, namely the certain and constant report of Queen *Maries* decaying condition, daily conſuming, though increaſing, waſting, though ſwelling, with an Hydropicall diſtemper, which could not be kept so cloſe under the *key of Confeſſion*, but that it became the publicke diſcourſe at home, and abroad. And although many reports of Queen *Maries* death were *ſhot out at random* (whereof one, some moneths after *hit the mark*) and the fame were proved to be falſe, yet thereby the news of her ſickneſs gained a general belief. This gave reputation to such English in *Germany* as were known to be poſſeſſed of eſtates in their own country, enabling them with *Truſt* to borrow convenient ſumms from any creditours, who would make probable adventures for their advantage, beholding the English, very *reſponſible* in an approaching *reverſion*.

30. So much of our English Exiles, whom our Pen will shortly handle under a better notion. Return we to St. *John Cheek*, lately mentioned, with a promise to enlarge his story, though so ſad in it ſelf, we would willingly (but for wronging of the truth) have buried the ſame in ſilence. Well, and

Anno  
Dom.  
1557.

Anno  
Regni  
Mar.  
4.

Anno  
Regni  
Mar.  
5.

Anno  
Dom.  
1557.

and welcome, loved and reſpected was this Knight at *Strasburg*, when He would needs return for *Brabant ut uxorem duceret*, to marry a wife, ſaith the printed *Sleidan*, but by miſtake, (for He was married ſome yeers before, to a Lady which long ſurvived him) inſtead of *ut uxorem duceret*, that He might fetch forth, and bring home his wife, lately (it ſeems) come out of *England* into the *Low-Countries*. He is ſaid firſt to have conſulted the *Storrs*, (would He had not gone ſo *high*, or elſe gone *higher* for his advice) being too much addicted to judicial *Aſtrologie*. Now whether here the Error was in the *Art* it ſelf, as falſe and frivolous, or in his miſapplying the rules thereof, (not well underſtanding the language of the *Stars*) more ſure it is, his journey had ſad ſucces. For in his return from *Bruxels* to *Antwerpe*, no whit ſecured by his own innocence, nor by the promiſe of the Lord *Pager*, nor by the pledging of St. *John Maſon*, for his publick protection, nor by the interceſſion of his friend *Fecknam* (*Abbot of Weſtminſter*) to Q. *Mary*, He (with St. *Peter Carew*) was beaten from his Horſe, tied hand and foot to the bottom of a cart, thence conveyed hoodwink to the next Haven, and ſo ſlipped over under hatches unto the Tower of *London*.

31. Here all *arts* were uſed on Him (which might prevail to drive, or draw, an eaſe Soule ſurpriſd on a ſuddain) to make him renounce his Religion, untill hard uſage in priſon, joyned with threatnings of worſe, and fair promiſes on his ſubmiſſion, drew from his mouth an *abrenuntiation* of that Truth, which He ſo long had profeſſed and ſtill believed, and thereupon was reſtored to his liberty, but never to his contentment. For ſuch is the tyranny of Papiſts, that they are not ſatisfied to take mens Conſciences captive by their cruelty, except alſo they carry them about in publick triumph, as here *Bonner* a got St. *John Cheek* unawares to ſit in the place where godly Martyrs were condemned. And although He then did nothing, but ſit ſtill, ſigh, and be ſilent, yet ſame, for what He had done, ſenſe of what others ſuffered, and ſorrow that his preſence ſhould be abuſed to countenance cruelty, brought him quickly to a comfortable end, of a miſerable life, as carrying Gods pardon, and all good mens pitty along with him.

32. Since his *Death*, his Memory hath done ſome pittance (I ſay not to ſatisfy the failings in his *life*) being wronged in his *Parneage*, abuſed in his *Parts*, and miſtaken in his *Poſterity*. For the firſt, a learned Pen <sup>b</sup> (but too free in dealing diſgracefull characters on the ſubjects thereof) ſtyleth him a *Man of mean Birth*, and generally he is made, only the *Son of his own Deſerits*. Whereas Mr. *Peter Cheek*, St. *Johns* Father, living in *Cambridge*, (where St. *John* was borne, over againſt the Croſſ in the market-place, and where by the advantage of his Nativity, He fell from the wombe of his Mother, into the lap of the Muſes) was deſcended of the family of the *Cheeks of Maſton* in the *iſle of Wight*, (where their eſtate was about 300<sup>l</sup>. a yeer, never increaſed nor diminished till ſold outright ſome 20. yeers ſince) out of which *Richard Cheek*, in the raigne of King *Richard* the Second, married a Daughter of the Lord *Mountagn*. As for *Duffield* his Mother, the was a diſcreet and grave Matrone, as appeared by the good <sup>d</sup> counſel, and chriſtian charge She gave this her Son, when coming to take his farewell offer, and betake himſelf to Prince *Edward* his Tuition. For his *Parts*, the foreſaid *Author*, with the ſame breath, termeth Him, *So far as appears by the books He wrote, Pedantiſk enough*, that is *too much*, to ſuch as underſtand his *Miſoſs*. But had He peruſed all his works, and particularly, *His True Subject to the Rebel*, He would have beſtowed a better character upon him. Another Writer <sup>e</sup> can finde no *iſſue left of his body*, ſaving one Son bearing his Fathers name, whereas he had three Sons by his wife, (as appears on her Monument in St. *Martins* in the Fields) 1. *Henry* the Eldeſt, Secretary to the Council in the North, (who one *Francis Ratcliffe* Siſter to the laſt Earle of *ſuffex* of that family, begat St. *Thomas Cheek* of *Pyrgo* in *Eſſex*, bleſſed with an happy iſſue)

E e e

2. *John*

a Fox A. & B.  
Mon. tom. 3.  
pag. 701.

Reconterth  
(Crabally) and  
died for grief  
thereof.

a Fox ibidem

History recti-  
fied in his  
paternage,  
parts and  
poſterity.  
c St. John  
Hayward in  
the life of  
Edward the 6.  
pag. 8.

d The mother  
of my aged  
and worthy  
friend Mr.  
Jackson of  
Hilſon was  
with many o-  
thers preſent  
thereat.  
e One that ſet  
forth his life  
in Oſneyd  
Anno 1641.

The Pilgrimage of the Dutchess of Suffolk.

True, and sad Errantry.

a See it at large in Fox tome 3. pag. 928.

The vanity of Relations.

God the best detter.

Makes just payment.

Why the Parliament is silent in Church-matters.

John a valiant Gentle man, and Edward, both dying without any posterity, But these things belong to *Heralds*, not *Historians*.

33. The sufferings of *Katherine Dutchess of Suffolk*, *Baroness Willoughby of Eresby*, late widow of *Ch. rles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk*, since wife to *Richard Bertie Esq.* must not be forgotten. A Lady of a *sharp wit*, and *sure hand* to drive her wit *home*, and make it *piece*, where She Pleas'd. This made *Bp. Gardiner* to hate her much for her *j'sts* on Him, but mote for her *earnst* towards God, the Sincerity of Her Religion, and thereupon she was forced with her Husband and infant-Daughter to fly beyond the Seas.

34. It would tire our Pen to trace their Removals, from their House (the *Barlican* in London) to *Lions-Key*, thence to *Leigh*, thence over Seas (being twice driven back again) into *Brabant*, thence to *Santon* a City of *Cleveland*, thence to *Wesel*, one of the *Hanse-Towns*, thence to *Windheim* in the *Palatinate*, thence to *Frankford*, thence (by many intermediate Stages) into *Poland*. Every removal miniftr'd them matter, of new *Difficulties*, to improve their *Patience*, new *Dangers* to employ their *Prayers*, and new *Deliverances*, to admire Gods providence. Especially in their a *Passage* from *Santon* to *Wesel*, in a cold February, and a great thaw, after a long frost, on foot, in a dark night, and rainy weather, thorow wayes unknown, without guide to direct, or company to defend them, leaving certain *Poets* behinde, and having but suspected *friends* before them. The end of their journey, was worse then their journey it self, finding first at *Wesel*, no Inn to entertain them, able to speak little *high-Dutch* for themselves, and other willing to speak in comfort to them. In a word, it would trouble ones *Head* to invent more Troubles then they had all at once, and it would break ones Heart, to undergo but halfe so many, seeing their real sufferings out, *Romanced* the fictions of many *Errant Adventurers*.

35. No English Subject had like *f rrain relations* with this Lady, and yet they rather afflicted then befriended Her. She had been wife to Him, who had been Husband to a *Queen of France*, yet durst not go into that country. By the confession of *Bp. Gardiner* himself, She and *Queen Mary*, were the only English Ladies of Spanish extraction and alliance, yet was it unsafe for Her to stay in any part of the Spanish *Obdurations*. The Emperour owed her, (as Executrix to her Husband Duke *Ch. rles*) great sums of money, yet durst he not demand payment, lest the *credetrix* should be made away, and so the debt satisfied.

36. Yet an higher Emperour, even God himself, seem'd in some sort indebted unto Her (He thus giveth to the poor *lendeth to the Lord*) for her bounty at Home, in the height of her Honour, forrainers, Protestants especially, in distress.

37. And now that good debtour, God his providence, made full payment thereof, by inciting the King of *Spain*, at the mediation of the *Palatine of Vilna* (as He at the instance of *John Baron Alasco*, who formerly in England had tasted of this Ladies liberality) to call this Dutchess with her Husband and family to a place in *Poland* of Safety, Profit, Credit, and Command, where they comfortably continued till the death of *Queen Mary*. During these their Travels, *Peregrine Bertie*, carrying his forrain nativity in his name) was born unto them, afterwards the valiant Lord *Willoughby of Eresby*. To conclude, let this virtuous Lady her example, encourage all to be good to all Godly in distress, seeing *Hopes* *hodie*, *cras* *Hopes*, the *Entertainers* to day, may want *Entertainment* to morrow.

38. My Pen hath been a long Time an *Exile* from England, and now is willing to return to its native soile, though finding little comfort to invite it thither, and less to welcome it there. Only I finde a Parliament called, solely commendable on this account, that it did no more mischief in Church matters. Indeed the two former *Parliaments* had so destroyed all things

Anno Dom. 1557.  
Anno Regni Mar. 5.

Jan. 21.

Anno Dom. 1557.  
Anno Regni Mar. 5.

in Religion, they gave a writ of *ease* to the rest in this *Queens* Reign to do nothing.

39. The same reason may be rendred of the silence in the *convocation* where *John Harpsfield* Archdeacon of London, and Prolocutor preached also the Latin Sermon. a His Text, ( how fitting to the occasion, let him answer it ) *Matt. 21. 2. It in castellum quod contra vos est &c.* where Christ sends two Disciples to fetch Him the Ass and the Ass colt.

40. The Clergy gave the Queen a *subsidi* of eight-shillings in the Pound, (confirmed by Act of Parliament) to be paid in four years. In requital whereof, by *Pools* procurement, the Queen priviledged them from *showing their Horses* with the *Lystie*; yet so as they should suffer them up for the defence of the Land under *Captains* of their own choosing.

41. Here we meet with a piece of valour in *Q. Mary*, daring to oppose the Pope, and shewing that her mother *Q. Katherine's* devotion, had not drowned in her all the Spirit of *K. Henry* her Father. Pope *Paul* the fourth, wholly favouring the French Faction, and perfectly hating *Cardinal Poole*, ( whom he beheld as the principal Promoter of the late Wars in France ) sent *Cardinal William Perre* ( borne of an antient Family at *b. Chesherton* in *Warwickshire* ) to ease him in England of his Legative Power. But the Queen so ordered the matter, that by her Prerogative she prohibited *Perre* entrance into England, and got the aforesaid Power established and confirmed on *Cardinal Poole*.

42. Somewhat before we saw a great wonder, viz. the death of *Stephen Gardiner* Bp. of *Winchester*, not that He *aged* ( being past sixty ) but that He, who lived so zealous a *Papist* should die more then halve a Protestant, as wholly one in the point of mans c *Justification* by the free merites of God, and merits of *Christ*. *John White* borne in *Winchester Diocess*; first *Schoolmaster*, then *Warden of Winchester School* was by the Premises so tempted to be also Bp. there, that it made him digest the Symony to succeed *Gardiner*; though on condition to pay, a thousand pounds a year, out of that *Bishoprick* to *Cardinal Poole* for his better support.

43. But the most pleiant object to entertain us at this time in England, is the beholding of two fair and fresh Foundations in Oxford. The one *Trinity Colledge*, built by *St. Thomas Pope*, in the place, ( where long since *Thomas Hatfield Bishop*, and *Robert Walworth*, Prior of *Durham*, had built a Colledge for *Durham Monks* ) which at the present much decayed and ruined, was by *St. Thomas* redified and endowed. I finde this Mr. *Pope* ( as yet unknighthed ) principal d *Visitor*, at the dissolution of *Abbeys*, into whose hand the Seal of *St. Albans* it self was first surrendered. Now as none were *Loiers* employed in that service, so we finde few refunding back to charitable uses; and perchance this man alone the thankful c *Samaritan* who made a publique Acknowledgement.

# Presidents Bishops Benefactours Learned Writers

Thomas Sleightburst,  
Arthur Teldard,  
Ranulph Ketile,  
Dr. Potter,  
Dr. Harri.

Dame Elizabeth Powlet,

Infomuch that therein is at this present a President, twelve Fellows, twelve Scholars, besides officers and servants of the Foundation, with many other Students, the whole Number being an hundred thirty three.

Ecc 2

44. The

As also the Convocation, a Register of Cens. in Cardinal Poole.

A grand subsidi granted.

Queen Mary somewhat trons, though more devout.

b Caus. Brin in Warwickshire.

The death of Stephen Gardiner.

c Fox Ads & Mon.

Trin. Col. in Oxford founded 1474. Thomas Pope.

d Weaver's funeral Mon. pag. 112.

e Luke 17. 16

St. Johns  
Colledge in  
Oxford found-  
ed by St.  
Thomas Water.

44. The other, *St. John's Colledge* erected by *St. Thomas White*, (borne at *Rickmansworth* in *Hertfordshire*) a bottomless fountain of Bounty if we consider the ponds which He filled, and besides the running streams, which flowed from Him. Of the first Kind, were the Cities of *London*, *Bristol* and *Country*, on which He severally bestowed great sums of money to purchase Lands therewith. His running streams, I account that his gift which I may call the *Circulation of charity*, being a legacy of 100. pounds delivered out of Merchant Taylors Hall on *St. Bartholemew's* day, and lent gratis to 4. poore clothiers for 10. yeers, in 23. severall Corporations. Thus as a wife Merchant He conceived it safest to adventure his Bounty in fundry Bottoms.

The occasion  
(or cause)  
thereof.

a Stewards  
of London,  
pg. 91.

45. But the master-piece thereof was his founding of *St. Johns Colledge* in *Oxford*. Indeed his liberality basted first at *Gloucester-Hall*, which place He reedified. But so small a Hall was too little to lodge so large a soul in, which sought for a subject of greater Receipt. A Tradition goes of his *Dream*, that he should in time meet with a Place, where 2 two Elmes grew of the same height, and where his further purpose should take effect. Come we from what he dreamt to what he did, who finding belike that *Tree-marke*; by it he built and endowed *St. Johns Colledge*. And being himself free of the Company of *Merchant-Taylors* in *London* (where he was *Lord Maior*;) he ordered that that School should be a prime *Nursery* to his Colledge; and out of it the most pregnant Schollers are annually elected into this his Foundation. It is now lately enlarged with Addition of a new Court, and other Benefactions, by the liberality of *William Laud Arch-bishop of Canterbury*, whose Body though it be obscurely buried at *Abbeys Barkings*, grateful Posterity will deservedly behold this Building as his lasting Monument.

#### Prebends Bishops Benefactors Learned Writers

\* Pious de  
scriptor. Angli-  
ci.

*Alex. Belcher.*  
*Will. Elin.*  
*Will. Stoke.*  
*Jo. Robinson.*  
*Tob. Matthew.*  
*Fra. Willis.*  
*Ran. Hutchinson.*  
*Io. Buckenridge.*  
*Will. Laud.*  
*Will. Juxon.*  
*Rich. Baily.*  
*Fra. Cheynell.*  
*Faith. Owen.*

*Toby Matthew*  
Arch B. of York.  
*Job. Buckenridge.*  
Bishop of Ely.  
*Rev. Searchfield.*  
Bishop of Bristol.  
*Will. Laud Arch.*  
B. of Canterbury  
*Will. Juxon B.*  
of London.  
*Dr. Boyle Bp.*  
of Cork.

*St. Will. Craven*  
Knight.  
*St. Will. Paddie*  
Knight Dr. of  
Physick Comm-  
ner of the Col-  
ledg. He gave  
freely towards  
the building, &  
furnishing of  
their library,  
purchased to  
the Colledge  
two perpetual  
Patronages;  
and much  
beautified the  
Chappel.

*Edm. Campian* \* fellows  
of this  
house and  
violent  
Papists.  
*Grego. Martin*  
*Humph. Ely*  
*Hen. Holland*  
*JOHN CASE* Dr. of  
Physick.  
*WILLIAM LAVDE*  
in his learned book against  
*Escher*.

The above mentioned Dr. *CASE*, sometimes Fellow of this Colledge, married a Wife, kept House in *Oxford*, and Schollers in his house, teaching many youth *Logic*, *Ethicks*, and *Philosophy*. The University was so far from beholding this as an infringing of their privileges, that out of honour to this Doctors abilities, his Schollers by special grace were so far favoured, that they were made as capable of Degrees, as if admitted *Gremials* in the University.

ANNO  
Regin  
Mar. 6.

ANNO  
Dom.  
1558.

University. At this day *St. Johns* hath a *President*, fifty Fellows, and Schollars, a Chaplain and a Clarke; besides Servants, Commoners and other students, being in all an hundred and twenty.

46. Queen *Mary* every day waxed more and more melancholy, whereof several causes are assigned. Some conceive her Sorrowing, that by negligence the Key of *France*, [*Calis*] was slipped from her girdle, which her predecessors wore by their sides more then two hundred yeers. But, now it is gone, let it *Goe*, it was but a beggerly Town, which cost *England* ten times yearly more then it was worth in keeping thereof, as by the 2 accounts in the Exchequer doth plainly appear.

47. Others ascribe her sadness to her Husbonds absence, which had many (and made more) occasions to go and stay beyond the Seas, after he had found *England* not so usefull as he expected, as having neither power therein, nor profit thereby, (though as much as on the Articles of marriage was promised Him) halfe so much, as He had promised to himself. Besides Queen *Mary* her Person, was no gainer, (scarce a favour) of *Affection*, having her Fathers feature, a face broad and big, with her mothers colour, a somewhat swarthy complexion.

Nov.  
17.

48. As Queen *Mary* was not over fair, King *Philip* was not over-fond, especially after he began to despair of Issue from her. Indeed her Physicians hoped he to be with *Child*, till her misconceived pregnancy proved a *Droopy*, at the last, whereof she died, having reigned five yeers and odd moneths. As for the suggestion of *Oforius* the Spaniard, that the English Protestants attempted to poison her, a learned Author returns, *Nihil hujusmodi dictum, nec scriptum, fideum, nec pictum*, being the bare Inventions of his scandalous Tongue.

49. Within few howres after her death, died *Cardinal Foale* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. One who the longer He lived in *England*, the less He had of an *English-man*, daily more and more *Italianizing* himself, and conversing most with the Merchants of that country. Practising the principles of *Italian* thrift, his Pompe was rather gawdy then costly, and attendance ceremonious, more than expensive. By *Bills of Exchange*, He made over much money to *Venice* and *Rome*, and fearing a banke in *England*, (if Queen *Mary* should faile) provided Himself a banke beyond the Seas. He procured of the Queen the Patronage of 19. Benefices unto his *Sce*, promised and intended to repair the Palace at *Canterbury*. He was buried in His own Cathedral with this short and modest Epitaph on his plain Monument, DEPOSITUM CARDINALIS POLI.

50. He alwayes had a favourable inclination to Protestants, though (to wipe off the aspersion of *Lutheranisme*) at last he grew somewhat severe against them, but expressing it rather in wronging the Dead, (whose bodies He burnt) than hurting the Living. The Papists accuse him, for too much Indulgence to the married Clergy, because only parting them from their Wives, and depriving them from their Livings: But soon afterwards preferring the same persons to Benefices of far better Revenue. He was an absolute Protestant in the point of justification, much offended with the Proud error of *Oforius* therein; thus expressing himself, *c non potest virtus humanis meritis deparari, nec addi Divina Gratia*. Too much cannot be taken away from mans power, nor given to Gods Grace.

51. He left *Alaisius Priol*, a Gentleman of *Venice*, his sole executor, to dispose of his estate to pious uses, chiefly on the relief of forrainers. In *England* He had no want of near Kindred, and some of them (for all their high birth) near a kin to want; yet He passing them by, ordered that his whole Estate should be conferred on *Italians*; Some condemning, some commending him for the same, as a deed of Gratitude, because those of that Nation had formerly for many yeers relieved his necessities.

Ecc 3

Calis left, the  
Queen me-  
lancholy.

a and in a  
manuscript of  
St. Robert  
Corneus own  
writing.  
Her grief at  
her husbonds  
absence.

Aud death of  
a Droopie.

b Haddon  
contra Oforium  
lib. 1. fol. 25.  
The death of  
Cardinal  
Foale.

c Ant. Brit. in  
vita Poli.

His good in-  
clinations to  
be a Prote-  
stant.

d Sanders de  
schib. Ang. lib.  
2. pag. 307.

e Haddon con-  
tra Oforium  
lib. 2. fol. 28.

Leaveth all  
his Estate to  
Italians.

necessities. His Executor so honestly discharged his Trust therein, that he freely disposed the whole estate to the True Intent of the Testator, In so much that he left not any thing thereof unto himself; save only two small Books, viz. a <sup>a</sup> Breviary and a Diurnall, for a meer Memoriall. Thus died Cardinal *Pole*, neither of Italian Physick willfully taken by himself, as an English <sup>b</sup> Author insinuates, nor of Poison given to him by the *Protestants*, as a <sup>c</sup> Spanish writer suggests, but of a quartan fever then epidemically in England, and malignant above the ordinary nature of that Disease.

52. The Funerals of Queen *Mary* were performed with much Solemnity and true sorrow of those of her own religion. <sup>d</sup> *White Bishop of Winchester* preached the Sermon, taking for his Text *Ecclesiastes* 9. 4. *A living Dog is better then a dead Lion*, One not present at the Place might easily tell whom he made the *Lion*, and whom the *Dog*. Indeed he strawed all the *flowers* of his Rhetorique on Queen *Mary* deceased, leaving not so much as the *stalks* to scatter on her surviving *sister*. This *White* being a *Tolerable Poet*, (for so <sup>e</sup> one charactereth him) was an *Intolerable Fatterer*, and made use of his *Poetical Licence*, in the praise of *Popery*. More modest and moderate was the Sermon of *Peckenham Abbot of Westminster*, taking for his Text. *Ecclesiastes* 4. 2. *I praise the Dead rather then the Living*, who preached also the <sup>f</sup> *Obsequies of Queen Mary*; either that he did it as an act of *Supererogation*, or because it was conceived the more fite for so great a Prince to have a *Duplicate* of such solemnities. The best is, the *Protestants* of that Age, cared not how many (so it be *Funeral Sermons* were preached for her.

53. However, take Queen *Mary* in her self abstracted from her *Opinions*, and by her self, secluded from her *bloody counsellors*, and her Memory will justly come under Commendation. Indeed she knew not the Art of being popular, and never cared to learn it, and generally (being given more to her *Beads* then her *Book*) had less of learning. (or Parts to get it) then any of her Fathers children. She hated to equivocate in her own Religion, and alway was what she was, without dissembling her judgment or Practice, for fear or flattery; Little beloved of her subjects, to whom though once she remitted an intire *Subsidie*, yet it little moved their affections, because though liberall in this Act, she had been unjust in another, her Breach of promise to the gentry of *Norfolke* and *Suffolk*. However she had been a worthy Princess, had as little Cruelty been done under her, as was done by her. Her Devotion alwayes commanded her Profit, and often times did fill the Church with the emptying of her own Exchequer.

54. Take one instance of many; The Hospitall of the Savoy in the Strand, founded by her grandfather King *Henry* the seventh, and since Dissolved, was by her Erected again. And whereas the Utensells thereof had lately been Embezelled (the house being left as bare as the poore people which were brought therein) her maids of Honour, out of their own Wardrobe furnished it with <sup>g</sup> *Beds, Blankets, and Sheets*. Were any of those Ladies still alive, I would pray for them in the language of the <sup>h</sup> *Psalmist*, *The Lord make all their bed in their sickness*. And he is a good *Bed-maker* indeed, who can and will make it fit the person, and please the patient. But seeing such long since are all deceased, it will be no Superstition to praise God for their piety, and Cominend their practice to the imitation of Posterity.

55. Her Body was entered in the Chappell of King *Henry* the seventh, In the Isle on the North-side thereof, and afterwards the Corps of her sister Queen *Elizabeth* were buried in the same Vault. Over Both, King *James* afterwards erected a most sumptuous monument; though the Epitaph inscribed thereon, taketh noe notice

at

at all of Queen *Mary*, as defined, and designed folly to the memory of Queen *Elizabeth*. But *Maryes* name still surviveth in many <sup>i</sup> *Roman Catholic* families, being (though never *mother* her self) Godmother to many of her Servants Sons, giving her own, [*Anthony Maria, Edward Maria &c.*] as an addition to their *Christian* names.

56. Many great persons, (chiefly of the Clergy) followed her into another world; whether out of a politick *sympathie* that being raised by her, they would fall with her, or that fore seeing alteration of religion, and their own ruine, they died, to prevent death, heart-broken with sorrow. Besides, at this time, there was a strange *mortality*, different from other infections, not sweeping but choosing, which did principally single out *men of wealth and quality*. Whilft such as make uncharitable applications, parallel this to the plague of the Israelites, <sup>j</sup> which slew the wealthiest of them, we will onely conceive, that God intending to plant in Queen *Elizabeth*, first cleared the ground, by removing such, as probably would oppose her. Neither was it a small advantage unto her, that the *Parliament* sat at her *sisters* death; after which, they onely continued so long, as joyntly and publicly to proclaim *Elizabeth Queen*, and then they were dissolved. Now though her Title was free from doubt, yet it was not so clear from cavils, but that one considering the power of the *English Papists*, at this time, and their activity at all times, will conclude they might have, though not hurt, troubled, and though not hindered, disturb'd her succession. Whereas now being so solemnly proclaimed, it gave much countenance, and some strength to her right, being done by the whole State in so weighty a manner, that it crush't in pieces all hopes of private oppositions. Thus those whom God will have to rise, shall never want hands to lift them up,

God paveth the way for Q. Elizabeths coming to the crown. a communis quelam lucis ex ardore fervorem per universos Anglia ordines pervenit. abar et in illis maxime divites. Et honorantes personarum de populo. batur. Hadden contra Oforium fol. 25. c. Plal. 71. 32. d. Heinshied pag. 1170.



THE